
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION
OF
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,
EARL OF ORFORD.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

M E M O I R S
OF THE
LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION
OF
S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E,
E A R L O F O R F O R D.

WITH ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE AND AUTHENTIC PAPERS,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND,
CONTAINING THE CORRESPONDENCE
FROM 1700 TO 1730.

By WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.
RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1798.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS the sources which have supplied these authentic documents, are gratefully mentioned in the preface to the first volume, it will be only necessary to add a few explanations.

The materials are arranged under eight periods, corresponding with the periods in the narrative.

The order of date has been usually preserved, excepting in that part relative to a specific subject, as the *South Sea*, *Atterbury*, *Bolingbroke*, &c.

The orthography has been in most places scrupulously followed.

The collection to which each letter belongs, is specified in the margin, under the titles of *Oxford*, *Walpole*, *Hardwicke*, *Loughborough*, *Stanhope*, *Harrington*, *Waldegrave*, *Grantham*, *Middleton*, *Sydney*, *Melcombe*, *Derbyshire*, *Egremont*, *Campbell*, *Oglethorpe*, *Weyton*, *Poynts*, *Keene*, *Etough*, and *Other papers*.

The

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The *letters* and *papers*, which are *copies* or *draughts*, are noted in the margin. Most of the other letters, which are not thus distinguished, were either written or signed by the correspondents. In the table of contents, the author has endeavoured as much as possible to discriminate the respective papers and letters by appropriate marks.

The autographs, with *a*.

The letters which were only signed by the correspondents, with *f*.

The draughts, with *d*.

The autograph draughts, *a. d.*

Those which are doubtful or uncertain, have no mark.

Translations, with *t*.

As the printer has in a few instances omitted the word *copy* in the margin, the copies are also distinguished by *c*.

It may be necessary, however, to apprise the reader, that most of ~~these copies are either transcripts~~ from the originals or official, or were taken by the order, and under the inspection of the original writers.

Four plates are given, containing fac similes of the handwriting of George the first, George the second, queen Caroline, sir Robert Walpole, the Pretender, and of many others, whose letters appear in the correspondence.

ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

- Page 5, line 6 from bottom, for *Laintin*, read *Quintin*.
 — 39, — 6, for *their*, read *they*.
 — 60, — 8 from bottom, insert *can* before *render*.
 — 79, read *Secretary Stanhope to Stephen Poyntz*.
 — 92, — 12, before *majesty*, insert *his*.
 — 97, the heads of the letter should be, *Jacobitism loses ground in the home counties—*
 the inland and western parts of England and Wales, &c.
 — 195, — 20, for *Henden*, read *Heydon*.
 — 197, — 11, after *above*, a comma.
 — 229, — 1, for *him*, insert *Cardinal Fleury*.
 — 263, the letter dated July 23—Aug. 3, should precede that dated Aug. 12, 261.
 — 299, — 15, after *will*, insert *be*.
 — 300, — 8, for *of*, read *to*.
 — 316, — 5 from bottom, after *will*, insert *be*.
 — 318, — 12 from bottom, for *letter*, read *latter*.
 — 397, — 13, after *unpunished*, a comma.
 — 448, — 9, for *thence*, read *hence*.
 — 507, — 4 from bottom, after *opposition*, insert *who*.
 — 519, — 18, for *George the First*, read *George the Second*.
 — 620, — 12, for *count*, read *countess*, line 13, for *Dr.* read *don*.

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M E M O I R S
OF
SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE FIRST.
To the Accession of George the First;
1700—1714.

1700.

FRANCIS HARE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Congratulates him on his marriage.

DEAR BOB,

August 3, 1700.

YOUR brother communicated to me the news you sent him last night. I condoled upon the occasion, told him he must now lay aside all thoughts of being elder brother, and that he had nothing left but to study hard. What he has to say in answer to your news he tells me you shall hear this post. Dearest Bob, for my own part I have so much desired to see this day, especially since I saw H. Bland, that I cannot but take the first opportunity to give you joy. There is no friend I wish better to, none, for whom I should be more concerned for their doing that well, on which their happiness so much depends. Dear Bob, though I am a stranger both to the person and character of your lady, I dare trust your judgment in the choice you have made, and therefore heartily congratulate your conclusion of this affair, and wish you all the joy that a lady agreeable to yourself can give you; and then

Period I.
1700 to 1714
1700.
Orford
Papers.

* Afterwards bishop of Chichester.

Period I. I am sure I can wish you nothing more : if I were to draw your lady's picture by your own, I should have before me so many good qualities, as must needs make her very agreeable and you very happy. But I must not by a long letter steal from your lady the minutes which you have made her's. 'Tis odds but this finds you either with her or thinking of her, and a long letter would only be a long interruption, therefore I shall add nothing further, but to wish you all in one word, wish you may be as happy in your lady as she will be in you. These are, Dear Bob, the sincerest wishes of your very affectionate, &c.

D. B. You will pardon the haste of this, and conclude, that if I had been less a friend, I should have written with more care.

FRANCIS HARE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Condoles with him on the death of his father.—Hopes he will answer the expectations of his friends.

DEAR SIR,

November 16, 1700.

1700.
Orford
Papers.

I Hope with this you receive your brother safe after a tedious and melancholy journey ; and desire you would let him come back as soon as you can, his absence being at present very inconvenient for him. I should upon this occasion suggest such considerations as might alleviate the sense of your great loss ; but the very little time I have had since I heard it is run away in thinking whether I should write or no. The respect due to your father's memory, and the great affection I owe to and have for yourself make me not know how not to write ; and yet the trouble and affliction this finds you under, for the loss of so near and dear a friend, which your good nature I am sure gives you a very tender sense of, makes me think writing but an interruption, and unreasonable. Give me leave, Dear Bob, at least to say thus much, that the first reflection this news gave me was, that you had a great deal more reason to be glad it did not happen sooner, than you have to be sorry that it has happened now, which added to the long expectations and apprehensions you have been a great while used to, together with the very little comfort he had in living, or was ever like to have, these considerations I think will very much abate the tenderest sense of your best nature for the loss of the dearest friend. Dear Bob, I can't forbear putting you in mind how many eyes you have now upon you, and there is no greater happiness I can wish you than to answer the expectations you have raised in those that know you ; I with pleasure reckon myself in that number, and desire you would always believe to be with the greatest sincerity, &c.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

1702.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Mentions the discontents among the fellows of St. John's college, on his seconding the motion for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales.

DEAR BROTHER,

February 28, 1701—2.

NO sooner had I enquired whether I should be expelled for staying so long, but I was told that you would be excommunicated; for the master, tutor, pupils, sops, batchelors, and all that are non-jurors of St. John's, or all that are as bad as non-jurors, are resolved to issue a bull against you, for speaking it against them, and their little dapper king the other side of the water: some say you moved, but no one seconded you, others that you moved but the speaker reprimanded you, with a long speech in commendation of Dr. G—r. But I am told that Mr. H—d's account is, that you vehemently inveighed against Dr. G—r, that though master of a college he never took the oaths himselfe, and tolerated thirty-five non-jurors fellows of the college. As soon as I recovered myselfe from this violent attack, and with a mouthfull of sweet air was refreshed from the strong jacobiticall blast, I answered, I was sure my brother would never be ashamed to own out of the house, what he had spoke within, especially in supporting this government, and removing all obstacles against it, that there was no need of fathering lies upon him, for I believe he had sayd truth enough to doo the non-juror's business; that you seconded the motion for their taking the oath of abjuration, and it past without opposition at all; and lastly assur'd 'em, this house of commons was no whetstone for jacobiticall teeth, and therefore they might bark long enough without biting; and by a late* instance their strength proved so weak in this University that all they cou'd say or doe, wou'd make 'em no dangerous enemies to any but themselves, and so left 'em to consider whether they could not swallow an oath for excluding a fictitious prince, and popish superstition hereafter, as well as they cou'd lies and scandall against those that are for maintaining the present lawfull king and the protestant religion, and I believe they are not better satisfied with my defence of you than they were before with Mr. H—d's accusation.

* He alludes to the election of Henry Boyle, who was chosen member for the University in opposition to the tories and jacobites.

1702.
Orford
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.
 1700 to 1714, Poor John Willis begins to grudge the thanks he gave you, for resigning, for by this oath of abjuration you are going to undo the kindness you did him before, but I am apt to believe his golden fellowship will prove a sufficient vehicle for such a bitter pill.

 1703.

JAMES STANHOPE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Presses him, in the name of his friends, to attend parliament.

DEAR SIR,

London, October 28, 1703.

 1703.
 Orford
 Papers.

SEVERAL of your friends having heard that you doe not design to come up till Christmas, I am commiſſioned by a full committee of them to expostulate with you, if it be so. My lord Hartington, lord Halifax, Mr. Smith, and lord Sunderland, are particularly solicitous about it, and doe think that for what concerns the publick, you had as good not come at all. Having thus told you their opinions, I do not suppose any thing I can say from myself will be of any weight; but you will easily believe that I should be very gladd both on the publick and my own account, to have your good company for the little time I shall have to be amongst you, and I fancy we shall have some sport before the king of Spain† can fail. My lord Cornwallis has promised us to use his interest to send you to us. Your brother Shorter seems very well pleased with his designed expedition. Pray give my most humble service to your lady, and believe that I am with great sincerity dear W. your most affectionate, &c.

 1704.

SPENCER COMPTON‡ TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Report that Harley is to quit the chair.—Strongly presses him to attend parliament.

October 12, 1704.

 1704.
 Orford
 Papers.

NOT having heard from you since I writ last, I was in hopes to have seen you in town by this time; if a letter would not be too great a trouble, I

* Afterwards earl Stanhope.

† The archduke Charles, afterwards emperor, acknowledged king of Spain by the allies, in opposition to Philip, duke of Anjou, whom Louis XIV. supported.

‡ Afterwards sir Spencer Compton, speaker of the house of commons, and earl of Wilmington.

should

should be glad to know whether you design to be in town at the opening of the sessions. It is now reported afresh that Mr. Harley will quit the chair, and that the court will set up the sollicitour, but that the other Tories will try for Mr. Bromley; I do not know whether you will think this contest worth your attendance, but sure some good may be struck out of this division. Lord Hartington continues ill of the gout, and Mr. Smith has a defluxion on his eyes, and if Mr. Walpole should be absent, the poor Whigs must lose any advantage that may offer itself, for want of a leader. I hope therefore you will not disappoint your friends, who all desire your company, but none with more earnestness and sincerity than, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1706.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.*

Supposes the siege of Barcelona to be raised.—Reports of changes in the administration not authenticated.—The commissioners for the union with Scotland principally all whigs.—Will probably agree in a scheme to be laid before the parliament.

DEAR HORACE,

May the 13th, 1706.

I Received your letter from Lisbon, and likewise your second from Gibraltar. I take this opportunity of writing to you by Mr. Tinback, who I hope will find his excellency upon duty in Barcelona, which we take for granted is relieved by the silence of all the French letters that have come by the three last mails, but have yett noe particulars.—The wine for the duke of Somerset, &c. is come safe, and proves very good. I shall drink your good health in it, and wish you all the good success imaginable.

1706.

Stanhope
Papers.

I am butt just returned from Norfolk, and found the town full of expectations of alterations and removes: butt there has been nothing done, except sir J. Bland turned out and succeeded by sir W. St. Laintin in the revenue of Ireland.—I suppose you have heard of the commission of an union with Scotland: 'tis altogether constituted of whigs, lords, and commoners; lord Somers, lord Wharton, lord Townsend, &c.; the speaker, lord Hartington, Mr. Boyle, &c.; one and thirty for each nation. They meet daily, and are very busy. What propositions are on foot is a great secret, butt they

* Horatio, afterwards lord Walpole, was at this period private secretary to James, afterwards earl Stanhope, ambassador to the archduke Charles, acknowledged king of Spain by the allies, who was then engaged in defending Barcelona.

seem

Period I. seem to think the commissioners of both nations will certainly agree in a scheme
 1700 to 1714. to be laid before the two parliaments.

Lord Hallifax is gone over to Hanover to present the garter to the young prince, the act for the naturalization of the princess Sophia, and the Regency-act. —My brother Gal.* continues still upon the Lynn station, where he finds the sweet that tempts him to continue there, contrary to my opinion: 'tis not yet known whither sir Cloudefly Shovel goes; but an expedition seems resolved upon, with a body of land forces on board to be commanded by my† who has his commission already; butt I suppose of this design waits the fate of Barcelona. I shall be mightily glad to see your next dated from Barcelona. Give a thousand services to his excellency. Methinks it would read very well to see Madrid at the top of a letter. When I know where to write to you I shall send you the occurrences of this place, as what passes among you will be very acceptable to, Dear Brother, &c.

 1707-

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Proceedings in the house of commons since his departure.—Lord Rivers's expedition.—Scotch union.—Continuance of the bank.

DEAR HORACE,

February 12, 1706—7.

 1707.
 Stanhope
 Papers.

I Take this opportunity to give you a short account of our proceedings since you left us. All things were very quiett in parliament till the Christmas holidays, but the cabals of that recess produced fresh play: the first attack was in the committee of supply, where a demand was made for nine hundred and odd thousand pounds advanced to the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, expended on my lord Rivers's expedition over and above the supplies given the last session of parliament; they carried this so far that they moved a censure upon the ministry for it; it was a long and warm debate, and upon the division we carried it in favour of the service, 211 against 105. There has little happened since very materiall till the Scotch union came before us; they debated it at first and spoke directly against the first article of the union, but could make nothing of it, so that we proceeded through all the articles in

* Galfridus, third surviving brother. "He was captain of the Lion in queen Anne's wars, and was attacked by five French ships on the coast of Italy against three English, two of which deserted him, but his own he brought off after fighting bravely, and having his arm shot off." *Ædes Walpoleanæ*, p. 43.

† Words torn off,—probably, lord Rivers.

the committee, which were yesterday reported, and agreed to in the house without any amendments, and a bill ordered for the ratification of the articles. Period I.
1703 to 1714. There came a bill from the lords for the security of the church upon the union; this afforded new matter of debate. The enemy would have amended the bill, in which the whole design was to reflect upon the archbishop or bishops who drew the bill, but we would admitt of noe alterations. The division was 208, 167, that I hope now we shall hear noe more of the church, having passed that bill without any amendment. We are going this day into the committee of ways and means, when the continuance of the bank will be the subject of debate; it will meet all the opposition the party is able to make, but by our former successe I question not but we shall get this over. This will be good news for his excellency, for bank-stock will rise at least twenty per cent. and Croply John will make the most of it. There has been noe alteration or remove since you left England, nor doe I hear of any such discourse.

I hope your master* is better satisfied since your arrivall than I hear he has been. I understand the tenor of all his late letters has been to desire leave to come home; I have nothing to doe nor am I proper to advise him, but I cannot but think, since the government shows such a disposition to make him easy in all things reasonable, it will not look altogether soe well, for him to quitt a service he is soe far engaged in, contrary to the sence of all his friends, but this is nothing to me.

I cannot tell what reception you have mett with from your great generall; I hear he has expressed himself very familiarly with you and your master in some of his letters, and very ill returned the tenderneffe and caution that you showed in regard to him. I heartily wish his excellency and you all prosperity and successe, and am with the greatest sincerity yours most affectionately.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Apologises for not writing sooner, on account of his sister's marriage.—Parliamentary proceedings.—Changes in the subordinate offices of government.

DEAR HORACE,

London, May 19, 1707.

I Received both your letters from Valentia, and must ask your pardon if I have missed any opportunities of writing to you, because I have been these two months in Norfolk, from whence I have but just returned. My stay there was chiefly owing to a match that is now concluded betwixt my

1707.
Stanhope
Papers.

* General Stanhope.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

period I. to 1714. sister Susan and Mr. Hamond's son; the terms were too considerable I thought to be refused. He settles 250*l.* per annum, in land, after his decease, 400*l.* per annum for present maintenance for the young people, who are to have my sister's fortune for their own use, and he gives them 500*l.* more to begin the world with, and promises 5000*l.* more in money.

I think all is well, the writings are drawing, and I believe they will be married in a fortnight, and I hope in God we shall be able to dispose of poor Dolly* very well too.

There has been a great deal to do here in my absence occasioned by a sudden and unusuall prorogation of the parliament upon account of a bill the commons sent up to the lords in relation to frauds carrying on in Scotland by importing prohibited goods, which after the union were to be re-landed in England; the lords would not passe the bill, nor would they reject it, but hoped by a prorogation to give the commons an opportunity to recant, and bring in another bill that might not infringe upon the union, as they apprehended this did, but the commons were stubborn and sent them the same bill again; that the queen was forced at last to interpose and determine the dispute by putting an end to the parliament. The severall particulars of this matter are too long for a letter, and I must refer you to his excellency the bearer, to refine upon this subject. The chief and few alterations that have been are, Topham has the record-office in the Tower; Mr. Compton is treasurer to the prince; lord Windsor and his brother are both turned out, and that regiment is given to colonel Masham, who, it is said, is to take Mr. Hill along with it; lord Stamford, lord Herbert,† Mr. Poultney, and Mr. Monckton, are commissioners of trade, which is all that I can think of at present. Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, is dead; the widow is all in peices with the duke of Leeds and lady Ann, that the noble colonel‡ does not know which side to take. Dear Horace, I wish you all health and happineffe, and be assured you have a very mindfull and faithfull servant here.

* Dorothy, second sister of sir Robert Walpole, who afterwards married lord Townshend.

† Of Cherbury.

‡ Horatio Walpole, uncle of sir Robert Walpole, who married lady Ann Osborne, daughter to the duke of Leeds.

 1708.

 Period I.
 1700 to 1714.

This correspondence between Walpole, while he was secretary at war, and the duke of Marlborough, is preserved among the Walpole papers at Wolterton. The letters from the duke of Marlborough are all originals, and written with his own hand. Those from Walpole are draughts, most of them are in his own hand writing; and all are endorsed by himself, "Copy of my letters to the duke of Marlborough."

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Justifies himself against a report, that he had declared a regiment had been given to colonel Jones, through the recommendation of Harley.

MY LORD,

June 22, 1708.

I Hope your grace will excuse the liberty I am now taking to trouble you with a long story, wherein, as I cannot but think your grace is in some measure concerned, soe I take myself to be more than ordinarily obliged to give you a true relation of what, without doubt, you will hear from other hands.

1708.

Walpole
Papers.

The giving colonel Lillington's regiment to colonel Jones has occasioned much discourse in town; and people in accounting for his interest to obtain it, have chiefly in the coffee-houses attributed it to Mr. Harley. I understand your grace wrote a letter to your brother Mr. George Churchill, wherein you intimated something of this nature. Your grace best knows what you wrote, and what use you designed should be made of it; but Mr. Churchill, as he confessed himself to me, showed your letter both to the queen and the prince; told them that I had wrote your grace word, that Mr. Harley had recommended colonel Jones to the prince; and told the queen that I recommended him, which I suppose he wrote your grace word of too. He farther added to the queen and prince that I had given this report all over the town, and that Jones obtained this regiment by Mr. Harley's interest. Her majesty and the prince resented this very highly, insoemuch that the queen spoke to my lord treasurer about it, who was soe kind as to lett me know it, that I might have an opportunity of clearing myself. How it came to be said, that I had given your grace any such account I know not; for the fact I must refer to my letter to you of the first instant. But here your grace will give me leave to observe, that as I think it my duty to give your

Period I. ^{700 to 1714} grace an account of all transactions in the army affairs that passe here, for I hope, I am not to be called upon to answer to the queen and prince for every thing that I write to your grace. If I then had had any grounds to suspect this recommendation, I had certainly mentioned it to you, as I do every thing which I think can give you the least light into what is doing: In what circumstances I then had been when I was forced to produce a copy of my letter to the queen, I leave it to you to determine, who, I am confident will never encourage a practise that will bring any body into trouble for a faithful discharge of their duty to you.

As for my recommending Jones to this post, I shall only say, I never heard of the man's name, and knew not that there was such an officer in the army; and the prince has done me the justice to tell the queen, I am clear of this: though I suppose the chief use of this part of the story, was to make your grace think I had done a thing of this consequence without your grace's knowledge or direction; not but that I believe Mr. Churchill thought it would sound well with the queen, and much for my advantage, that I had recommended a colonel to the prince, and afterwards fathered it upon Mr. Harley.

To prove that I had reported about town, that this commission was obtained by Mr. Harley's interest, Mr. Churchill himself told me the story thus: that upon receiving your graces's letter, he sent Mr. William Churchill to Mr. Hopkins to desire this commission might be stopped, where in discourse betwixt them two, Hopkins should say, that Mr. Harley's interest had procured this commission, and quoted me for his authority, which your brother saith, W. Churchill telling him, he could not forbear acquainting the queen and prince with it, and the queen immediately declared, she would take notice of this: upon which Mr. Churchill desired her majesty to stay a little, till he should be more exactly informed; and thereupon, he saith, he sent Mr. W. Churchill a second time to Mr. Hopkins to be more particular with him. When upon W. Churchill's telling Hopkins that the prince had heard this report and was angry; Hopkins replied, Walpole must answer it, for he told it me. This is the substance of what your brother did acknowledge he had told the queen. When I had heard all this I looked out Mr. Hopkins, who went immediately with me to your brother's house (W. Churchill being then out of town) and there declared to his face, that I was never named in the conversation betwixt him and W. Churchill; and had the good fortune to have Mr. Craggs by at the second meeting mentioned, who declared the same thing,

thing, and both of them gave me leave to use their names to the queen upon this occasion. I went directly to Kensington, and made my complaint of this unusual treatment both to the queen and to the prince. I produced a copy of my letter to your grace, and told them the whole as I have now related it; and they were both pleased to say they were fully satisfied. Since W. Churchill is come to town, who solemnly protests, that he never named me to G. Churchill, nor Hopkins to him, and has given me leave to declare this to the queen and prince, which I shall do the first opportunity. Now I have given your grace a plain account of this very extraordinary transaction, I shall avoid making any reflection upon it: for I am with the greatest respect imaginable, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1710.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Forces the lines of Douay.—Considers it as a fortunate circumstance that the French did not bravely defend them.—Desires to have the commissions forwarded soon.

SIR,

April the 24th, 1710.

YOU will see by the letters from the army, as well as those from Holand, the success it has pleased God to bless us with. I may assure you it is gone much faster than we did propose to ourselves; for if they had, which we did with reason expect, defended their lines even with the troops they had, it must have cost us many thousand lives. The next day we obliged the marshal Villars to abandon the river Scarp, which other ways would have obliged us to have taken our march by Arras, which by want of provision and forage must have proved very troublesome; but God be praised we have invested Douay, and as soon as the canon arrives shall attack it with vigor.—As this is I think likely to be a very active campagne, I think it for her majesty's service that the officers may be encouraged; I have marked the dates in my letter to the queen, from whence I beg she will be pleased to allow the promotions; you will receive her majesty's commands, and as soon as possible send over the commissions for the officers of this army, the rest may be dispatched afterwards, so that you should send me the names of all that will be promoted.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I,
1700 to 1714.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Encloses a copy of his letter to the queen.

SIR,

April the 24th, 1710.

THE enclos'd letter is what you will read to the queen.

The copie of the queen's letter.

MADAME,

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

AS God has been pleas'd to blefs your majesty's armes with the success of passing the line, and investing of Douay so early in the yeare, we must expect in this campagne a great deal of action, so that I think it absolutely necessary for your service that al the officers shou'd be incorag'd as much as possible, and that those officers who have not the advantage of actually serving in the field may have no reason to complain, but on the contrary, to be sensible of your favour, I wou'd umbly desire you wou'd allow of my directing Mr. Walpole to lay before you, for your orders the names of all such major-generals as have their commissions dat'd in the yeare 1708-9, and such brigadiers as are dat'd in the year 1706-7, and all the colonels dat'd 1705, may have their regular promotions, by which you will do justice to the merit of many officers, who will chearfully ventur their lives for your service.

You must let no body know that I send you this copie, so that you must desire the queen that she will be pleas'd to give you the dates in her letter.

I have this moment received yours of the 4th, and I am entirely of your opinion, that Hobart and Ferrars must be added to the number of brigadiers, as well as colonel Sutton. This must be done, but not take notice of at this time to the queen,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Without date or signature, but endorsed "Duke of Marlborough; received April 28, O. S. 1710."

Expresses himself highly dissatisfied with the queen's conduct, and if he only consulted his own inclination, desirous of resigning.

For yourself only.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am extreamly obliged to you for the account you give of the queen's present temper, which I believe to be such, that if I considered onely myself

felf, I wou'd not ferve one minut longer. I fend you by this poft a cypher* Period I.
1700 to 1714.
for fome few names, that you may yearafter write with freedome. My letter by this poft is write fo as you may read it to the queen. I having follow'd your advice as to Mr. Mafhame, it would be unjuft not to put lord North in this promotion, fo that you muft lett me have a comiffion for him.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

He has laid the lift of the promotions before the queen, who strongly interefts herfelf in favour of colonel Hill and colonel Mafham.—Advifes the duke not to oppofe her inclination.—Congratulates him on his fuccesses.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 18—29, 1710.

I Have the honour of your Grace's commands of the 24th instant, and was yesterday with the queen to receive her commands about the promotion. Shee ordered me to lay before her the lifts of fuch as were defigned for this promotion, which I juft now carry'd to her majesty. By what your grace wrote to me formerly I took it for granted that you defigned the promotion of lieutenants generall fhould go no further than fir Richard Temple and lord Stair, which I acquainted the queen with.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

As for the brigadeers, your letter is generall to all whofe commiffions are dated in 1706—7, and there being no difpute about thofe of the latter end of that promotion, and fome of them as Sybourn and Rellum ferving with your grace, I prefume you meant all thofe fhould be made majors generall, altho' you once faid you defigned the promotion fhould go no further than Evans.

As to the collonells, your letter to the queen faith all collonells dated in 1705. I do apprehend that will carry that promotion much further than you defigned, if all are to be made brigadeers whofe commiffions are dated in any part of the year 1705; and your grace haveing in a former letter to me faid you defign'd it fhould go no further than the 25th March, 1705. I told the queen I thought that was your fence now, altho' exprefs'd in generall; Shee mentioned collonel Hill to me, whofe commiffion is dated in 1705; I told her there was no hardfhipp to him when the promotion ftop'd fhort of him, and to

* As this cypher is miffing, I have endeavoured to fupply it as far as I was able to difcover the key. In moft instances I have fucceeded; in a few where I have failed, the explanation is omitted. It appears that in a few instances two cyphers are made ufe of to fignify the fame perfon; as 239 and 42, for the queen; 210 and 39, for Marlborough; and 38, and probably 209, for Godolphin.

Period I. ^{1700 to 1714.} take in the whole year would make it a very great promotion, and more than what I thought your grace design'd; she did not insist upon this but ordered me to write to your grace to know how far you did design this promotion. But upon the lists of colonels she was very ready about the affair of colonel Mafham, and asked me how many more would be affected with the order about brevetts besides him; I told her Sutton, Hebert, and Ferrars. She was of opinion at first they should all be made brigadeers, but I prevailed with her to let me write to your grace first, and have your opinion about it, which she consented to, but I believe is determined already, and as I apprehended said she would write to you about it. Your grace has already hinted to me your thoughts about the other three gentlemen, and when he will be the single instance, and what I am afraid would be overruled, I am humbly of opinion 'tis not worth disputing, especially now it is put in this method to come from your grace; so that I shall stop all the commissions that are not to be sent to your grace till I hear from you again, and the commissions of those gentlemen who have the honour to serve under your grace shall forthwith be dispatched and sent over to you. Inclosed is the list of those whose commissions will be now dispatched. I hope I have not mistaken your grace's sense in this affair, wherein I am sure I have made no willfull mistake.

It was an infinite satisfaction to me to hear of your grace on the right side of the Scarp. Pray God for ever bless and preserve you, and make your enemies at home fall before you, as fast as they fly from you abroad. I am with the greatest duty, truth, and fidelity, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Acquaints him with the queen's earnest desires that Mrs. Mafham's brother should be made a brigadier, and with the satisfaction expressed by the queen at Marlborough's compliance in favor of Mr. Mafham.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 28,—May 9, 1710.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

WHEN I first waited on the queen about the promotion she ordered me to leave with her a list of the colonels, and the dates of their commissions. Since I had the honour to trouble you last 239 [the queen] sent for me, and after a great deal of preamble and beating about the bush said, that she had been considering the letter she had from your grace, and the letter you wrote to 209, [Godolphin] wherein you expressed yourself desirous to encourage all the officers that were in service with you, and your letter being for the whole year 1705; she was of opinion it was proper to make all the colonels

colonels of that year brigadeers. I told her I was satisfyd you had no such designs, as that would extend to so many in your army, that I thought it might cause great confusion and difficultys about command in a confederate army, and used all the arguments I was able to diswade from this step without consulting your grace; and upon the whole made such objections, that shee came to name 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother again; and after I had diswaded her from giving such directions without your advice, shee commanded me to write you word that shee did desire 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother might be made a brigadier now, but did not insist upon it, if you had any objections. Shee observed that the promotion came within one of him, and within six weeks of the date of his commission; and tho' she twice said she did not insist upon it, she oftner said she desired it might be done by adding colonel Gore and him to the promotions, and to let it stop there. I dare not advise in this case, whether your grace should comply, or by giving plausible reasons that relate to your own service abroad put it off till the end of the campaign. If one could be assured that it would end here, and this honour extend only to the service of one family, perhaps it were adviseable to be once more easy; but if it is to go on, a stop at some time must be putt to it; 239 [the queen] express'd all the deference in the world to the opinion of 210 [Marlborough] and told me, that great application had been made her for lord Mordaunt's regiment, but she would not meddle.

I have just now read your letter of the 5th of May, to 239 [the queen] and never saw more satisfaction than was express'd at your compliance upon the last account; your grace is best judge what inference is to be made from that, and whether if there are not to be many instances, it may not help to make things easy. But in this, as in all other matters, your grace's opinion and commands shall be my sole guide, for 'tis your service that I have most at heart.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Mr. Masham returns thanks for his promotion.—Complaints of the duke of Ormond shewn to be unfounded.

MY LORD;

Whitehall, May 2—11, 1710.

SINCE I had the honour to trouble your grace last, colonel 256 [Masham] was with me to thank me for his promotion, and expressed himself very fenceable of his obligation to 210 [Marlborough], and said as much on that occasion as he had words to express, and if I am not mistaken 239 [the queen] is not a little pleas'd that there was no difficulty made on that occasion. * * * * *

When.

Period I.
1700 to 1714

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

Period I. 1700 to 1714. When I last waited upon 239 [the queen], she told me that 33 [the duke of Ormond] had complained that due regard was not shewn to him here in England, as general of the horse, and particularly that your humble servant 273 [Walpole] did send the queen's orders to the captain of grenadiers to conduct money to Portsmouth, &c. without taking notice of him, and did desire that no orders might be given to any of the horse here in England but by himself, and that all the routs and marching orders and appointments of quarters might be under his direction. I told 239 [the queen] that these affairs were in the same method that they had been for nineteen years, which appears by the office books, and that I did apprehend this would be to give 33 [duke of Ormond] a power or command here which would be entirely new, upon which 239 [the queen] agreed it should remain upon the old foot. But I am fully satisfy'd this was an instance of trying their strength and putting one of their own people upon a better foot in the army.—I understand that brigadier Poultny writes to your grace this night about his being made a major-general, which I conceive he is not to be, having sold out of the army; I must observe to your grace that he gives himself great airs, and talks of doing his business by 28 [the duke of Shrewsbury] if he is refused. I thought it proper you should know this, but I would not do him a prejudice.—Lord Wharton is gone for Ireland; he has got his commission for the regiment of dragoons in Ireland, 209 [Godolphin] was privy and consenting to this. I am ever, my lord, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The queen insisted on Mrs. Masham's brother, colonel Hill, being made a brigadier, and ordered that the commission should be made out and sent over to the army, but was prevailed upon by his representations to suspend her orders until an answer came from the duke.—Hints that he has offended the duchess of Marlborough for the advice he gave in regard to Mrs. Masham's brother, and is apprehensive of being exposed to her resentment.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May the 12,—21, 1710.

1710.
Walpole
Papers.

YESTERDAY 239 [the queen] sent for me, and after some little matters of no consequence told me upon consideration, she was of opinion, that the promotion of generall officers stopping where it did within one of 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother, it would be thought by all the world, that this was done in particular prejudice to him; order'd me therefore to notify her pleasure to her secretary of state for three more commissions of brigadiers, viz.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

viz. Gore, Hill, Honywood, and said she wou'd then sign all the other general officers' commissions, that they might be sent together by this night's post. I beg'd leave to remind her of the commands she had already given me to write to your grace, that she did desire coll. Hill might be made a brigadier, but did not insist upon it, if you had any objections to it, and represented what surprize it must be to you after that to have commissions of brigadiers in your own army, sent over without waiting your answer. I represented in the strongest terms I was able, the mortification such a step must be to your grace, the unreasonableness of doing any thing disagreeable to you in the army, and the ill consequence that must attend the lessening of your credit or authority in the army, and said a great deal more than can come within the compass of a letter, or is proper for me to repeat, and did at last, but with the greatest difficulty, prevail with her not to order those three commissions until she heard your grace's opinion in answer to my letter. She told me at the same time she would sign none of the other commissions till then, and did confess to me, that she had stop't them with this view, but afterwards upon a more mature recollection, and after I had said a great deal to her upon the subject, she commanded me strictly not to tell any body, and in particular not to lett you know that she stop't the commissions upon this account, but would have it thought as 'it hitherto has been, that the delay was accidentall. I have told you now in short the substance of a conversation which lasted above half an hour, and beg leave to observe to your grace, that to me 'twas very plain that Honywood was now named as a blind, that it might not seem to be a particular regard to 256, [Mrs. Masham] but Honywood I am sure will not be insisted upon, if the other is complied with. I am likewise too much afraid, lett your answer be what it will, that I shall have positive orders to do it, or that noe other commissions will be signed till this is done; I believe too a great deal of this proceeds from the impertinence of 13 [the duke of Somerset] who thinks himself Honywood's patron, and the reasons and arguments that 239 [the queen] was instructed with, were such, that nobody but one who was both 92 and 93 could suggest. There was a great stress putt upon the appearance, that it must be thought that the stop was made here with a particular prejudice.

And now, my lord, that I have represented this matter as clearly to you as I am able, I dare not venture to give you my opinion, and pardon me, if I think with great reason I say, I dare not, when I find I am already suspected by 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] for what I wrote to you about the

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I. 1710. affair of coll. 256 [Masfham] and I shall be in a very unhappy circumstance, if I venture to say that to 239 [the queen] which perhaps few servants you have would have done, and at the same time shall be thought to act a trimming game. I gave you my opinion as an honest and faithfull servant of your's, and did consult three or four people here, that are, I am confident, your surest friends, who from the very highest did all agree in the opinion I then gave, which proceeded entirely from a due regard to your honour and service, and nothing else has the least influence upon my thoughts and actions, and as my obligations to 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] are soe infinite, that I would dye rather than deservedly loose her good opinion, soe I beg, if my judgement may sometimes lead me to think, what is not altogether agreeable to her, you will not expose me to her resentment, if you doe not distrust my sincerity, which believe me you never shall have reason to doe, for I am with all possible truth, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed lord Marlborough, received May 26, O. S.

Expresses his concern at the uneasiness shewn by the duchess of Marlborough.—Mentions her true esteem for Mr. Walpole.—Is dissatisfied with the queen's behaviour, and imputes it to the suggestions of Harley and the duke of Somerset.—Wishes to retire—but will be guided by the whigs.

SIR,

June 2, 1710, N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Was so tier'd and sleepy, that I cou'd not return you my thanks by the last post for your two letters of the 5th and 9th, I have since receiv'd the favour of yours of the 12th, and am extremely concern'd at the uneasiness you mention of 240 [duchess of Marlborough] I know they have a trew vallu and estime for 273 [Walpole] I desire you will continue writting with freedome, and be assur'd that from hence forward, no body living shall be acquainted with what you write. The account you give mee of the conversation you have had with 42 [the queen] concerning the commissions for the general officers gives me so mallincolly a vew that will not only make me incapable of success, but will at last make it impossible for me with honour to serve. I wou'd not be mistaken, and if I am you will be best able to sett me right, I do not think that 42 [the queen] does this in order to make me quit, but I believe 13 [the duke of Somerset] and 199 [Harley] can have no other intention in making 42 [the queen] give me such sensible mortifications, but in order to make me quit, and to make their

their court by itt to 256 [Mrs. Masham] when ever 39 [Marlborough] is independant of 91, 256 [Mrs. Masham] will not find their account by such a step; if I were to advise 39 [Marlborough] it shou'd be to follow his own inclinations of retiring, as soon as wee have peace, but as he has resolv'd never to depart from the trew intirest of 89 [the whigs] so he will take no resolution for his own conduct, but in conjunction with them: I do beg and conjure you to take nothing unkindly of 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] for they are sincerely honest to what you wish; you will see by the accounts by this post that the marishall de Villars intentions were to have attack'd us last Friday, but seeing the advantagious situation of our army, I beleive he has laid aside all thoughts of fighting, til after this siege, I am and ever shall be most faithfully.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Gives his reasons for desiring to limit the number of promotions.—Boasts of the unanimity of the allied army as the effect of his management.—Expresses his readiness to receive marshal Villars, should he attack them.

SIR,

Camp before Douay, May 29th, 1710.

SINCE my last I have receiv'd the favour of yours of the 28th, and I desire you will with my humble duty acquaint her majesty from mee, that the trew reason for my restraining the promotions of brigadiers to the 25th of March, was not only from the numbers and confusion it must have occasion'd amongst the queen's subjects, but also have given great dissatisfaction to all the forainers, this army being compos'd of eight different nations, and next to the blessing of God, we owe all our success to our unanimity, which has been hethertoo, as if in reallity we were but one nation, so that I beg her majesty will be pleas'd to allowe of its stoping at the 25th of March; and as soon as a promotion can be made with any coullor of reason, I shall be sure to take care of those mention'd by the queen. Wee are in expectation of seeing how far the marishal de Villars will put his threats into execution, we have marked camps on etch side of the town, so that we shall be ready to receive him either on the plains of Lenz, or those of Bouchain; we hope these easterly winds may keep the grafe and corn so backward, that he will not be able to find forage for his army til towards the end of this month, til which time we have provid'd dry forage for ours, so that we shall have

Walpole
Papers.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

given fix weeks dry forage to the whole army, which has been hethertoo thought impossible, I have told general Merideth that he shall have lord Mordant's ridgment, and I am indeavouring to settle the mind of the several officers which pretend to his; so as that it may be dispos'd of as may give most satisfaction, as soon as I can settle it, I shall give her majesty an account of the whole, and at the same time desire the commission for sir Richard Temple for the dragoons. I desire you will assure the queen, that in this, and all my actions, her intirest shall be my chiefest vew. I am with truth.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Prevails on the queen to wait for an answer from the duke of Marlborough, before she confers rank on Mr. Hill.—Informs him that she is in a better humour.—Advises the duke to consent to the queen's wishes, but in such a manner as not to disgust the foreign officers.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May the 23d.—June 3, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have the honour of your grace's commands of the 19th instant, which, having been out of town all last week, I had noe opportunity to read to 239 [the queen] till this morning, and cannot but say this matter ended a little better than I expected. 273 [Walpole] took all the pains he was able to bring it to the most easy issue, and after a great deal of conversation and arguing too long for the compasse of a letter. 42 [the queen] has consented to wait for your answer to my letter of the 12th inst.; I believe indeed chiefly in hopes that your grace will upon that representation comply with what is desired. I think it is but just to acquaint you, that 42 [the queen] was upon this occasion in a great deal better temper than when this matter was discours'd of before, and tho' she seem'd then determined to doe it without any regard to 39 [Marlborough] the stile to-day was very much alter'd, and at the same time it was easy to discover the greatest desire for the thing, and yett noe little unwillingnesse to doe it without the approbation of 210 [Marlborough] soe much that I am confident that if 210 [Marlborough] did come into any expedient to accommodate this matter, it would give great satisfaction to 42 [the queen]. Now, my lord, the cheif difficulty you were pleased to mention being in regard to the foreigners, suppose you complied soe far, as to consent to this commission, but not to be produced or made use of

of till the end of the campaign, in the mean time to be sent to your grace to be delivered when you thought proper, this I am sure would satisfie and please more than a little. Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

I have acquainted 209 [Godolphin] with all that hath passed, who tells me, he is entirely of opinion, that the matter should be made easy, and has, as I apprehended, wrote you word soe, and it being now more than probable from a great many circumstances that if 239 [the queen] was made easy about 256 [Mrs. Masham] a great many difficulties would be remov'd, your grace is best judge whether any advantage may be made of this instance. 13 [the duke of Somers] is more impertinent than ever, and I have endlesse trouble in preventing his follies in little things in the army.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed lord Marlborough, received June 4. O. S. 1710.

Expresses his inclination to satisfy the queen about colonel Hill's commission.—

The French threaten a battle.—Wishes success to the queen's arms.

SIR,

June the 12th, 1710.

SINCE my last wee have received three postes from England, amongst which I have had the favour of yours of the 23d. The inclination the queen shoves for the having Mr. Hill a brigadier, makes me desire that you will assure her majesty that I shall not onely in this, but in every thing that may be in my power, endeavour to make her easy, so that as soon as this campagne is end'd, I shall at my first arrivall order it so that his commission may be sign'd without prejudice to her service, or mortefication to her faithfull servant; the marishall de Villars continues dayly to assure his generals that if there be no peace, the king has resolved to decide the fate of Europe by a battle in these plains; a battel at a distance is easily resolv'd and order'd, but when two such armies as consist at least of above one hundred and thorty thousand men etch shall be in presence, the most determined courage will be uneasy till the event of so great an action be known; the great God which has hetherto blessed her majesty's armes, will I hope give his protection to our just cause.

Walpole
Papers.

I desire you will speake to the queen that orders may be given for sir Richard Temple's commission for the ridgment of dragoons. I am, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Without date, but endorsed "received June 5, 1710, O. S."

Uneasy at the situation of affairs;—will not act but with the advice of his friends.

For yourself.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am so very uneasy at the humour and temper that is now in the court, that I dare not trust my own judgement, fearing I might hurt my friends, so that I desire you will shew my letter* which comes at the same time with this to 6 [Sunderland] and that he will advise with our friends, for however uneasy it may be to mee, I am desirous you shou'd give in answer to 42 [the queen] what they shall resolve upon concerning 256 [Mrs. Masham's] brother; if they approve of my letter, you must then read it to 42 [the queen].

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

The queen desires that the commission may be made out for colonel Hill, and sent to the duke of Marlborough to be delivered at the end of the campaign—will write herself to the duke on that subject.—Walpole advises with Godolphin and Sunderland.—Is kindly received by the dukes of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 26,—June 6, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Was this day honoured with your grace's commands of the 2d of June in which 39 [Marlborough] having given noe opinion as to the affair of 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother; 273 [Walpole] was at a losse what measures to take, in which he thought noe body soe proper to be consulted as 38 [Godolphin] who was of opinion that 42 [the queen] should be told that 39 [Marlborough] seem'd by his letter under great mortifications that any body should have power enough with 42 [the queen] to impose any thing in the army disagreeable to him; but however 273 [Walpole] was of opinion that 210 [Marlborough] did expect this would be done. 239 [the queen] upon this immediately ask'd for the letter which was not proper to be produc'd, but 273 [Walpole] explain'd what he thought was the sense of 39 [Marlborough] 42 [the queen] was not a little at a losse what to doe and seem'd both unwilling to comply, or deny; at last desired it might be done, but in the softest manner that was possible. The comission is therefore to be taken out by 273 [Walpole] and sent over to 210 [Marlborough] to be deliver'd at the end of the campagne

* This letter is missing.

or when he shall think fit. 42 [the queen] promised to write this night to 39 [Marlborough] to assure him that noe mortification was meant to him; and I must say that in this, and the last conference, there seem'd a great struggle betwixt the desire of doing the thing, and not putting a mortification upon 39 [Marlborough].

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

I hope I have not err'd in this matter, wherein I have work'd 42 [the queen] to a better manner of doing it, than was at first determin'd, and not having any positive directions from 39 [Marlborough] I consulted 38 [Godolphin] 6 [Sunderland] 274 and 185 [Craggs] who all thought the dispute was best to be ended in this manner.

The commissions will now be all sign'd and I believe sent over to your grace together next post. 273 [Walpole] has had the honour to wait upon 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] and hopes he has given full satisfaction. I have noe commands from your grace about Pulteney and Bissett, I find they both think 'tis left entirely to me; I beg your grace's directions what you would have done, for which I shall wait.

I wish your grace all possible successe and glory, altho' your enemies may chance to reap the fruits of the great services which you doe your country, and which noe body else could doe.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Proposes if colonel Hill's commission should not come to declare him a brigadier, to shew his forwardness in obliging the queen.—French have repass'd the Scarp, and seem to decline a battle—wishes for peace.

SIR,

June the 19, 1710.

WE received the day before yesterday the two mailles of the 26th and 30th of the last month, by which you acquaint me with her majesty's pleasure as to coll. Hills commission, I shall expect it by the next post, but if itt shou'd not then come, I intend to send for coll. Hill, and declare him brigadier, so that I may the better show my forwardness, in executing what it so earnestly desir'd by the queen; you will see by the letters of this post, that the French have repass'd the Scarp, by which I have been oblig'd to repass the Scarp also with the army I command, that of prince Eugene continues behind the entrenchement, the duke of Berwick is return'd to Paris, so that I beleive their designe of a battel is very much cool'd, they having also sent 13 battalions into Bethun, and the regiment of Alasse into Ypres; I have

Walpole
Papers.

Period I. have so many reasons to wish for peace, that you may be sure if a good occasion offer'd, I should be glad to put a speedy end to this warr by a battel, 1700 to 1714.
1710. but I think France must be madd if they venture it upon equall terms, I am with truth, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Sends a commission for Mr. Hill.—Rumours prevail that Sunderland is to be dismissed.—Harley possesses the principal influence over the queen.—Duke of Shrewsbury connected with Mrs. Masham and Harley.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 2d, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Send you now under a cover by itself the commission that has caused so much trouble, 'tis by order of 42 [the queen] that 'tis sent to 39 [Marlborough] to be delivered when he shall think fitt, 239 [the queen] ordered 273 [Walpole] to write this post to 256's [Mrs. Masham's] brother, and to lett him know that his commission was sent over and in the custody of 210 [Marlborough] to be delivered when it should be thought proper, to which effect I now write. All the general officers commissions are now sign'd, and will be sent over to Mr. Cardonnel as the agents take them out, your grace knows that all the Lt. generals are of one date, viz. January 1st, that if you design otherwise you will give the orders to Mr. Cardonnel before they are deliver'd out. The town has been this week in a new ferment about alterations, and particularly 6 [Sunderland] was on Wednesday positively said to be out, your grace must have better accounts of these things than I can give you, but 'tis plain to me from my observation that 199 [Harley] by 256 [Mrs. Masham] has the cheif and almost sole influence upon 42 [the queen] 28 [Shrewsbury] is in with them, and when I see it, I shall believe that he differs with 199 [Harley] as much as he pretends, which I think is not much neither. In my poor opinion, there never was any thing of half the consequence as removing 6 [Sunderland] talk'd on so long without some industry to obviate a blow that strikes directly at 89 [the whigs] and can scarce be thought on without regard to 39 [Marlborough] to whom 273 [Walpole] has such infinite obligations and such a perfect honour for, that lett what will happen, that 210 [Marlborough] shall solely govern, and may entirely depend upon 273 [Walpole.] 'Tis impossible to imagine the dragoons commission should be delay'd, till 'tis in other peoples power to give it. I send coll. Hill's letter with a flying seal for your grace's perusal. Be pleas'd to have it seal'd and delivered when you have read it.

ROBERT

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Period I.

1700 to 1714.

Laments the situation of affairs in England.—Hints that Sunderland will be dismissed—and that no attempts are made to save him—and conjectures that his dismissal will be followed by the disgrace of Godolphin and Marlborough.

1710.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, June 6th, 1710.

I Yesterday had the honour of your grace's commands of the 2d instant, which I communicated to those you were pleased to command me, and by their advice, read it to 42 [the queen] who said little to it, but was chiefly solicitous to consider whither this letter was wrote before a letter from 239 [the queen] to 210 [Marlborough] was received, which 'twas most plain it was; but nothing else pass'd worth your notice. I have received orders to notify for Sir R. Temple's commission, which was done without any thing being said at all but a bare consent.

Walpole
Papers.

I think our affairs here at home in a most unaccountable situation, 6 [Sunderland] 'tis agreed by all is to be remov'd, and by none endeavour'd to be sav'd. I don't know what this means, but I am sure it must end in the dissolution of this parliament, and in the destruction of 89 [the whigs] and I wish to God 39 [Marlborough] and 38 [Godolphin] can be safe in those circumstances. I cannot tell whither you have been acquainted that 5 [Somers] has wrote to 14 [Townshend] to bring it about if he can, that 62 should write to 65 [count Gallas] upon the reports that are abroad of the changes expected here, and to represent the fatal consequences that may attend such a step, and how far 116 [the emperor] may be induc'd thereby to make an ill peace, this surely must make an impression upon 42 [the queen] or at least leave such a weight upon those whose advice is now taken, that certainly 28 [the duke of Shrewsbury] is much alter'd, if 199 [Harley] can prevail with him who is at present the only visible minister to take such a step. 39 [Marlborough] is better advis'd; but 273 [Walpole] is fully of opinion, that if he can conceive that 38 [Godolphin] is backward upon this occasion, too much cannot be said to quicken him, and pardon an overzeal that thinks the saving 6 [Sunderland] deserves the utmost industry, which alone can preserve 87 [the parliament] upon which 89 [the whigs] entirely depend, and I am afraid 210 [Marlborough] has no surer friend. But lett what will happen, 273 [Walpole] is entirely devoted to his service, and will for ever be soe.

Period I.

1700 to 1714.

1710.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Received 28, 1710, O. S.

Expresses his uneasiness at the situation of affairs in England.—Will act in conjunction with his friends.—Is of opinion that the measures adopted will delay the conclusion of a peace.

SIR,

Tournay, June 23, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am now to thank you for yours of the 2d, and be assur'd I shall always endeavour to deserve the continuance of your friendship. All the letters which 39 [Marlborough] received by that post, has given him so mallencolly a prospect of what he is to expect from England, that he is very uneasy in his mind; for he wou'd willing not take any resolution but such as might be judg'd right by his friends. If these new skeemers are fond of a peace, they are not very dexterous; for most certainly what is doing in England will be a great incoragement to France for the continuing the warr. I should be glad to have 273 [Walpole's] opinion as to the behavior of 39 [Shrewsbury]. I am and ever shall be with truth your's, &c.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Thanks him in the name of lord Townshend for his account of the situation of affairs.—Is convinced that the divisions at home affect the negotiations for peace, and infuse a spirit of haughtiness into the French.

DEARE BROTHER,

Hague, June the 24th, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

HIS excellency has had your's of the 5th inst.*, which came under cover to me, and was brought by coll. Clayton, and yesterday sir Nicholas Worlstenhome delivered the cyphers, and his lordship desires you would accept from me his thanks for the full tho' most melancholy account you have given him of affairs at home; I am so far convinced that our divisions at home affect to the greatest degree our negotiations, that I believe they are the reason why the French ministers will not speake to the purpose about peace, and of late seem very haughty; and I dont doubt will continue so as long as the talk of a new minister and a new parliament is on foot; either of which, for the other must necessarily follow, will create the greatest confusion

* This letter is missing.

among the allies, especially to intimidate this people who daily appear very inquisitive, and apprehensive of new measures in England; which would certainly weaken the confidence they have in her majesty, and cool their opposition to France, and hasten the peace on any terms.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

By letters that came last night, we hear nothing more of 6 [Sunderland] so that all things we hope continue as they were. What is desired of 62 to 65 [count Gallas] is done, but 14 [Townshend] to 200 [Mr. Boyle] is not thought proper, it might look too much concerted. But should 5 [Somers] and 11 [duke of Devonshire] be of opinion, that it is still necessary 14 [Townshend] neither wants resolution nor inclination to do it in the strongest manner, but for the reason mentioned. 39 [Marlborough] is to the last degree uneasy; 48 [prince Eugene] is mightily affected with it; and 62 very much alarmed.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Expresses his concern at the situation of affairs.—Suspects that some of the whigs are acting a double part.—Is grateful for obligations received.

DEAR WALPOLE,

Camp before Douay, June 25, 1710.

I Can have but little satisfaction from the success of my own affairs when I think upon how precarious a foot all my friends stand, I am so much concerned for you in particular, that I believe my uneasiness for you is more than you feel for yourself. If the rout is to be general amongst the whigs, it will be better for us and easier borne than if it fall upon a part, where he that has the least honesty will be sure to take care of one. It is a miserable thing that at this juncture when all at home and abroad is at stake, that any one whigg should be suspected of playing a double game; whether there are any such you know better than we do here, but I think there has been so much irresolution discover'd that some people will always be blam'd for want of firmness if they escape so. Wee whiggs here are quite of another make, and those that ought to judg the best, think you have drawn this upon yourselves, by your compliance from time to time; if you care to have me write more at large send me such a character as you make use of to write hither, but let the numbers be different.

Walpole
Papers.

So much for ratiocination; I am to thank you dear Walpole, for the friendly part you have taken to me, but my lord duke has been so tender of

* Afterwards lord Cobham.

Period I. 1700 to 1714
1710. Macartney, and has concern'd himself so much for him, that nothing was left for me to doe, but to yield him the pas with as good a grace as I cou'd, and to seem willingly to submit to what I wou'd fain have hinder'd: but it is over and I shall think no more of it, unless to remember the obligations I have to you in that and upon a thousand other occasions, which I know no other way of acknowledging but by the trivial assurance of my being ever, dear Walpole, entirely yours.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Consternation occasioned by the removal of Sunderland.—The remaining members of administration are uniformly of opinion, that Marlborough and themselves should continue in their respective posts, with a view, if possible, to prevent the dissolution of parliament.—The queen declares that no farther changes are intended, but gives no assurances that the parliament will not be dissolved.

MY LORD,

June 16th—27, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

WE are all present under the greatest consternation at the removal of 6 [Sunderland] which tho' expected when the blow was struck, gave the greatest alarm to all the town, and had immediately affected the whole credit, if a great deal of pains had not been taken to quiett people's minds by making them believe noe further changes would be made, which I think was quite necessary to instill into people's minds, at least at present, till we can see what further will be attempted, which, I frankly own to you is the opinion of 273 [Walpole] will soon be explain'd, notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary.

14 [Townshend] will have an account from other hands, that 1 [Orford] 4 [Halifax] 5 [Somers] 11 [Devonshire] 15 [Cowper] 17 [Newcastle] 38 [Godolphin] 200 [H. Boyle] and all 89 [the whigs] were unanimously of opinion*, that 39 [Marlborough] must goe on at present as well as themselves, to see what can be done, and in the first place, to use all proper means to save this 87 [Parliament] upon which all certainly depends.

42 [the queen] has been soe sensible of the ill consequences that threaten'd upon the apprehensions of further changes, that yesterday 17 [Newcastle] was ordered to carry the heads of the bank to 239 [the queen], when 239 [the

* See their letter to the duke of Marlborough on this occasion, in *The Conduct of the duchess of Marlborough*, p. 257, and in Tindal.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

queen] assur'd them, there was not the least thoughts of making any further change in the ministry, and desired them to satisfy all their friends in this particular, which has a little quieted the city. Now to give 14 [Townshend] all the light that is possible, 273 [Walpole] thinks this will stand for nothing, because 42 [the queen] avoided at the same time declaring whither 87 [the parliament] should be dissolv'd or not, and when 5 [Somers] 209 [Godolphin] and 17 [Newcastle] had occasion to touch upon that particular, 42 [the queen] only said, they were not yett determin'd in that point, which is a demonstration that 'tis design'd or under consideration, but they wait in expectation of what may offer on the other side of the water, and it has been said that Michaelmas would be soon enough to dissolve 87 [the parliament] and the preventing that is the only point at present that is to be labour'd.

I understand that 65 [count Gallas] has had the same assurances to send to 116 [the emperor] that were given to the bank, and that 200 [Mr. Boyle] has the same orders to write to 14 [Townshend] but not one word of 87 [the parliament] but 38 [Godolphin] this morning bad 273 [Walpole] write to 14 [Townshend] and give him a hint to improve this opportunity when he should write his answer to 200 [Mr. Boyle] which was understood might be in this manner, that 116 [the emperor] had heard (which is supposed to be undoubtedly true) that there were not only designs of altering the ministry in England, but likewise of dissolving this parliament, what effects both these had upon the affairs abroad, and even upon the negotiations of peace; that after the steps that had been taken, it was a great satisfaction to 116 [the emperor] to have such assurances from 42 [the queen] upon the first point, but if the other should happen, it would have the same consequences, not only because it must end in the first, but because if 87 [the parliament] should be dissolved, that have been so zealous for carrying on this war and obtaining a good peace, the confederates would apprehend another 87 [parliament] would be of another complexion, and might be induced to accept of a separate peace, or even comply with the terms of France; besides if the next 87 [parliament] should be as good as this, there would be so much time lost, before they could meet and their resolutions known, that it might have the same ill effect.

These are but hints which 14 [Townshend] does not want, and will sett things in so much a clearer light, that I ought to ask pardon for mentioning them, but it seems so reasonable, that 14 [Townshend] with 62 may represent this in such a manner to 65 [Gallas] and to 200 [Mr. Boyle] and

Period I
1700 to 17
1710.

Period I. and have a fair handle from what is now a doing, that it must bring 42 [the
 1700 to 1714. queen] to determine against it, when your friends here are arm'd with such
 1710. strong reasons, or at least putt 239 [the queen] under a necessity of discovering
 what is resolv'd, for I presume if any thing of this nature comes from you,
 it will be put in such a manner, that some answer must be given for the satis-
 faction of 116 [the emperor]. When I write thus freely by the common post,
 I write under some concern, and noe body but 38 [Godolphin] knows of
 my writing this to you, but for the better blind, I direct it to Mr. Poynts,
 rather than to you or Horace, and if you would send me a direction to some
 person, not of your own family, under whose cover I might write to you
 upon these occasions, I think it would still be more safe.

I shall be glad to have an account of the receipt of this, and of the welfare
 of all your family, for noe body is more truly and sincerely, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Lord Marlborough, June 30th, 1710, N. S. Received 28th, O. S."

*Expects the account of the removal of Sunderland.—Declares his resolution to
 act according to the advice of his friends in England.*

SIR,

June the 30th, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have this morning receiv'd the favour of yours of the 13th, by other letters
 also, I am prepar'd to receive very speedily the disagreeable news of the
 removall of 6. [Sunderland] Our friends on the spot are best able to judge
 what is most proper to be done, and accordingly, I shall govern myself.
 You will know by the letters of this post, that the garrison marched out
 yesterday near five thousand men. I am with truth.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Brother Horace, July 1, 1710, N. S. Received June 28, 1710, O. S.

*The removal of Sunderland occasions as much consternation in Holland as in
 England.*

Hague, July the 1st, 1710. N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

14 [Townshend] was this morning favoured with one of the 16 from 273
 [Walpole], and returns him his thanks and compliments for the light he has
 received from it; the consternation that the removall of 6 [Sunderland] oc-
 casioned here, is as great as it can possibly be at London; particularly 62 and
 the

the m [minister] of 51 [Hanover] who are both generally very cautious and reserved on the account of party matters, are to the last degree affected with the uncertainty of affairs with you; I am told that 273 [Walpole] will be the first sacrifice of the commoners, but since he has lately got the better of a very dangerous disorder in his naturall body, I hope he will work as well thro' the convulsions of the politick constitutions. I think the best way for 273 [Walpole] to write with more safety to 14 [Townshend] is to send his letter sometimes under cover to doctor Chamberlain, physician at his excellency's, sometimes to Mr. Cole, chaplain, or to Mr. Poyntz, and not seal it with his own seal, at least the cover; you will acknowledge the receipt of this, and accept of the greatest transports of joy for your recovery, from yours, &c.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Recommends the whigs to endeavour to prevail on the duke of Shrewsbury to use his influence, that the parliament should not be dissolved.

SIR,

Jully the 5th, 1710.

I Have receiv'd your's of 21 by coll. Panton, and I do agree intierly with you, that the intention of 28 [duke of Shrewsbury] and 199 [Harley] is to dismiss 87 [the parliament] but as I think the whole depends upon that, 39 [Marlborough] is of opinion, notwithstanding the part 28 [Shrewsbury] has acted towards 6 [Sunderland], that 89 [the whigs] shou'd if possible take measures with 28 [Shrewsbury] for the preservation of 87 the [parliament] this is also my opinion and you may make use of itt to such of our friends as you shall think proper, I write by this opportunity to 6 [Sunderland] to the same effect, so that if he be still in the town, you will be pleased to consult with him, I am ever yours.

Walpole
Papers.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Desires to hear freely about the duke of Shrewsbury.

SIR,

August 11, 1710.

I Have not write hardly to any body, being in hopes of having an account of Mr. Craggs being with you, but by my last letters of the 21st, I find he was not come nor news of him, so that I shall be in pain til I hear he be safe, fearing some accident at sea. As the fate of 87 [the parliament] must before this be decided, we are very impatient of letters, and 39 [Marlborough] has desired

Walpole
Papers.

Period I. 1700 to 1714. desired of me, that he may hear freely from you, what 273 [Walpole] think may be rely'd upon; he means as to 38 [the duke of Shrewsbury]. I am
1710. with the greatest truth ever yours.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Necessity of procuring members if a new parliament should be assembled.—
Electress Sophia and the elector alarmed at the proceedings in England.*

August 12th, 1710, N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have now time to return you my thanks for your favour of the 18th past; we have this afternoon received the letters from England of the 25th and 28th, by which I had from 273 [Walpole] inclosed a printed paper of a letter from P—m [Petkum*] to B—s, but noe other letter or any other news, so that I suppose things continue in the same uncertainty they did as to 87 [the parliament] and 89 [the whigs] tho' I heare from other hands, that preparations are making on both sides for a new 87, [parliament] in which case I believe 273 [Walpole] may have what he formerly desired as useful at such a juncture; and should that happen 38 [Godolphin] and 210 [Marlborough] must spare no pains nor expence on such an occasion, and I think great power and a long purse, should be put into the mighty hand of 185, who I dare say will make a prevailing use of it, and 274 must represent to 240 [the duchess of Marlborough] that a penny spent is twopence gott on such an occasion; I am told from good hands, that 84 [tories] have lately made great addresses to 51 [electress sophia] but without effect, for 51 [sophia] 52 [elector] and all that house are very much alarmed at the late proceedings in England, and think it is time to look about them being apprehensive of 54; and are almost ready to declare for 89 [the whigs].

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Brother Horace, August 18, 1710, N. S."

*Speculations on the probability of a dissolution of parliament, and on the effect
of measures in England on the continent.*

DEAR BROTHER,

Hague, August the 18th, 1710, N. S.

Walpole
Papers.

CAPTAIN Kennedy having promised to deliver this to you with his own hand, I venture to acquaint you that what 273 [Walpole] formerly desired, relating to what passed between 116 [the emperor] and 42 [the queen] upon the removal of 6 [Sunderland] was sent by last post under cover to T—y, and the direction to 273 [Walpole] was in French, with his name

* Petkum, minister to the duke of Holstein.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

false spelt; to prevent suspicion of the person that sent it; I desire to know by the first opportunity whether it came safe to hand; last night we had letters from England dated the 4th, but I was favoured with none from you by that occasion. It seems the dissolution of this parliament is still uncertain; and I must own I should not be much concerned at the misfortune of losing so good a house, supposing we could be assured that people's eyes are so far opened, and the whig interest so strong in the country as to be able to have a majority of the right side by a new election; for altho' the hazard might for the present make the publick credit fall; yet a new return of good members would soon make it rise, and put it upon a better foot, than I am afraid you will find it at the last session of a dying parliament. For since there must be another chosen next summer; the expectations that the French have from our civil broyls will make them defer speaking sincerely about peace, untill they see what turn and effect the new elections will have in England, and the same reason will make people both at home and abroad very reserved in lending their money to our government; whereas a good new parliament will cutt off all hopes from France, and will be a great encouragement to the well intentioned to contribute their utmost to support us. But this is sayd upon the supposition of having the greatest probability of a good parliament by a new choice. In the mean time I believe this people can be kept very steady to the honest interest of England, and to the common cause, untill they see what the commons of Great Britain, are like to doe, but att all events, I hope our friends will be very carefull about coming to any bargains; for the other side who have all the power with 239 [the queen] will never make any advances for that end, untill they find they are not able to support the violent measures they had at first concerted, so that a composition on our side I think can have no other effect than to give the enemy a present advantage, and divide the whigs, for the country whigs will always desire to act a free and independent part, and never care to be governed by the private intrigues of 91 and will immediately cry out they are given up; and should the next sessions by that means pass with differences, and confusion among our friends, it may have a very bad influence upon the ensuing elections.

* * * *

I can with great satisfaction assure you that the house of 51 [Hanover] is very sensible of what is doing in England; of the deceitfull addresses of 84 [the tories] and of the sincere intentions of 89 [the whigs] to promote their interest; I cant forbear telling you in confidence that I think 39 [Marlborough]

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I. borough] should be very diligent in making his court there, which I am
 1700 to 1714. afraid was formerly a little neglected; and I am perswaded he will find all
 1710. imaginable regard, and confidence from thence.

My respects to 11 [duke of Devonshire].

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM

LORD TOWNSHEND TO GENERAL STANHOPE.

Consternation occasioned by the removal of lord treasurer Godolphin.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, August 26, 1710.

Stanhope
Papers.

I Must refer you to M. Walpole for an account of the news this place affords, as well of our confusions in England; from whence we had by the last post the fatal news of lord treasurer's being removed from his office, which has put this country into the greatest consternation. God only knows what destruction our new ministry is preparing for us. I heartily wish you all imaginable success in your future enterprizes, and beg you would do me the justice to believe that I am with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Alarmed at the removal of Godolphin.

SIR,

August the 28th, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have received the favour of your's of the 8th, that as well as the rest of my letters brought me the surprizing news of the white staff being taken from lord treasurer. 39 [Marlborough] has for some time been prepar'd for these mortifications, he at this distance can't see where this will end, but he is sure to the best of his understanding he will act like an honest man, and whilst employ'd doe what he shall judge best for his queen and country, and as he relies on the friendship of 273 [Walpole] he must desire to hear often from him, I am with much truth.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Endorsed—"Lord Marlborough, received 16th, O. S."

Determines to act with the whigs.

SIR,

Sept. 18, 1710.

Walpole
Papers.

YOU will know my thoughts by sir Ri. Temple; since his being gone Mr. Collins has brought me your two letters of the 26th and the 1st of this month.

month. I have beg'd of 38 [Godolphin] to use his interest with 200 [Boyle], and I have write myself to lord Coninsbey; as 199 [Harley] and those people spread all over England lyes, the honest people shou'd be industrious of letting the truth be known. I agree with you that the best thing is to use all endeavours possible for the getting honest men into 87 [parliament] and lett what will happen 39 [Marlborough] will always be ready for taking measures with 89 [the whigs] which sooner or later must bring all things right.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1710.

1711.

These letters from secretary St. John, afterwards viscount Bolingbroke, fully contradict the current opinion that Marlborough continued *always* upon good terms with him. The insinuation in the first letter that Marlborough aimed at the crown, originated in party malice. Swift in his scurrilous pamphlet, for it does not deserve the name of a history, of the four last years of queen Anne, accuses him of this intention under the affectation of defending him from the charge.

COPY OF A LETTER* FROM
SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO — DRUMMOND.

Insinuates that Marlborough aimed at the crown.

Jan. 23, 1710—11.

AS to the great man† you mention I have wrote a few but plain words to your pensionary. He was not received with the acclamations you heard of; and they are much mistaken that imagine that he can be upon any other bottom than what the queen pleases to put him. I dare say he is convinced by this time that he cannot lead either his mistress or any one else as he used to do. We shall send him over a subject; take care you do not put royalty into his head.

1711.

Astle Papers.

* These letters from secretary St. John to Drummond are in the possession of Andrew Berkley Drummond, Esq. and were communicated to me by Thomas Astle, Esq. The secretary appears to have reposed much confidence in Drummond, and to have corresponded with him without the knowledge of the other members of the cabinet. He is probably the same person who is mentioned in Carte's memorandum book, under the name of John Drummond, as the confidant of lord Bolingbroke. See Macpherfon's Papers, vol. ii. p. 530, 532. † Marlborough.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1711.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM

SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO — DRUMMOND.

*Censures the conduct of Marlborough, and justifies the dismissal of Godolphin.—
Rude behaviour of Vrybergue, the Dutch minister.*

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. the 23d. 1710—11.

As the Papers.

BESIDES your letters of the 20th and 26th, which I acknowledg'd on Tuesday, I have now receiv'd yours of the 30th. The queen has been a little troubled with the gout; and three posts coming in together almost, have so overloaded us with business, that I have not been able to take her majesty's pleasure concerning the Spanish ships, or indeed to lay the matter before my lords of the council. I will not fail by the very first opportunity to do both, and I hope to turn that affair to your satisfaction.

As to the great man, I own to you freely he acts in my opinion a little and an ill judged part. I should be tedious if I descended to particulars, but take this general idea of his conduct and situation. The queen, and those who are in her intire confidence, are desirous to please our friends in Holland, and to continue him at the head of the army. In order to this every thing which as duke of Marlborough, or as general, he can expect, has been, and will be comply'd with. Every thing necessary to put his troops into condition is done and doing; every thing necessary to make him easy in the field is done likewise, by the declaration which the queen has made of his loudest enemy the duke of Argyle, to be general of the Brittain troops in Spain. He has been told by the duke of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Harley, and by your humble servant, that since the queen agrees to his commanding the army, it is our duty, and in the highest degree our interest, to support him, if possible, better than he ever yet was, and that he may depend upon this. He has seen in other instances that we were able to see, and to pursue that which was right; why should he think us capable of judging on this occasion so wrong? He was told at first, that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my lord Godolphin and himself, had thrown the queen's favour away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told that his true interest consisted in getting rid of his wife*, who was grown to be irre-

* The duchess of Marlborough has studiously avoided to take any notice, in her Apology, of this fact, which shews the imprudence of Marlborough and Godolphin, and proves how entirely they were governed by that imperious woman.

conciliable with the queen as soon as he could, and with the best grace which he could; instead of this, he teas'd the queen and made the utmost effort to keep this woman in her places; he never brought the key* till he had but three days given him to do it in, and till he found that a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the queen's resolution, however he now pretends to make a merit of this resignation. He has been told he must draw a line between all that is passed, and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new foot; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer; that if he would make his former conduct the rule of his future behaviour, he would render his interests incompatible with those of the queen. What is the effect of all this plain dealing? he submits, he yields, he promises to comply; on the struggles to alleviate Meredyth's disgrace, and to make the queen make a less figure by going back, than she could have done by taking no notice at all of the influence of him and his comrades, he is angry at the duke of Argyle's being appointed to command in Spain, and would I suppose have him punished for acting on a plan which we all, even the queen herself, have been concerned in.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1711.

In short, to finish this description, I doubt he thinks it possible for him to have the same absolute power which he was once vested with, and believes, perhaps, that those who serve the queen are weak enough not to see the use he would make of it once more. By all the judgement which I can form, the exterior is a little mended, but at heart, the same sentiments remain, and these heighten'd and inflam'd by what he called provocations. We shall do what we can to support him in the command of the army, without betraying our mistress; and unless he is infatuated, he will help us in this design, for you must know, that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the court; such scenes will open, as no victorys can varnish over.

This is an honest, and I hope a clear account; lay your foundation here, and whatever happens, judge from hence. I think that the best thing which the duke can do, is to go over as soon as possible, for which the letter of the States to the queen gives a very proper handle. This letter was deliver'd to night to the queen by Vrybergue; and is very discreet. A propos to Vrybergue, talking to him on Sunday at the back stairs, of business in a very sober

* The gold key, the ensign of one of his wife's places.

Period I. and calm manner, he took occasion to interrupt himself, and with some emotion
 1700 to 1714. to say, that as long as he felt that people had a confidence in him, he would
 1711. have the same in them, but that when they had none, he knew how to live
 with them accordingly, or to that effect. The expressions were harsh and the
 manner was harsher; I only answered with a smile. I consider him as the
 minister of the States; and in that character, and in that alone, will always
 shew him respect.

I intreat you to assure the pensionary of my most sincere respects, and to
 let him know that whenever he has any commands for me, I will upon the
 least hint, catch at an opportunity of obeying them. In doing this, I shall
 have the additional satisfaction of making my court to the queen, who has the
 greatest value imaginable for the pensionary's consummate wisdom, and in-
 flexible integrity. I do not know whether some turn may not still be found
 to gratify you in a minister at the Hague, since the person talk'd of seems
 so little to be approved. Keep this to yourself, and leave us to work it. I
 allow considerably for mistakes in intelligence, and for the affected boasts of
 the French before the opening of a campaign; and yet I incline to think
 that they will make all manner of ways a great effort this year. I beg of you
 to be vigilant in getting what accounts you can of their naval preparations.
 The notice sent me in your last I have received from other parts of France
 with some other circumstances. Sir James Wishart will be order'd, if these
 reports come confirm'd, to press with the stronger instances that the Dutch
 should do more by sea, than of late years they have been us'd to do. Whilst
 we spare nothing to push the Flanders war, you must not suffer us to be
 ruin'd in our trade and insulted on our coasts.

I will give you no further trouble by this post, but conclude this long letter
 by my hearty assurances of being ever, sir, your faithful humble servant.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM
SECRETARY ST. JOHN TO — DRUMMOND.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1711.

Objects to lay fresh and heavy burdens on the Low Countries.—Denies that lord Peterborough has had orders to offer the Spanish monarchy to the duke of Savoy.—Remarks on that delicate subject.—Censures the conduct of the states in regard to the northern affairs.

SIR,

Whitehall, April the 27th, O. S. 1711.

YOUR letter of the first of May together with the inclosed I receiv'd Afle Papers, with that satisfaction which I read every thing that comes from you. I cannot agree that lord Orery is so much in the wrong, or that there is so much danger of losing the substance of the imperial and palatine troops, as Mr. Watkins seems to believe. My lord has the queen's positive and repeated orders to insist in the first place, that the Spanish provinces should furnish all the expences charg'd upon them for the service of the war; but he is directed att the same time to act the part of an advocate and protector, when any unreasonable proposition is by other people press'd upon them. Nay in such cases as the common necessity will oblige him to yield, and where he knows beforehand that he is to do so, the queen will however approve his conduct if he shews a reluctancy to enter into oppressive measures, and if att the time he consents to load them on one account, he endeavours to ease them in some other respect.

These unhappy countrys have found the government of those, who pretend to be the assertors of publick liberty, so tyrannical and so barbarous, that you know better than I how near they are driven to despair. The queen's servants have, to the reproach of our government and nation, been in great measure the instruments of all these vile proceedings. Something therefore must be done to relieve the miserable people, and something to redeem the honour of the British name. We have in answer to a resolution of the States, and to a memorial of Monsieur Vrybergue's grounded thereon, spoke very frankly to this effect: but to you I will add this farther, that it is by no means our interest that Holland should compass all their aim att with respect to these provinces.

I shall be sorry if my lord Orery does not live in a good correspondence, since it is absolutely necessary for the publick service, with the duke of Marlborough; who did really make great advances, and such as could not be with any grace declined, before they left the kingdom.

I hardly

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period I.
1711. to 1714. I hardly believe that the French are shipping any forces att Brest ; but if they should, in the opinion, and with the design you mention, I wish them heartily a good voyage.

Your conversation with the pensionary, I hope by the first letters to have an account of. In the mean time you may assure him, that my lord Peterborow has had no orders to offer the Spanish monarchy to the duke of Savoy, nay his journey to Turin is undertaken against the queen's intentions, and even his instructions ; since the latter obliges him to continue at Vienna, till all the points in dispute are settled to the satisfaction of Monsieur de Mellaredé, and you know that he took the resolution of going to the duke of Savoy, as soon as that was adjusted which relates to the fiefs of Monferrate, and which is but half of one article out of four.

Declaring the duke of Savoy's immediate succession to Spain can have but one effect, which is to hasten the Austrian ministers to some composition with France ; if king Charles is once secure of the empire, he will think it much more his interest to unite the Italian territories to it, and to enjoy the whole with peace, than to continue a war for aggrandising the house of Savoy at the expence of having lost himself. We are as cautious upon this subject, and we think it as nice and dangerous a matter to handle as the pensionary can do. But give me leave to tell you that our friends in Holland must not leave this affair to take care of itself, as they have done that of the north. The queen has hitherto not at all interpos'd, but left the whole management of this last to the States, and what a dilemma are we now reduced to. The king of Sweden has been made neither unwilling nor unable to hurt us. He has had in great measure the advantage of the act of neutrality, and yet is under no obligation to abide by it, and now that he has gain'd time enough he bids you in plain terms declare whether you will make good the guaranty of the treaty of Travendahl or not, that he may take his measures accordingly. The situation of the northern affairs gives the queen no small degree of uneasiness.

Mr. Harley was yesterday att the house of commons for the first * time, the compliment which the speaker made him in the name of the house, and his reply to it were extremely fine.—We say att court that he will be call'd by another appellation in few days.

* On his recovery after being stabbed by Guiscard, he was on the 24th of May, created earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO SECRETARY BROMLEY.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.

1714.

First audience with the elector.—Delivers his credentials.—The elector acknowledges great obligations to, and confidence in the queen, and declares that the demand for the writ to call his son to the house of peers was made without his knowledge and consent.—Interview with the other parts of the electoral family.

SIR,

Hanover, August 7th, N. S. 1714.

ON Saturday last I had my first audience of the elector, at noon, at Herenhausen, he received me in a room where he was alone. A gentleman of the court came to my lodgings here with two of the electors coaches, and carried me to Herenhausen. I was met at my arrival out of the coach by Mr. D'Haremburg, marshall of the court, and at the top of the stairs by the chevalier Reden, second chamberlain, (the count de Plaaten, great chamberlain, being very sick) he conducted me through three rooms, to the room where the elector was, who met me at the door of that room, and being returned three or four steps into that room, he stopped, and the door was shut. I then delivered my credentials to him, and made him a compliment from the queen, to which he answered that he had always had the greatest veneration imaginable for the queen, that he was always ready to acknowledge the great obligations he and his family have to her majesty, and that he desired nothing more earnestly than to entertain a good correspondence with her; he asked me whether I left the queen in good health, that he wished her health very heartily. I told him that when I had the honour to take leave of the queen, I left her in very good health, that I had received letters from England since my arrival here, by which I was informed that the queen continued to enjoy her health, I told him I was very glad to find his highness so well inclined, and that I desired I might have a private audience as soon as possible, that I might have an opportunity of acquainting him fully with what I had received in command from the queen. To this he answered, that he was very sorry that the king of Prussia's coming had hindered him so long from seeing me; that he did not desire to delay one minute longer the receiving her majesty's

* Astle
Papers.

* These original letters which relate to the earl of Clarendon's embassy to the court of Hanover are in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq. He purchased them with several others, at the sale of lord Clarendon's manuscripts by Baker and Leigh, in 1765.

Period I.
1700 to 1714
1714.

commands, and that I was at liberty to say then, all that I had in command from her. I then delivered to him the queen's answer to his memorial, and the other letter, and I spoke upon all the heads contained in my instructions, and in your letter * of the 22d of June, O. S. when I told him, that as the queen had already done all that could be done to secure the succession to her crowns to his family, so she expected that if he has any reason to suspect designs are carrying on to disappoint it, he should speak plainly upon that subject; he interrupted me, and said these words, "Je n'ay jamais crû que la reine eust aucuns desseins contre les intérêts de ma famille, et je ne sçache pas d'avoir donné aucun sujet de croire, que je voulusse rien entreprendre contre les intérêts de sa majesté, ou qui pût luy déplaire, c'est ce que je ne feray jamais: la reine m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire pour scavoir ce que je souhaitois que l'on fît pour assurer d'avantage la succession, surquoy nous avons donné un memoire par escrit a monsieur Harley, a laquelle il n'y a point encore eu de reponce."

I told him I had just then had the honour to deliver to him an answer to that memorial, and that if when he had perused that answer, he desired to have any part of that answer explained, I did believe, I should be able to do it to his satisfaction. Then I proceeded to speak upon the other points, and when I came to mention Schutz demanding the writ for the duke of Cambridge, he said these words, "J'espere que la reine n'a pas crû que cela s'est fait par mon ordre, je vous assure que cela a esté fait a mon insceu; la defuncte electrice avoit escrit a Schuts sans que je l'aye sceu pour s'informer pourquoy le prince n'avoit pas eu son writ puis qu'elle croyoit qu'on les envoyoit a tous ceux qui estoient pairs, et luy au lieu de cela, alla demander le writ, mesme sans l'ordre de l'electrice; je ne feray rien qui puisse, en aucune façon, choquer la reine, a qui nous avons tant d'obligations." My speaking to him, and the answers he made me, took up something above an hour, then I had audience of the electoral prince, and duke Ernest, the elector's brother in the same room, then of the electoral princess; after that I had the honour to dine with them all, and after dinner, here in town, I had audience of the electoral prince's son and two daughters. At dinner the elector seemed to be in very good humour, talked to me several times, asked several questions about England, and seemed very willing to be informed. It is very plain to me, he knows very little of our constitution, and seems to be sensible that he has been imposed upon. The

* This letter and the memorial which are also in Mr. Astle's collection, are printed by Macpherson, vol. ii. p. 608, 628,

electoral prince told me he thought himself very happy, that the queen had him in her thoughts, that he should be very glad it were in his power to convince the queen how grateful a sense he had of all her favours: duke Ernest said, the queen did him a great deal of honour to remember him, that he most heartily wish'd the continuance of her majesty's health, he hoped no one of his family would ever be so ungrateful as to forget the very great obligations they all had to her. The electoral princess said she was very glad to hear the queen was well, she hoped she would enjoy good health many years, that her kindness to this family was so great, that they could never make sufficient acknowledgments for it.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1714.

Thus I have acquainted you with all that passed at the first audience. I have been at court every night since, for the time of making one's court here is from six to nine in the evening; to-morrow I intend to desire a private audience in order to discourse more fully upon what I have said to him, and to see how he takes the queen's answer to his memorial. All the ministers here, (except Mr. Buleau, who is not in town) have been with me, and make great professions of respect for the queen, I have returned all their visits, and have dealt so plainly with them as to tell them, that I am very glad to find them in so good a disposition, and rather because they will now have an opportunity to prove their faith by their works.—The Muscovite envoy, and the Polish envoy have sent to me, hearing I had sent to notify my arrival to them; they are just come to town, and I suppose I shall see them to-morrow. I believe by this time I have pretty well tired you, so I shall conclude in intreating the favour of you to give my most humble duty to the queen, whom I pray God long to preserve. I am, &c.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON TO SECRETARY BROMLEY.

Speaks favourably of the elector, who renews his assurances that his dependence is solely on the queen.—Speaks unfavourably of Robethon, who governs Bernsdorf.

SIR,

Hanover, August 15, N. S. 1714.

I Trouble you with this letter by Mr. Barlow. I gave you in my letter the *Affle Papers*. 7th instant, N. S. an account of the answers the elector made to me at my first audience, I did not then send you an account of what I said to him in pursuance of the queen's instructions to me, and the letter I received from you

Period I. 1700 to 1714. you afterwards, I now send it to you in the same words I spoke to him : for the answers you will give me leave to refer you to my letter of the 7th inst. I hope and I think I have not omitted any thing that I was to speak to, if I have not done it in so good language as able people would have done, I hope I shall be pardoned, that I thought upon this occasion the plainest language was the best, so that if I had been able to do better, I should have been guilty of the same, I have done ; that it might not be pretended they could not understand me. Mr. Bernsdorf is governed by Robethon, who is as bad as bad can be. I have been twice with Mr. Bernsdorf since my second audience ; he has promised me I shall have an answer in writing to what I said to the elector, when I see that I shall be able to say more ; the elector continues still to say, every time I speak to him, that he is ready on his part to do any thing to preserve a good correspondence with the queen, that he has not and will have no dependance upon any body but the queen. I told him I hoped he would give those assurances to her majesty in the best and fullest manner, he seems to be a man of very good temper, the people here generally speak with great value of him, and his brother duke Ernest. It is certain the elector has never yet spoken to Shuts since he came home ; he comes to court in the evening, but as soon as the elector appears he goes away, and indeed nobody here looks upon him, but the electoral prince, and that is in private : Mr. Guerts, who is president des finances, is a very good man and always in opposition to Bernsdorf : the count de Plaaten, who is great chamberlain, is a fine gentleman, but never meddles with business. Mr. D'Elfe and Mr. Busch who are two others of the council are men that meddle no farther than they are called upon by the elector, there are no other counsellors now here. By what I can hear I find that the king of Prussia's journey here was to endeavour to engage this court in the project I took the liberty to mention to you in a letter from the Hague, for dividing the king of Sweden's territory's in Germany, but I don't find he has succeeded here.—The elector talks of going in three weeks time to a place called Vinhausen, and from thence to Guehre, a place where he goes every year to hunt the stag, and stays all the fall of the year, so that if I am not dispatht before he goes out of town, I must either follow him to those places which will be very chargeable to me, or I must stay here till winter, which I hope the queen does not intend. Therefore I entreat the favour of you, that Mr. Barlow may be sent back to me as soon as possible with such farther commands he has for me here if any.

I suppose

I suppose in a few days I shall have the elector's answer in writing, which I hope will be to the queen's satisfaction, if so, I suppose I have no more to do here: however I beg the favour of you, that I may know the queen's commands as soon as possible.—This moon I believe will put an end to whatever might be called summer in this country, so it will not be long good travelling in this part of the world.—I entreat the favour of you to give my most humble duty to the queen, whom I pray God long to preserve. I have had no letters or news from England these two last posts. I am with great respect.

Period I.
1700 to 1714.
1714.

Answer of queen Anne to the memorial of their electoral highnesses, concerning the security of the protestant succession, alluded to in the preceding letters.

Declares her resolution to promote the succession in the house of Brunswick.—Cannot insist on the removal of the pretender from Lorraine.—Will not consent to the residence of the electoral prince in England.

THE queen having considered the memorial of their electoral highnesses, After Papers. the late electress Dowager and the elector of Brunswick, thinks fit to give the following answer: That Mr. Harley was directed to assure their electoral highnesses, her majesty would not only consent to, but promote any additional security they should desire, for the succession of their electoral house to her crowns, consistent with her honour, her safety, and the laws whereby that succession is established. That her majesty has used her instances to have the pretender removed out of Lorraine, and since the late addresses of parliament has repeated them, and has writ herself to the duke of Lorraine to press it in the strongest terms. This her majesty has done to get him removed, but it cannot be imagined it is in her power to prescribe where the pretender shall go, or by whom he shall be received. His being removed out of France is more than was provided for by the peace of Ryfwick.—Correspondence with the pretender is by law high treason, and it is her majesty's interest and care to have that law strictly executed. The vain hopes entertained at Bar le Duc, and the reports from thence are not to be wondered at. Her majesty thinks herself fully secured, as well by treaty as by the duty and affection of her people, against all attempts whatsoever. Besides these securities her majesty has a settled militia, and such other force as her parliament, to whose consideration she referred that matter, judged sufficient for the safety of her kingdom; and it cannot be unknown that a standing army in time of peace, without consent of

Period I. of parliament, is contrary to the fundamental law of this realm. Her majesty
 700 to 1714. is so far from being unfurnished with a fleet; that she has at this time more
 1714. ships at sea, and ready to be put to sea, than any other power in Europe.

Her majesty looks upon it to be very unnecessary, that one of the electoral family should reside in Great Britain to take care of the security of her royal person, of her kingdoms, and of the Protestant succession as is expressed in the memorial. This, God and the laws have entrusted to her majesty alone, and to admit any person into a share in these cares with her majesty would be as dangerous to the public tranquility, as it is inconsistent with the constitution of the monarchy. After the frequent assurances her majesty has given, of her resolutions to maintain the succession as by law established, there can be no room to doubt but her majesty will do all that is in her power to secure it. The common interests of her majesty and of the elector will certainly be best secured by a mutual confidence, and by their acting in concert together. This her majesty has always desired, and will on all occasions promote. When her majesty considers the use which has been endeavoured to be made of the titles she has already conferred, she has little encouragement to grant any more. Granting titles of honour in the last reign to persons of foreign birth gave such dissatisfaction to the nation as produced a provision in the act of parliament, whereby the succession is established in the electoral house, that when the limitation in that act shall take effect, no persons born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, tho' naturalized or made a denizen, (except such as are born of English parents) shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, or to have a grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or any other in trust for him. Her majesty is thus particular in her answer to the memorial, and hopes there will be such a good understanding between her majesty and the elector, that as she will continue to do all she can to maintain the succession, so nothing will be asked of her Majesty but what shall be proper to be complied with.

Given at our court at Kensington the 19th day of June, 1714, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

M E M O I R S

OF

S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE SECOND.

1714—1720.

1714.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE REV. HENRY ETOUGH.

*Character of lord Halifax.—His dissatisfaction and intrigues with the tories.—
Causes of the report that a tory administration was to be formed on the ac-
cession of George the first.—No foundation for that report.—Character of
sir Thomas Hanmer.*

DEAR ETOUGH,

Putney, Sept. 21, 1752.

I Doe not pretend to deserve any of the engaging good qualitys, you heap upon me, excepting that of truth; what I know I am free to tell you, but will tell you nothing positively, but what I think I know. Period II.
1714 to 1720.

As to lord Halifax, I think he was an able speaker, and an aspiring minister, insolent in power, and miserable and dejected to the last degree when out of it; it was sayd that before queen Ann's death, he had condescended to make his court to lord Oxford, and was upon tolerable terms with him weaning himselfe from his former intimacy and cordiality, with the steady whigs; upon her

*Etough
Papers.*

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

period II.
 4 to 1720.
 1714.

 her majesty's demise, he ambitioned to be lord high treasurer of Great Britain, but finding that those who were like to be considerable, and to be consulted, thought it most adviseable, to putt that great office in commission, among whom lord Townshend had the greatest weight at Hannover; it is very possible, and indeed probable that lord Halifax upon his own strength, thought fitt to recommend himselfe to be lord treasurer, and Bromley to be his chancelour of the exchequer, and sir Thomas Hanmer to be teller of the exchequer, and other torys to other places, in order to make himselfe the cheif of a motley ministry, but I doe not beleive that Bromley ever had the offer made him of being chancelour of the exchequer. Sir Thomas Hanmer was talk'd of on account of his having assisted in rejecting the Commerce Bill, and for his more moderate behaviour at the latter end of queen Ann's reign, (which as you very well observed, proceeded from his being disappointed in his hopes of the seals) to have some considerable place, nay, there was a flying report of his being one of the secretary's of state, but it was nothing but report.

You must know that there was att the court of Hannover before queen Ann dyed, two considerable ministers in opposition to one another, Mr. Bernsdorf and Mr. Gortz; the first always endeavoured to encourage and promote a disposition in the king for the succession of his family to the crown, the other was as earnest to divert and dissuade him from it as a chimerical notion; when the throne became vacant, Bernsdorf espoused the whig party, and Gortz that of the torys, and I beleive their intrigues and correspondence, with each side was managed accordingly; and 'tis possible that by this means the torys might have had some, or made themselves beleive they had some glimmering expectations of being employed, but they must have been very slight and very transient, and all imaginary schemes of a mixt ministry soon vanished, by his Majesty having appointed before he left Hannover some time lord Townshend to be sole secretary of state: and as he had it in his power to recommend his colleague, Mr. Boyle was offer'd that place, but he perceiving that there would be a great fermentation in parliament, on account of the male administration, at the latter end of queen Ann's reign, in which, altho' he was no ways concerned, having resigned the seals upon the removall of lord Godolphin, as he was not of a temper to act in troublesome times, declined that station, and was at his own request made lord Carleton, and I recommended Mr. Stanhope (afterwards lord) to lord Townshend to be secretary of state; knowing indeed that he had a fruitfull and luxuriant genius in foreign affairs, which I hoped he would have sufferd to be check'd or pruned by lord
 Town-

Townshend's prudence, but I never imagined he would have proved wild, mad, and ungratefull; upon the whole I do not believe that Bromley or any other considerable torys had the offer of any considerable places from king George. 'Tis possible that Hanmer might have had a teller's place, if he would have left his party; for my part I never look'd upon him as of any consequence, his person, parts, and principles were of a piece; he had a very handsome mien and appearance, butt 'is said he could not please the lady's; he could make an eloquent elaborate and plausible speech, but never was thought a man of business, or knowledge. He would act and vote with the torys, and yett sayd he was no jacobite; he declared himselfe for the Hannover succession, and would never act or vote in support of it; he dyed at last, poor gentleman, without having much obliged or disoblighd any person or party, and rather pityed than either hated or beloved.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1714.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Requests that Mr. Rogers may be excused from serving the office of Sheriff on account of his wife's death.

MY LORD,

Nov. 8, 1714.

BY the best accounts I have mett since my coming hither, I find our election affairs in a very hopefull way, and see no body that is at all desponding but the Sandringham family, but I hope I shall spur them up, and make them exert a little.

Walpole
Papers.

The cheif occasion of my giving your lordship this trouble is to acquaint you that Mr. Rogers's wife died yesterday, and I had from him this morning the most moving and melancholly letter I ever read, begging to be excus'd from being sheriff this year only, and he will very willingly serve upon any other occasion. What makes this more easy is that Mr. Durrant is desirous to have it now, and King Tom has a great ambition to be king George's first sheriff; sir Charles Turner was here yesterday and concurs in opinion that Mr. Durrant should be the man. I really think we shall make great use of Mr. Rogers on the sea coast, and I sincerely beleive he cannot bear the thoughts of making a show just upon the death of his wife. I dine to-morrow at sir Jacob's, who is very stout and resolute.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

1716.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.

The pretender to be crowned king at Perth, in consequence of the assistance promised by the regent of France.—Nothing but a strict union with the emperor and Holland will deter the regent from promoting the cause of the pretender. The king places absolute confidence in the pensionary.

DEAR HORACE,

Jan. 15—26, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

Private.

THE pretender is now at Perth, and to be crowned king of Scotland. This step his friends here would not have suffered him to take in the present situation of affairs unless the regent had given strong assurances of assistance. They send over in single ships, arms and ammunition, and officers, and those who are in the secret of their affairs seem confident, they shall be further and more openly assisted as soon as the season will permit. For my part I cannot think any thing can divert the regent from taking vigorously part with the pretender, but a strict union amongst our old friends and allies, by which he will see, that he cannot meddle with our affairs here without involving France in a new war with all Europe; and by the best intelligence we have, the passion of the French is so strong in favour of the pretender, that nothing but the fear of a new and general war can prevent their assisting our rebels here. For this reason I have constantly pressed the defensive alliance with the emperor, and that the kings of Denmark and Prussia might be admitted into the guaranty of the barrier and succession, and I will venture to say, that things are now growing to such a crisis, that unless some system of this kind is speedily formed, we cannot promise ourselves, that the peace will be of any duration. The king therefore would have you talk seriously to the pensionary upon this subject, in whom he has a most entire and absolute confidence; his majesty approves of his sentiments in relation to not deferring the treaty for renewing the alliance between Britain and them, upon the account of any new engagements to be taken with him in relation to his German territories. But when that treaty is finishing, common sense tells both the States as well us, that something of that kind ought to be done; and that we ought not to delay the forming these alliances, if we intend either to be safe or quiet. God be thanked we shall do as well as our neighbours,

having

having a good parliament, and a good army; besides the farther provision of troops, which as I told you in my last, the king is making, and with which you may acquaint the pensionary in confidence. I am with the greatest truth.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Dismissal of lord Nottingham and his brother.

DEAR HORACE,

March 6th—17th, 1715—16.

* * * * You will be surpris'd at the dismissal of the family of the Dismalls;* but all the trouble we have had in favor of the condemn'd lords arose from that corner, and they had taken their plea to have no more to do with us, and so the shortest end was thought the best. I don't well know what account to give you of your situation here, there are storms in the air, but I doubt not they will all be blown over, I am ever yours, &c.

Walpole
Papers.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO BERNSDORF.

The lords of the cabinet represent the inconveniences which will result from the king's journey to Hanover, and the necessity of his presence in England.—Recommend that the prince of Wales may be appointed sole regent, and with the usual restrictions.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 19, 1716.

IN obedience to his majesty's commands communicated to us by you, we have had a meeting with my lord chancellor, the dukes of Devonshire and Marlborough, and the earl of Sunderland, to consider in what manner it might be most adviseable to settle the regency here, in case his majesty should determine to spend some part of the year at Hanover; and as in the course of this deliberation it was impossible for the inconveniences of his majesty's journey not to occur to us in the first place, we think ourselves bound in duty to lay before his majesty with all possible submission the substance of our thoughts on that head; that since we were all unanimously of opinion that his majesty's absence from his British dominions might prove of the utmost prejudice to his interests, his majesty may be apprised of the true reasons

Townshend
Papers.

Original
Draft.

* Lord Nottingham a famous tory, and speech maker, is gone over to the whig side: they toast him daily, and lord Warton says, it is *Dismal* (so they call him from his looks) will save England at last.—Swift to Mrs. Johnson, Dec. 5, 1711, Letters, vol. v. page 162.

Period II. which obliged his servants to be of an opinion that cannot but be highly un-
 714 to 1720. gratefull to them, while there is a possibility of its being in any respect dis-
 1716. agreeable to his majesty. To sett their reasons in as clear a light as may be, they beg leave to take a summary view of the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad, that so it may appear what effect his majesty's journey may be likely to have with respect both to the one and the other.

And first it is most apparent that tho' his majesty's arms have, by the blessing of God been superiour to those of the rebels, and tho' the parliament have in the compass of two sessions done all that was suggested to them, and even more than could be expected towards suppressing the faction of jacobitism, yet the rage and spirit of that party is still very far from being subdued. For having been considerably numerous ever since the revolution, they made such vast accessions of strength under the last four years of the queen, during which time they found means to engage in their interests, not only a great number of private persons, but many of the largest communities (as appears by the conduct of both the universities, and even of London itself till lately) that the confidence of their numbers encouraged them to enter into the rebellion upon their own bottom destitute of all succours from abroad, and still supports them in the same spirit and designs, notwithstanding their late losses and all the endeavours of the parliament. So that it is to be feared the fire of the whole rebellion is rather smothered for a time than totally extinguished, and that it lyes ready to catch hold of the first convenient matter that shall be offered it, and may break forth with fresh fury. This is but too evident from the strong disposition in favour of the rebels, which has already shewn itself in different shapes ever since the defeat at Preston, and which appears not only by that open and barefaced obstruction of justice which is at present offered in the tryals in the inferiour courts, but likewise by that excess of tenderness which has been expressed for the criminals on every occasion, even in places where his majesty had the least reason to expect it; which shews at once the strength and riches of the faction. The subduing therefore and eradicating of this evil is what ought principally to be aimed at and intended, not so much by violent remedies (which are always dangerous and often fatal) as by a constant steady and uniform application in every branch of the administration towards working out the inmost causes of this distemper, the force of which by this method may in some short time be insensibly dispell'd; but such a strict and vigilant application of powers distributed through so many different hands, and in a case where such
 numerous

numerous difficulties are to be struggled with, can hardly be hoped for without the invigorating influence of his majesty's presence and inspection, to quicken the timorous, to strengthen the hands of his servants, and to damp the hopes and expectations of his enemies. Besides which, as the party have all along subsisted on false and scandalous reports, forged without the least colour or shadow of reality, so they will not fail to give the most malicious turn to a step of this nature, and possibly such a one, as may not only make impression on the vulgar (who seem as yet susceptible of the most gross absurdities) but even alienate the minds of many who are at present zealous and entirely well affected to his majesty's service. These we look on to be some of the most natural and obvious consequences of his majesty's going abroad in the present unsettled condition of affairs at home.

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1716.

And if we proceed to look abroad we humbly apprehend the objections arising thence to hold full as strong against this journey. For his majesty's interest in foreign parts will ever keep pace with the credit and reputation of his affairs at home, so that whatever impairs the latter, will no less certainly affect the former, and accidents may arise by some unforeseen commotion in his absence which may discourage foreign powers from proceeding in those engagements with his majesty which they now are very forward to enter into. For we cannot but observe, that tho' his majesty's security depends so much on the strength of alliances; and tho' his endeavours have not been wanting to procure such as might be necessary for his safety, yet the princes with whom we were to negotiate were so cautious of engaging till they should see the fate of the rebellion in some measure decided, that no one treaty for our security is yet perfected, excepting that with the States General. But now that the reputation of his majesty's affairs is so well established that most of the princes in Europe are courting his alliance, we humbly conceive it would be of very dangerous consequence to put it again in the power of fortune and events to hinder his majesty from concluding such treatys as he shall judge necessary; and even tho' no new disturbances should arise, which doubtless his majesty's enemies will be encouraged to attempt during his absence, yet we are of opinion that if his majesty should fix his residence at Hanover for this summer, so much time would pass in referring matters to his council here, and in receiving their opinion, as join'd to the ordinary difficulties incident to all negotiations, would make it impracticable for his majesty to conclude a treaty with the emperor, or any of the northern potentates, before the season
of

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

of the year returns that will make it requisite for him to meet his people in parliament. Neither can any doubt be made, but that the regent of France, who has hitherto left no engine unemployed to defeat our alliance with the emperor, and whose principall aim seems to be to gain time for putting in execution the designs he has formed against his majesty will eagerly lay hold on such an opportunity to distract the king's affairs, either by encouraging and supporting the jacobites in some attempt here, or by amusing us with specious and insidious proposals at a juncture, when he is sure so much more time than ordinary must be consumed in examining and detecting them, and in advising and returning an answer; and late advices from France, of the most unquestionable credit, do sufficiently justify our apprehensions on this head. But what we take to be the most fatal inconvenience of this journey is, that the Baltick Squadron (which alone secures to his majesty the ballance and arbitration of the north) must by waiting for his majesty's orders, and by the usual communications to be made hither, loose so much of the season proper for action, as will render that expensive armament wholly fruitless and insignificant, which may not only expose his majesty's dominions in Germany to imminent danger, but likewise administer matter of complaint to such as are upon the watch in parliament, for every handle of traducing and making odious his majesty's administration.

Having thus in discharge of our duty communicated to you these considerations in order to your laying them before his majesty, we proceeded to consider in obedience to his majesty's commands in what manner the regency might be most properly constituted during his absence, and upon a careful perusal of the precedents finding no instance of persons being joined in commission with the prince of Wales, and few if any restrictions upon such commissions, we are of opinion that the constant tenour of ancient practice cannot conveniently be receded from.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Requests the king to appoint commissioners for the office of privy seal during his absence at Aix la Chapelle.

SIR,

London, July 24th, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

THE king having been so good, as to allow me, to go to Aix la Chapelle, this latter season, to drink the waters, I have since mention'd it, to the prince, who has been pleas'd to allow me the same liberty; I acquainted his
roval

highness, that it would be necessary to appoint commissioners to execute the office of privy seal, during my absence, as was done in like cases before, and that Mr. Southwell, Mr. Vernon, two of the clerks of the council, and Mr. Andrew Charlton, who were it, after lord Wharton's death, would be very proper persons; he was pleas'd to agree to it, and order'd me to write to you about it, to have the king's approbation, and orders, for the passing such a commission; lord Townshend also writes to you about it. I beg you would lay this before his majesty, with my most humble duty, and that I should not have made use of the liberty he has been so good to allow me of going to Aix, but that there seems at present to be no prospect of any uneasiness, or disorder here, so that the attendance of every body will be the less necessary, and that indeed my health does require it extremely. I must entreat you to send, as soon as possible, his majesties orders about this commission, and his approbation of the persons, for I shall otherwise loose the season of the waters; I hope the king will find the benefit to his health, that he proposes, from the waters of Pyrmont, and that we shall see him early in the winter back again here, for without that there is no prospect, but of certain ruine and confusion; I am ever dear sir, with the greatest truth and esteem, yours, &c.

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1716.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Is commissioned by lord Townshend and secretary Methuen to hold a private correspondence with him, to be communicated only to the king.

SIR,

Albermarle Street, 28th July, 1716.

IT is impossible for me to open the commission I have the honour to be charged with from my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to you, without being put in mind of returning you my most humble thanks for your many great favours, and particularly for the part, that you were so kind as to take in that, to which I ow the honour of being now employed in writing to you. Nothing less than the experience of so much goodness could support me under the unequal task that is assigned to me of being regularly to lay before you such occurrences and observations as my lord Townshend and Mr. secretary Methuen think less proper to be inserted in their publick dispatches. I am never to write to you but by the hand of a messenger, and my lord and Mr. Methuen do most earnestly beg, that the letters you shall receive from me may not be communicated to any body, but to his majesty only, and that with all

Stanhope
Papers.

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.}
 1716. all imaginable precautions of secrecy; and they desire to receive from you by the same conveyance, under cover to me, all such particulars as the king may judge improper and inconvenient to be communicated to the whole cabinet council. I am therefore by their command to acquaint you that hitherto every thing goes well, the prince appearing entirely disposed to follow his majesty's directions, and to answer his intentions in every respect. The only apprehension they labour under is least some division should be formed in the army, by the opposition there is between the duke of Argyle and my lord Cadogan, which they desire you to assure his majesty they will labour to prevent with all possible fidelity and application. You will see by my lord Townshend's dispatch, that lord Belhaven makes application to be knight marshall of Scotland; this is one of the places that the prince is at liberty to dispose of without consulting his majesty; however, you will see he chooses to refer it to the king's disposal, and my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are humbly of opinion, that his majesty's gratifying his royal highness by conferring it on lord Belhaven will have a good effect at the prince's first setting out, and will tend to confirm his royal highness in the disposition of referring all matters of importance to his Majesty: and though lord Belhaven be a creature of the duke of Argyle's, yet they think they have reason to believe that he will always fix his chief dependance on those who have his fortune in their hands; and he has hitherto behaved himself with such zeal for his majesty's service in parliament as very well to deserve this mark of his royal favour. I am with the most dutiful respect.

What follows is in lord Townshend's hand, and signed by him and Methuen.

SIR,

We are of opinion that the method above mentioned is on several accounts the properest for carrying on a private correspondence with you, and repeat to you as our most humble request, that you would lay this letter, and all others of the same nature before the king, but must at the same time beg that none else may see them.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

 Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1716.

Thinks the regent insincere, and that he will not consent to the demolition of Mardyke.—Enforces the good policy of not breaking off the negotiation with France, until that point is settled.

SIR,

July 31st. 1716.

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend to acquaint you that he has received your private letter of the 28th July, but that the last Dutch mail brought him no letters of any kind from you, which he earnestly desires may never be the case again, since the prince will be apt to suspect that my lord receives letters from you, but sinks them. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that considering on how right a foot you putt the negociation with the abbé du Bois, his majesty runs no risk of being brought under the necessity of declaring his sentiments in relation to the treaty with France, since it is morally impossible that the regent should ever consent to demolish Mardyke in the manner his majesty proposes by the project; but if he should, in order to gain himselfe the credit of this alliance with England, consent to it in words, yet it is not to be imagined he will ever dare to render himself so unpopular in France as the effectuall demolition of Mardyke must unavoidably make him, and while so important an article should remain unexcuted it is thought that his majesty would be justified to all the world in keeping the same forces on foot and using the same precautions with respect to France, as he would, if no treaty had been made. However should the regent be brought to give up in words and appearance the point of Mardyk; considering what effect such a compliance on the part of France would have in England, and how necessary it will be thought here, even without any treaty, for his majesty to keep the crowns of France and Spain from being united; it is their opinion that in such a case it might be of very ill consequence for his majesty to shew any signs of aversion to a treaty with France upon the above mentioned terms, and that such a step must end in the ruin of those of his majesty's servants, who should fall under the suspicion of having advised it.

Townshend
Papers.Original
Draft.

The accounts which Mr. Walpole's last letters bring of the behaviour of the French ambassadour at the Hague, shew plainly that the regent is shuffling with respect to Mardyk, for whereas it was agreed between the abbé du Bois and you, that the negociation at the Hague should be suspended till you could receive by his hands the regent's positive answer with respect to Mar-

Period II.
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dyke, it appears that M. de Chateauneuf has on the contrary received instructions to propose an expedient for opening the conferences as soon as possible, without the least regard to what passed between you and the abbé, which lord T. and Mr. Methuen take to be a great proof of the regent's insincerity, and of his not intending to give a plain and satisfactory answer upon the article of Mardyke; and since the pensionary is privy to all that passed between the abbé and you, they are of opinion that Mr. Walpole should be instructed to avoid entering any farther into negociation till you receive the answer you have been made to expect from the abbé du Bois, which, if it should prove evasive and unsatisfactory will give his majesty a fair opportunity of breaking off the negociation with credit upon this important point.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Cabals of Sunderland and Cadogan with the duchess of Munster, who is angry at not being created an English duchess, to remove the ministers.—Intrigues of Bernsdorf and Robethon.—Sunderland makes professions of reconciliation and friendship.—Walpole laments the uncertainty of their situation.—Necessary to know whether the king will return time enough to summon the parliament.—The prince anxious to hold it.—Seems desirous to secure an interest independant of the king.—Difficulty of managing both the king and prince.—Duke of Argyle's frequent visits to Hampton Court.—Directs in what manner he is to receive count Quirini.—This secret correspondence only known to Townshend and Mr. Methuen, whom he highly applauds.

DEAR SIR,

July 30—August 10, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

ALTHO' you were very sensible how affairs stood among us here at your departure, and were acquainted with the heats and divisions betwixt the king's servants, yett we having pick'd up some particular accounts which may a little contribute to your better informations, I thought it not improper to write to you a little at large, that you may know in what situation we apprehend our matters stand at present.

We conceive then there is reason to believe that the designs of lord Sunderland, Cadogan, &c. were carried further, and better supported than we did imagine whilst you were here, and that all the foreigners were engaged on their side of the question; and in cheif that the dutchesse of Munster enter'd into the dispute with a more than ordinary zeal and resentment against us, inso-much that by an account we have of a conversation with the king at the dutchesse

dutcheffe of Munster's, they flatter themselves that nothing but the want of time and the hurry the king was in upon his going away, prevented a thorough change of the ministry, which they still propos'd to carry on upon the whig foot, exclusive of us, and by the account we have, there was no difficulty at all in removing me; you, it was thought might be taken care of in the army, but they were at a losse about my lord Townshend. That this was discours'd of there seems to be no room for doubt, how far the king gave into it is not sufficiently explain'd, or whether he was more than passive in hearing the conversation; but it seems to me so contradictory to the accounts I always had of the king's behaviour to lord Townshend and you upon this subject, that I am at a losse how to question what is positively affirmed, or to believe what is so very extraordinary and irreconcilable with all other parts of the king's conduct, but now you are inform'd of this, I think you will be able to learn or guess what foot we stand upon. That the dutcheffe of Munster was very angry at her not being an English dutcheffe is most certain, and that she imputes the whole to my lord Townshend, and has express'd a particular resentment against him; I fear old Bernsdorf has given into these matters more than we are willing to believe, but yett I cannot be perswaded that he had any thoughts of entering into their thorough scheme, which to me must appear impossible, when I recollect the discourse I had myself with him upon these topics: Robethon's impertinence is so notorious, that we must depend upon it he does all the mischief he possible can; but if the heads can be sett right, such little creatures must come in in course, or may be despis'd.

Period I
1714 to 1716.

Lord Sunderland talks of leaving England in a fortnight, and to be sure will not be long from you; he seems very pressing to have instructions from us how to behave at Hanover. His professions for an entire reconciliation and a perfect union are as strong as words can expresse; and you may be sure are reciprocally; and when I consider that common interest should procure sincerity among us, I am astonish'd to think there is reason to fear the contrary. What to my conception is first and chiefly necessary is the king's return, if practicable, which must determine these doubts one way or other, for nobody can answer for the success of any thing, as long as nobody durst undertake, or knows, he shall be supported in what is found necessary for carrying on the king's business. I find lord Sunderland and they persuade themselves the king will come back before the parliament sits; the prince talks of nothing but holding the parliament. It were very materiall to us to know which will be the case, because I think a different management will be necessary accord-

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

period II. ing to this event, and such measures must be kept with the prince, if he is to
 14 to 1720 hold the parliament, as may perhaps be misrepresented with you, and may be
 1716. declin'd if the king comes over himself.

And now I have mentioned the prince, 'tis fitt you should know how it stands with him, which is in appearance much better than it was, and instead of pretty extraordinary treatment, we meet civill receptions. He seems very intent upon holding the parliament, very inquisitive about the revenue, calls daily for papers, which may tend to very particular informations; and I am not sure, they are not more for other people's perusal than his own. By some things that daily drop from him, he seems to be preparing to keep up an interest of his in parliament independent of the king's; but if that part is to be acted, I hope 'tis not impossible to bring him into other and better measures, but for this I do not pretend to answer. As for our behaviour to his highness we take care not to be wanting in duty and respect, not to give any offence or handle to such as are ready to take any opportunity to render business impracticable, and we hope we demean ourselves so, that neither they who would misrepresent us to the king for making our court too much to the prince, nor they who would hurt us with the prince for doing it too little, can have any fair advantage over us, but this is a game not to be manag'd without difficulty. Lord Townshend goes to-morrow to live at Hampton Court, I shall go twice a week, and on those publick days we both shall keep tables. This is a burthen not to be avoided, and what is expected from us, since 'twas determined that neither king nor prince would keep a green cloth table, and the white staves are generally gone to their respective homes except lord Steward. The duke of Argyle comes constantly to court, appears in publick and has his private audiences, and not without influence.

Count Quirini has lately had some conferences with lord Townshend and self, he has made great tenders of his good offices at Hanover, and given the strongest assurances of his friendship; we have engaged him and obliged him enough to merit his service if he render any: he will apply to you as a friend and confident, and you must receive him as such, but take care not to trust him, nor make any other use of him, than to learn what you can from him.

This correspondence is a secret to all the world except lord Townshend and Mr. Metwyn. He is acquainted with every step we take, and has indeed entered into business with us with so much friendship and honour, that we are in the same confidence and intimacy with him, as we were with

you : what comes from Mr. Poyntz you are in all respects to treat as from ourselves, and 'tis desired your private letter may for the future be directed to him; this saves the trouble of denying and chicaning about the correspondence both to and from you; and I promise you 'tis necessary to say every post something that shall look like truth upon the subject of the private correspondence. I am ever dear Don, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Tories are well received by the prince.—Reports circulated that the prince hates the ministers in England, and that they are displeasing to the king.—Necessary to ascertain the truth or falsity of these accounts.—The duke of Argyle endeavours to gain over some of the discontented whigs.

August 7—18, 1716.

BY a letter I wrote to you some time since, I gave you the best account I then could of the state of our affairs. What I have now to add from the occurrences that have since happened is to tell you, that not only the duke of Argyle and lord Ilay, &c. but duke of Shrewsbury, Dick Hill, lord Rochester, and their wives and other tories are constant attendants at Hampton Court. They generally choose to come on the private days; but their reception gives great offence to all well wishers, and I assure you, does not a little animate the tories, who generally, I mean such as are near the town, resort to court, and meet all possible encouragement to go on so. I cannot but say, the prince is civil to us, but that is all that I can say, which is now so well known and understood, that the tories take great pains to publish it; that the prince hates us, and at the same time that we are almost lost with the king, having all the foreigners determined against us. This is the situation which the world looks upon us to be in, which, if be true, as far as relates to your side of the water, it is very desirable that we should know it, to take our measures accordingly; and if is not true, I am sure it is absolutely necessary that some method should be found out to make the contrary known, for no man can serve in this nation, whose credit with the prince is supposed to be lost or declining.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

We have very good accounts that the duke of Argyle and his creatures are endeavouring to engage particular persons against next sessions. I think it cannot be doubted from the reception the tories meet at court that there is an understanding betwixt him and them, tho' the persons he particularly applies to are whigs that he apprehends are disgusted.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.*

Septennial Bill passes the House of Lords.

Whitehall, April 10, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

THE Septennial Bill was this day brought into the House of Lords by the duke of Devonshire, seconded by lord Rockingham, and there appeared but little spirit or power to oppose it. When this is passed, we may perhaps be able to speak in a more peremptory manner to France, than we have done yet.

MR. MOYLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

On the proposed repeal of the Triennial Act.

London, April 20, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

SINCE your brother's happy recovery from his late violent illness, the whole discourse of the town and even the country too, turns upon the repealing the Triennial and enacting a Septennial Bill in its stead. No motion was at first treated with more coldness, the politicians of the Grecian and the neighbouring coffee-houses, fired with uncommon warmth, bellow'd aloud against it, but time and good arguments make them espouse the quite contrary opinion; you may depend on it, this bill in spite of all the drunken mercenary borough's letters, petitions, and remonstrances will be carried through the House of Commons by a considerable majority. Lechmere who always damns every thing that does not originally come from himself, will battle it against the court to the last; next Tuesday the grand debate will be, at which time I design to be present, to enable me the better to give you an account of it.

MR. MOYLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Debates on the Septennial Bill.—Arguments on both sides.

London, April 26, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

IN my last I could only give you an account that the Septennial Bill was committed by a great majority; now I can acquaint you that yesterday it passed the House of Commons by a majority of above two to one. The chief arguments used on the whigg side, were the present situation of our affairs, an enemy at home in open rebellion not yet quite subdued, and a faction at home

* The three following letters are by mistake placed out of the regular order of date.

that encouraged riots and tumults, and would undoubtedly lay hold of the opportunity that a new election offer'd them to stir up the people to not only riots, but even a fresh rebellion, that the Triennial Act never answer'd the ends at first propos'd by it; that it serv'd for no other end, but to keep alive our animosities, which by the short intervals between elections had not time to cool; and that it debauch'd the common people's morals and principles, and made them capable of the worst impressions, and ruin'd the gentry, who by the frequent returns of elections were put to great expences, and become slaves to the populace; that it hinder'd the due administration of justice, because the magistrates durst not punish many and great crimes, if committed by a voter or for fear of disobliging one, and that at the present juncture when our foreign enemies only wanted a fit opportunity to invade us anew, and put the pretender again upon us, we ought to be upon our guard, and afford him no occasion.

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1716.

The tories in their turn harranged on the topicks of liberty, and said that frequent elections were the safety of the kingdom, by placing proper checks on the crown, minister, and even the House of Commons itself; that to repeal this bill, was in effect to own the king could not trust his people; besides they argued it was unjust to continue themselves for any longer time than the people chose them for, they must then be esteemed not the peoples but their own representatives, and what laws should be made by them after the time expired for which they were elected, must be null and void; this doughty argument was insisted on by almost every one, but particularly by sir Thomas Hanmer and Lechmere, but this was both laughed at and refuted. For should that argument hold, then we were a people that had not a supreme power, and so could neither make or repeal any laws at all, besides it took from us the natural laws of self defence and preservation in times of extream danger: for the same power that made that law must surely have an equal power of repealing it. This is the sum of both arguments, but in the debates on this subject, a good deal of warmth was shewn by the tories, and Snell so affronted the whole Scotch nation, in saying that no wonder those gentlemen were for giving up our liberties, who had given up those of their own nation, that he was forc'd to explain himself and ask pardon. Lord Finch abus'd both parliament and ministers, that this bill was calculated to serve the avarice of a few persons; and he term'd the House of Commons a lick spittle parliament for coming into it. It must be own'd the whiggs when it was first propos'd did not relish it at all, but these arguments and the necessity of the times converted them.

Period II. them. And 'it is now evident that they should like what they have done the
 1714 to 1720. better, because there is not a jacobite who does not rail aloud against it, which
 1716. confesses a disappointment and that we have broke their schemes. Thus I have
 given you as full an account of this matter as I could in a letter.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

*The prince favours the tories.—Whigs disgusted—bitterly complains of his and
 lord Townshend's uneasy and uncertain situation—they are disliked by the
 prince, and rumours are in circulation that they are obnoxious to the king.*

Hampton Court, August 9th—20th. 1716.

Stanhope
 Papers.

WE came hither last night since I wrote to you by Mr. Jennings, and here
 we find the duke of Shrewsbury upon pretence of the dutchesses being
 in waiting an inhabitant of the place, which by all accounts, his publick as
 well as private reception and conferences with both prince and princeffe suf-
 ficiently encourage. The duke of Argyle is never absent from hence one
 day, he is constantly in parties of pleasure with the prince, they have begun
 little private balls, which 'tis said are to be twice or thrice a week. The
 company are his highness, his grace, and such of the family as are his grace's
 humble servants, the women, the maids of honour, and some of the dressers,
 and no spectators admitted. You can easily conjecture what must be the
 consequences of these appearances, they have such an effect already, as draws
 the tories from all parts of the neighbourhood, gives such a disgust to the whigs,
 as before Michaelmas I may venture to prophecy, the company here will be
 two to one of the king's enemies.

We are here chain'd to the oare, and working like slaves, and are look'd
 upon as no other; for not only the behaviour and conduct of the prince are a
 weight upon us; but the industrious representations that are made of our
 being lost with the king reduces our credit to nothing. If we are to be the
 king's servants, and to be supported in serving him as king, our hands must
 be strengthened. A known division among ourselves, which common danger,
 if the king pleases, he may remedy, the appearance of a declining interest with
 the king, and the unalterable resentment of the prince, however at present dis-
 guis'd, against such as he looks upon attach'd to the service of the king pre-
 ferable to his interest, leave us in a situation scarce to be weathered through.
 We know of no remedy to these evils but the king's return, and if he will
 putt his affairs upon the same foot as formerly, there will be no difficulty
 in

in serving with the same success. If he is otherwise disposed, and has thoughts of fixing another scheme of ministry, not to advise him to determine one way or other, is to betray him, for in the present state of affairs his business will moulder to nothing, and whilst all the world is in a gaze to see which way the wind will blow and settle, nobody cares to putt to sea in such a storm and hurricane as we are in at present.

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Corfu in danger of being taken by the Turks.—The Italian powers alarmed.—Favourable to the English interests.—The prince of Wales supports the duke of Argyle.—Behaves with great coldness to lord Townshend.—Embarrassments of the ministry on that account.—Necessity of the king's coming over.

SIR,

Hampton Court, August 10th—21st. 1716.

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to transmitt to you the enclosed pieces of intercepted correspondence from Turin and other parts, for his majesty's perusal, together with their observations upon the contents of them for your own amusement. These letters all agree in expressing the great consternation the princes of Italy are under from the advantages gained by the Turks over the Venetian fleet, and from the danger Corfu is in of falling into the hands of the infidels and thereby opening a door for them to enter Italy. You will see that the prospect of this danger putts the court of Turin upon the thoughts of forming an alliance with the princes of Italy for the security of that country against the Turks, and of setting France at the head of this league. Should the Turks succeed before Corfu and make an attempt thence upon Italy it is not be doubted but the princes of that country how much soever they may agree in the necessity of asking assistance will be extremely puzzled and divided of whom to ask it, having almost as much to fear from their protectors as from their enemies, and being as jealous of the power that must interpose in their defence as those powers will necessarily be of one another. So that whether the regent or the emperor, or both, undertake the defence of this kingdom, that incident, however unfortunate we must esteem it as Christians, will make his majesty's friendship more courted both at Paris and Vienna than any thing else could possibly have done at this juncture; and should the Turks by carrying the war into Italy oblige

Townshend
Papers.Original
draught.

Period II. that country to invite one or other of the powers above-mentioned to their
 714 to 1720. support; my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion the immediate
 1716. consequence would be, that the regent in order to secure all behind him and
 to be at full liberty to pour his forces into Italy, would be for concluding
 the alliance with his majesty out of hand upon terms more advantageous for
 England than he would otherwise ever have been brought to; while the em-
 peror on the other hand would pique himself to shew the same regard to his
 majesty, and might be prevailed on by the necessity of the conjuncture not
 only to redress all grievances complained of by his majesty's British subjects but
 even to confirm the king's new acquisitions in the empire and give at least his
 countenance and authority towards ending and settling the affairs in the north
 to his majesty's satisfaction. So that they are of opinion it will be for his
 majesty's service still to decline the loan, and to avoid taking new engage-
 ments either with the regent or with the emperor, till the scene opens a little
 farther and shews whether the Turk will be able to carry the war into Italy;
 in which case they do not doubt but his majesty will have the arbitration and
 ballance of Europe in his own hands.

This advantageous situation abroad, they are in hopes may go a great way
 towards retrieving his majesty's affairs at home from the state into which his
 absence has thrown them, of which you will receive so full an account this
 post from Mr. Walpole, that they think unnecessary to trouble you with all
 the particulars. They only think proper to observe to you that the duke of
 Argyle possesses the prince's ear and confidence entirely, and has introduced
 the duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Hill, into his royal highness's favour and in-
 timacy, who are the persons pitched upon by the torys to manage the interest for
 them, and who give their party all the hopes and encouragement imaginable. In
 the mean time the persons who have the honour to be entrusted by his majesty
 are treated with great coldness and reserve. My lord Townshend has been at
 the trouble of removing hither with his whole family, and is at the expence of
 keeping a table twice a week; and he together with Mr. Methuen pays the
 most constant, not to say slavish attendance, upon the prince, in return for all
 which they can but barely procure marks of outward civility from his royal
 highness. This visible distinction in favour of the duke of Argyle and his
 friends has already caused such jealousy and uneasiness among the whigs, that
 it is apprehended before Michaelmas the court may be fuller of torys than
 of the others, and such divisions are already formed amongst them that it is
 impossible to exert any vigour in the administration, much less to think of
 carrying

carrying on the king's business in parliament while things continue upon the present foot. The only remedy they can foresee is that his majesty should resolve to come over and hold the next session in person, and that his resolution so to do should be immediately intimated and declared, which, together with his majesty's shewing marks of his favour to some whose faithful services have hitherto been unrewarded, they are of opinion may still give a check to the growing hopes of the duke of Argyle's cabal. They make no doubt but this advice will fall under the common imputation of being calculated with a view to force the king home for their own private ends and purposes; but things are come to such a pass that they think themselves obliged to overlook the censures their fidelity may incur, and they could not answer it to their own consciences, if they omitted making this representation. However, if you think it will have a contrary effect to what they propose, and that without doing any good it will only give offence to his majesty they leave it to you to do with it as you think fit.

P. S. Since writing what goes before the news of the victory over the Turks is arrived, which has been received with the greatest satisfaction here. Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that if a right use is made of this victory the emperor may be enabled to carry on his views with respect to Italy, in such a manner as both he and the king may find their account in it.

This dispatch from secretary Stanhope is a very interesting and important paper. It contains an abstract of the negotiation carried on with the abbot du Bois at Hanover, which ended in the conclusion of the alliance between England and France. The address and firmness with which Stanhope conducted himself on this occasion, gained him the approbation and confidence of the king, and enabled him, in conjunction with Sunderland, to remove Townshend and Walpole from the administration, who had been the original promoters of this very treaty.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

Negotiation between secretary Stanhope and du Bois at Hanover, concerning the alliance with France.—Firmness of the king in insisting upon

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the demolition of Mardyke, and the removal of the pretender beyond the Alps.—After much difficulty and many objections du Bois consents to the terms proposed by Secretary Stanhope.

SIR,

Hanover, August 24, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

THE abbé du Bois has been here five days, and delivered to me the inclosed paper marked A, as the regent's last resolution touching Mardyke. You will see by it that very little more is proposed than to alter the sluices, but the same depth of water is proposed to be preserved, and even, as I understand him in discourse, the great sluice is proposed only to be dammed up, and not destroyed as in our project, so that by removing the earth or brick work with which they shall have so dammed it up, it may in a very few days, if I mistake not, be restored to its present state, for which reason in the French it is say'd the great passage shall be destroyed, and not the grand radier, &c. as in ours. After having read this paper and several others, containing reasonings upon this matter, I told him I was very sorry no greater progress was made in this negotiation which I saw must come to nothing. He would fain have brought me to reason with him in detail upon this business, about which he had brought a great bundle of draughts, and other writings, but I cut him short, and told him 'twas to no purpose, that I was the more concern'd at this, because his majesty upon the report which I had made of our former conferences, and of the earnest desire which the regent expressed by him for his majesty's friendship, and which I represented as very sincere, had in good measure overcome the reluctance he had to become guaranty to the succession of France, in which his royal highness was so much concerned. In short, I told him this was a matter upon which his majesty was so far from being able to yield any thing, that I was sure his majesty would not so much as give me leave here to talk about it; that the demand made by his majesty was the result of several conferences in the privy council in presence of his majesty after mature deliberation, and a full examination of engineers, sea officers, &c. He then proposed that Monsieur D'Iberville should immediately go to England and take some engineer with him, with draughts and papers, by which he does not doubt to convince the council in England, that what is offered by the regent is sufficient to answer the ends proposed by England. Having reported this conference to his majesty, I had his commands to tell him, that if they sent any body to England, they should be heard; but at the same time gave him no manner of hopes that any thing in our demands would be receded from.

Having

Having thus settled this matter, he pressed me to discourse upon the other two points, that of the removal of the pretender, and that of the succession to the crown of France, I told him that whatever I could say to him upon either of those heads was to be understood as said conditionally, that the article about Mardyke be agreed to his majesty's satisfaction.

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As to the succession to the crown of France, I offered to draw up an article with him expressing his majesty's guaranty of the same to the duke of Orleans in as strong terms as he could suggest, but when he came close to the point, I found that notwithstanding the guaranty of this succession be the only true and real motive which induces the regent to seek his majesty's friendship, yet the abbé was instructed rather to have it brought in, as an accessory to the treaty, than to have an article so framed as should make it evident that was his only drift, and intent. He insisted therefore very strongly for three days that his majesty should in this treaty guaranty the treaty of Utrecht, the 6th article of which treaty contains every thing, which relates to the succession of the crown of France. I told him that I understood the intention of France, Great Britain, and Holland in this negotiation to be no other than to settle a lasting peace between themselves respectively; that he well knew the treaty of Utrecht having been made after a long war, in which all Europe was engaged, it was necessary by that treaty to settle the interests of many states very foreign to the business now in hand; that whatever state or prince should require a guaranty of any interest or advantage accruing to him by the treaty of Utrecht, was at liberty to apply directly either to the king, the French king, or the States, who would upon such requisition enter into such conventions, or engagements as they shall think proper thereupon; but that I took it to be our business at present only to settle what immediately concerned either of the party's treating. He still pressing me upon this point, I received the king's commands to tell him plainly this would never be comply'd with; that this being to be a triple alliance, the consequence of inserting a general article to guaranty the treaty of Utrecht would be to oblige England to become guaranty for whatever conditions were stipulated at Utrecht between France and Holland, and so *vice versa*; that it was well known the Dutch had never owned the Duke of Savoy for King of Sicily; and had refused becoming any way party's to all the transactions relating to that prince, and the treaty of Utrecht; that to insert such a clause would be forcing the Dutch, at the time we affect to seek their friendship, to a measure which they would not swallow at the time of their greatest difficulty's; and
which

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which must inevitably be very much resented by the emperor, with whom his majesty so lately had concluded an alliance, and with whom he was resolved to live well. The abbé finding me thus peremptory talked of going away immediately, which threat I bore very patiently; but thinking better of it he brought himself to be satisfied, if an article should be inserted to guaranty the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty of Utrecht between France and England, and the 3rd between France and Holland; the two former of which relate only to the succession of England, and the two latter contain every thing which concerns that of France and the renunciations; upon which it is founded. This proposal was liable to fewer objections; but I having lately seen letters from Vienna, touching their apprehensions of our alliance with France, laying a great stress upon the hardship which they conceive was done the House of Austria by entailing the succession to the crown of Spain upon the house of Savoy in default of the branch of Anjou; and the same letters expressing that they could not take it ill, if the king by a treaty with the regent should secure the respective successions to the crowns of France and England; I thought it was worth considering whether in truth an article might not be framed, effectually securing the interest of the king and the regent, without giving offence unnecessarily to the house of Austria. I, therefore, prepared the article contain'd in the inclosed paper, marked B. to be substituted in the room of the fifth article of our project, whereby the three powers are to guaranty all and every the articles of the treaty of Utrecht, so far forth as they concern the interests of each of the three powers, and the successions to the two crowns of Great Britain and France, and having lay'd it before the king his majesty was pleased to approve it, and commanded me to use my best endeavours to bring the abbé to consent to it, which it has cost me three days wrangling to do.

As to the business of the pretender you will see by the inclosed paper, marked C. that France offers three expedients, and his majesty is willing to promise that he will accept of one of them, which probably will be the third, when the article of Mardyke shall have been settled to his satisfaction; all the rest of our project stands agreed to with only one small addition inserted in the body of the 7th article, and some lines at the end of it, the first of which additions is relative to what is mentioned in the fifth article as it stands alter'd concerning the two successions; the addition at the end, which puts the several party's under the obligation of declaring war in favour of the injured ally if it be necessary, is no more than what is done in the fourteenth article

article of the treaty with Holland for the defence of the succession, and barrier. By agreeing to the preamble, as it stands with the title of elector of Brunswick, I do not know whether the abbé be aware that his master becomes guaranty for the king's new acquisitions in Germany, for which reason, and lest his court should not approve even the fifth article; I have desired that he should both sign the project as it now stands, reserving as you will see in the paper itself, the article of Dunkirk to be determin'd in England. By this means all future cavills will be prevented during the course of this negotiation; and since the expedient which his majesty will accept in relation to the pretender will be that his minister shall sign an act, promising in his majesty's name to sign the treaty immediately after the pretender shall have pass'd the Alps; 'tis necessary the treaty to be so signed should be previously fixed, and settled; the king has therefore commanded me to sign what has been agreed between the abbé and me, in the manner you will see. I take it for granted that as soon as the abbé's courier reaches Paris, Monsieur d'Iberville will be dispatch'd to you; but if the success of this treaty is to depend upon his convincing you, that what the regent offers as to Mardyke is sufficient, I doubt it wont be concluded in haste.

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The abbé had propos'd an article drawn in French to guaranty the Dutch Barrier, upon which I had the king's commands to tell him, that his majesty would upon all occasions be most ready to contribute every thing in his power for the security of the States; but that he took it for granted that they would propose for themselves what they judg'd to be for their service. Upon this occasion I must tell you that one of the worst consequences which his majesty apprehends from this treaty is, that if the French become by it guarantes for the Dutch Barrier, it will furnish them with a pretence, and indeed a kind of right of becoming arbitrators, and umpires of the many differences which will naturally arise between the Dutch and the Flemings, which there is too much reason to fear may be blown up to such a degree in time, as to make a breach between the emperor, and the Dutch, whom they will have an opportunity to play one against the other. Whether, or in what manner this can be prevented is pretty hard to say. I send this dispatch under a flying seal to Mr. Walpole, who I believe may communicate the contents of it in confidence to the pensionary, Monsieur Fagel, and Slingerland; and my lord Townshend will I am perswaded send him his royal highnesses directions how he is to govern himself in this respect. Till the business of Mardyke is settled, I take it for granted Monsieur Chateaneuf will

not

Period II. 1714 to 1720. not demand any conferences with him; and if he should, Mr. Walpole has a very good reason to decline them, since the negociation for the present is removed from thence. The abbé du Bois whom I did not know to be a counsellor of state of France till now, has full powers in form, and did propose to have signed the treaty here with me; but upon my telling him that could not be, for that his majesty's minister at the Hague had the full powers, he writes to France for orders to go to the Hague which he will probably receive by the return of his courier; in the mean time he remains incognito in my house: how long his being here can be kept a secret, I will not answer, but I think the less it will be talked of will be the better.*

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Symptoms of a division among the whigs.—Applauds Stanhope's management of the negotiation with du Bois.—Urges the necessity of the king's coming over to hold the parliament in person.—Impolicy in proposing to make sir Richard Child, who was a tory, a peer.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Friday, August 17th—28th. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.Original
draught.

ON Saturday the 11th instant, I received the great honour of your letter of the 14th N. S. with one enclosed to my lord Townshend. I am commanded by his lordship and Mr. secretary Methuen to return you their most hearty thanks for the communications you are so kind as to make, particularly for imparting to them the abbé du Bois's letter. They are still of opinion, notwithstanding the specious insinuations of that letter, that the regent will never consent to demolish Mardyke in the manner specified by the project, and consequently that the king will never be brought under any difficulty with respect to the guaranty of the renunciations. My lord Townshend is not surpris'd, that the king doubted whether he writt his own sentiments on the subject of the negociation in his dispatch of the 17th July. His majesty knowing, that lord Townshend has long been of opinion, that any farther engagements with the regent, particularly with respect to the successions would only serve to strengthen the regent, and to putt it in his power to do the king greater mischief, without adding the least security to the succe-

* The king made choice of the first of the three expedients offered by France, that the French king obliges himself to remove the pretender beyond the Alps, immediately after signing the treaty and before the exchange of the ratifications.

sion of the crown of Great Britain. However what his lordship writt you then was not only pursuant to the prince's commands, but perfectly agreeable to his own sentiments, he being fully perswaded that as the situation of affairs both at home and abroad then stood, it would have been of great disservice to his majesty for the negotiation to have splitt upon the single point of the successions.

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His lordship and Mr. Methuen think it the great misfortune of this government that our kings cannot always act up to what they judge right; but must be often obliged to have regard to the humours of their subjects, which will always be more or less troublesome according as that party which has the majority in parliament is in a good or bad temper. And they are sorry to observe, that from the disposition of offices, and the behaviour of lords Sunderland and Cadogan before the king's going over, as well as from the encouragements since given to the torys by the prince's countenancing Mr. Hill, Mr. Hutchinson, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, the whigs in generall are become so uneasy and divided, that should things continue upon the present foot, the prospect for the next session of parliament would be but melancholly. And lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that in this situation, if the regent had offered full satisfaction with relation to Mardyk, and the treaty had miscarried on the point of the renunciations and successions only, it would have been represented even by the whigs, that the king had from the very beginning determined not to come to any accommodation with France, purely that he never might want a standing pretext for keeping the present forces on foot, which suggestion might have gone farther towards disbanding the forces, than any other argument in the mouth of the whigs. Neither as the affairs of the courts of Vienna and Madrid then stood, would the arguments drawn from the apprehensions of disobliging those powers have had their due weight; tho' what has since happened in both those places will add great strength to that consideration. The emperor's entire victory over the Turks will make the friendship of the court of Vienna more respected and esteem'd, and the handsome manner in which the king of Spain has gratified the South Sea Company in all their demands relating to the Assiento, joined with the prospect of having our treaty of commerce fully executed by Albemarle's being become chief minister, will make the court of Madrid much more popular here, and consequently the better enable the king to persist in any resolution which shall have the appearance of being taken in their favour.

But after all, my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen apprehend that the

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 1716. success of any step the king shall think fitt to take, with respect either to the negociation or to any other affairs relating to England, will depend on his majesty's coming over to hold the parliament, and upon his pursuing with steadiness in the next session the same measures which have carried him so successfully through the two preceding ones; and till his resolution on this important point is known, they are utterly at a loss what to advise. However they cannot but think his majesty has determined right in giving the abbé du Bois leave to come on to Hanover, and they think they may be so bold as to say, that if his majesty will but pursue the proper measures here, he need not be afraid to give the abbé such an answer as he shall judge most for his service, since they make no doubt but with the assistance above-mentioned they shall be able to support it here. They think it cannot be doubted but that the abbé's coming must be of great advantage to his majesty's affairs, both as such a submission on the part of the regent will help to make the court of Vienna more observant and respectful towards his majesty, and as the negotiation is by this means taken out of the hands of the French faction in Holland, and left entirely with the king. And they think that even tho' the king were determined never to come into this treaty, yet it would be of great service to his affairs to keep this negociation between the abbé and you alive for some time longer; since the regent will by this means be certainly withheld from supporting the jacobites in the king's absence, which must very much sink the spirits of that party here; and his majesty may by the credit of this negociation find it more easie to influence and lead the court of Vienna into such measures (since their late victory) as may be most agreeable to his majesty's interests, as well as to that of the house of Austria and of all Europe.

My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are extremely concerned at what you write about the probability of sir Richard Child's immediate promotion to the peerage. They apprehend that such a mark of his majesty's favour to that gentleman who is a tory, may have a very ill effect at this juncture, and that it will at least revive many pretensions among the whigs which are in every respect better founded, so that it will be of great disservice to his majesty to do it at present: for which reason they desire you would use your utmost endeavours at least to gett it deferr'd till after the next session, by which means his majesty will have the service of sir R. Child in the House of Commons for one session longer; and they make no doubt but the evident reasonableness of this delay will reconcile sir R. Child to acquiesce in it, if he can have his majesty's assurance of its being done at that time.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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*Addresses to the prince.—Discontents fomented by some discontented whigs.—
Again presses the necessity of the king's coming over.*

SIR,

Hampton Court, 21st August—Sept. 1, 1716.

MY lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen return youm any thanks for your private letter of the 23d August, and congratulate you on the success of your negociation with the abbé du Bois, which they think very well answers the pains you have employed in it; particularly the article relating to the guaranty they look upon to be drawn up with such caution and dexterity as makes no less for your own credit than for the advantage of his majesty's service; since in it such care is taken to avoid confirming the treaty of Utrecht in general, and to confine the stipulations on the subject of the successions to the immediate interests of the powers contracting, that the emperor cannot with any foundation of reason take exception at this guaranty. As for the abbé's specification of what the regent is willing to do towards ruining Mardyke they look upon it to be so very insufficient, that instead of answering his majesty's intentions, it seems only to prove the regent's insincerity and his resolution never to comply with that important demand. However since his majesty has been pleased to refer that matter hither, they desire he would do them the justice to believe, that they will insist on the strongest and most explicit stipulations on that head from Mr. Iberville, or any one else whom it shall be their lott to treat with, and if the court of France should refuse to give satisfaction in this particular, the treaty will break off upon a point so justly popular here, that every honest man will condemn the regent and applaud his majesty's conduct through the whole course of this negotiation.

As to domestick affairs, they command me to acquaint you, that they are well informed the whole body of the torys are promoting addresses from all parts to the prince, the heads of which they hear are already sent down, and that the general tenour of them will be to compliment the prince upon his regency and upon his shewing himself disposed to be a common father to all his people, in spite of the artifices and insinuation of such as delight in war or bloodshed; by which it is intended to reflect on his majesty's conduct, and stigmatize such of his servants as were most active in carrying on the late war against France, and in pursuing the measures found necessary for suppressing the rebellion. They are assured that sir John Packington has undertaken to procure such an address from Worcestershire, and Mr. Bromley another from

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

Period II. Warwickshire, and that the same are carrying on in most of the western
 714 to 1720. counties; they likewise hear that some of the discontented whigs are entered
 1716. into this project, encouraged by the duke of Argyll, Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Hamden, and tho' they make no doubt but that the main body of the whigs will now be upon their guard, and oppose a design of such pernicious tendency, yet they find that some well-meaning people have been already drawn in to promote congratulatory addresses to the prince. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen are of opinion that this is the wisest step the jacobites have yet taken, since it manifestly tends to set up the son against the father, and to lay a lasting foundation of uneasiness and distraction among those who are best affected to the royal family: however they think themselves obliged to do his royal highness the justice to declare, that they neither hear, nor can perceive by any observations they have yet been able to make, that he has given the smallest encouragement to these addresses.

The only remedy they can foresee for this and other growing evils is, what I had the honour to mention to you in my last, that his majesty should take the resolution of coming over to hold the parliament, and that it should be known immediately he has such an intention. They have nothing further to add on this head, but to desire you would manage the intelligence with such caution, that no person living but the king may know it comes from them.

My lord Townshend does most earnestly desire that you would use your utmost endeavours towards getting the duties on the British tobacco imported into Bremen reduced to the ancient foot as soon as possible; since that matter begins to make a great noise already in London, and will probably give a handle to such complaints in parliament as may confound the business of the whole session.

Enclosed are some pieces of intercepted correspondence which I have the honour to transmit to you by my lord Townshend's command.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Mentions the motives and impropriety of the addressees to the prince.—Sunderland in taking leave gives strong assurances of friendship.—The prince eager to settle the business for the next session.—Artifices employed to delay it.—Cabals seem to be in agitation—on the duke of Argyle's pension.—The prince disposed to be more complying.—Is prevailed upon though with difficulty to give a proper answer to the Gloucestershire addressees.

DEAR SIR,

August 30—Sept. 10, 1716.

SINCE I troubled you last, you had an account by another hand of the apprehensions we had of addressees, that were sett on foot in severall parts of the kingdom, which we heard no more of till yesterday, that Giles Erle (the duke of Argyle's Erle) that fold to'ther day, brought an addresse to Mr. Methwyn from Gloucestershire. The addresse is to the prince and contains nothing in it that is very liable to objection; but Mr. Erle having no concern in that country, Mr. Methwyn told him, if any gentleman that was thought proper to deliver it, should desire it of him, he would not refuse to introduce him, which was all he could do. Mr. Erle then left the addresse with him, but upon second thoughts came for it again in the afternoon, and said he would deliver it himself. It is observable tho' there is nothing very materiall in this addresse, it comes from the county where an addresse of another spiritt was refus'd; and it seems, since they could not have such a one as they wish'd, they would rather have such a one as the whigs would sign, and could not be objected to, than have none at all, and this is certainly meant as a forerunner to others that are ready prepar'd, and will be of that stile which you were before acquainted with. We have reason to believe there are some more in other countries ready to be sent up, which may be in themselves not very significant, but only to introduce the humour of addressing, which when begun, if it meets with encouragement, you may depend upon it, will be followed in such a manner, as to complement the prince at the expence of the king and his servants, for this was most certainly the first design, and can be of no other use. The Tories are waiting for the event, and flatter themselves with no small advantage from it. Lord Sunderland has left us, and will be soon with you; we parted with all the professions and assurances of mutual friendship and union, that was possible. He seem'd indeed sensible of the ill consequences of the measures he had been engag'd in, and seem'd resolved to re-

turn

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STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Represents the insidious conduct of France in regard to Mardyke.—And again presses in the strongest manner the necessity of the king's presence.

SIR,

Hampton Court, 8th—19th Sept. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

*Original
draught.*

I Am commanded by my lord Townshend and Mr. secretary Methuen to return you many thanks for the honour of your private letters of the 29th August and 8th September. You will see by the papers enclosed in Mr. Methuen's dispatch, that the event of the negociation with M. d'Iberville is likely to be such as was apprehended, and that there appears as yet no probability of the regent's putting his majesty under the least difficulty by consenting even in words to the demolition of Mardyke. It being very plain by the course of the negociation that though the draining of the waters is made the pretence, yet the maintaining a depth sufficient to admitt men of war and privateers is the reall aim of the French, my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen have by the directions of his royal highness (with the advice of the council) offered such an expedient as will force M. d'Iberville out of his chicane, and oblige him to own the reall intentions of his court. If the regent should consent to this expedient, it is the opinion of our engineers that the canal will be rendered more effectually incapable of receiving ships of war and privateers, than it would have been even by the first proposals in the paper annexed to the project; and if he should refuse to comply with it (as every one here is fully persuaded he will) there will be this additionall advantage accruing from the proposal as it is now putt, that it will at once convince the obstinate and unwilling, to believe both here and in Holland, that the draining of the waters is only an idle sound and pretence, since after that is provided for by our consenting to such a depth of the sluice as they themselves insisted on, they are as far from being satisfied as ever, and still insist on such a breadth, as can only be necessary for receiving ships of war or privateers capable of annoying the trade of Great Britain. My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen conceive, that the making this appear in so strong a light will be of great service to his majesty, not only as it will justify him to all the world in breaking off the treaty on the most important point possible, but as it will furnish the well affected in Holland with means to check that forward disposition which appears in too many there for negociating with France.

My lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen observe with great concern, that your letter of the 8th instant, speaks with very little certainty of the king's returning

ing into England time enough to hold the parliament. They hope his majesty will doe them the justice to believe, that what they offered and must still be obliged to offer on that head proceeds from no private view or interest of their own, but from a reall sense of the many inconveniences and dangers, to which the whole nation as well as his majesty's family are exposed by his absence. There appears to them no prospect of subduing the spirit of jacobitism, and of restoring the publick tranquillity any other way than by wise and vigorous regulations in parliament, which they have as little prospect of obtaining without the presence of the king to compose the differences and to animate the zeal of his friends. It appears by late discoveries, that a very considerable schism is formed in the church, and every day encreases by the joint industry of the tory and nonjuring clergy, whose congregations, since Paul's speech and the late encrease of disaffection are grown to be very numerous; and if some vigorous remedy be not applied to this evil, the mass of the people may by degrees, under the bait of religion, be drawn in openly to espouse the cause of the pretender. This will make it necessary to pass some laws which however levell'd against the nonjurors principally, will not fail in some degree to affect and irritate the two universities and the whole body of the clergy; and his majesty will easily conclude, that nothing less than his immediate countenance and protection will be sufficient to support his servants under so invidious, however necessary, a service.

The king's friends as well as enemies in Scotland agree all like one man in opposing the trials, that are carrying on at Carlisle, and it is doubted whether the persons employed will be able to get through those tryals with any sort of credit, not only on account of the difficulties that will be thrown in their way from that quarter, but by the listlessness which reigns in all the courts of justice, except two or three where men of spirit preside. And it is still more doubted whether, after the tryals are over, the executions will not produce a generall disturbance in Scotland, unless they can see that the government is in a condition to resent such usage as they ought. This may give some occasion for making use of the army, which it is certain all imaginable efforts will be used in parliament to gett lessened, and to misrepresent; complaints of all kinds being industriously collected for that purpose. Some method must also be pitched upon for paying off the publick debts, without which we are no nation, and this cannot be done without disobliging several of the monied men who will be impatient at the lowering of interest. These difficulties are such as appear to my lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen to be

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hardly surmountable without the king's presence and immediate support, and yet are of such a nature as will not admit of any delay; so that they find themselves under an unavoidable necessity of repeating as their most sincere and disinterested sentiment, that his majesty should resolve to hold the parliament in person. Thus much at least, they do most earnestly beg, that whatever his majesty's resolution may be, they may be apprised of it immediately (under confidence) since the time of the year requires, that a scheme should be formed for the next session, which it will be impossible for them to digest and prepare in such a manner as they would wish to do for the ease of his majesty's government and for the advantage of his service; unless they can be able to foresee whether his majesty will hold the parliament in person or not.

This is what they thought themselves obliged to communicate to you, but they leave it entirely to you to represent to his majesty as much or as little of it as you think proper at this time, and they again repeat to you their request, that no one, except the king, may know this intelligence comes from them.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

The regent consents to reduce the sluices of Mardyke.—Good effects resulting from the conclusion of the treaty with France.

SIR,

Hampton Court, September 11—22, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

MY Lord Townshend and Mr. Methuen make no doubt but you will be very much surpris'd to hear, so soon after what I had the honour to write to you in my last, that Monsieur d'Iberville has given in a paper; by which he consents to ruine the fascinages and to reduce the sluice to the breadth of sixteen feet, which in the opinion of the most skilful of our sea officers as well as engineers, will more effectually exclude ships of war and privateers, than what was first propos'd in the paper annexed to his majesty's project. They impute this alteration in the conduct of the regent, partly to the perplexed state of his own affairs, and partly to his having a better opinion of his majesty than heretofore. It is also possible that the victory of the emperor may have had its share in determining him to this compliance.

But be the cause what it will, they think they have the justest reason to felicitate his majesty on the conclusion of a treaty with France, as an event

not

not more glorious in itself than advantageous in its consequences. It cannot but be of general service to his majesty's affairs to have it appear to the world, that the reputation of his government is such as has enabled him, even amidst the difficulties under which he has laboured at home ever since his accession to the throne, to extort from France a solemn engagement of destroying that work which the hands of Great Britain itself had so lately helped to raise, and which it is plain from the vastness of expence of the design the late French king intended, should stand to ages to come as a perpetual check to our island, and a lasting monument of his superior policy and glory.

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The regent's concluding this treaty, and submitting to purchase it at the price of this demolition will put him so irreparably ill with the old ministry and the Spanish faction in France, that from this moment he must have taken the resolution to throw himself upon the king for support; the consequence of which with respect to his majesty's domestick affairs will be, that the spirit of jacobitism, which has hitherto been buoyed up by the expectation of assistance from the regent, seeing that hope now entirely withdrawn, will sink and fall to nothing, provided his majesty's affairs are carried on with steadiness and resolution.

And as to foreign affairs the credit of a treaty with France upon such advantageous terms, together with the immediate good effects it will produce at home will enable his majesty to make that figure on the continent, which the kings of England ought always to do, by securing to him the balance and arbitration of the affairs of Europe; and this may not only incline the king of Sweden to submit to an accommodation upon his majesty's own terms; but may possibly give occasion to the czar to reflect how far it may be safe for him to proceed in measures, which his majesty will now have his hands more at liberty to resent.

The emperor in the mean time cannot, with any pretence of reason, take offence at this alliance, since in the negotiation of it, he has had opportunity to be convinced, that the king had such regard for his interests that he would sooner have renounced the demolition of Mardyke, than have purchased it upon terms prejudicial to the emperor's rights, or any ways destructive of his views. The only power that can find any shadow for complaint they think is the king of Spain; and yet our greatest crime against him is only the renewing a former guaranty of those renunciations, which he thought fit to submit to in the most solemn manner; and how much soever he may be disposed to re-

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sent it, yet as there is no power in being, except his majesty, to whom he can have recourse in his present circumstances, it is not doubted but he will endeavour to put the best face upon this matter, and still continue to proportion his civility to the hopes and fears he has from his majesty, which, as they have been, so they will ever be, the only principle and rule of his behaviour with respect to England.

Upon the whole, they think his majesty's servants have reason to value themselves upon having conducted this negotiation through so many difficulties to such a prospect of success, in which, as you have had the largest share, they desire you to accept of their most sincere congratulations.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Bernsdorf informs him, that the czar would quarter his troops in the Danish territories, and proposes to secure the czar's ships, and seize his person.—Necessity of speedily concluding the treaty with France, before the troubles in the North break out.

MY LORD,

September 25, 1716, N. S.

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

YOUR Lordship will perceive by my public dispatch to Mr. Methuen, something of the apprehensions we are under from our Northern neighbours; nor did his majesty think it proper, that more should be said in the letter, which is to be read in council; but your lordship will acquaint his royal highness with further particulars.

Mr. Bernsdorf came to me this morning to tell me, that the czar has declared that he would quarter his troops in the Danish territories; that the king of Denmark begs advice from the king, and particularly prays, that sir John Norris may stay with him. The Muscovite is already master by land in the king of Denmark's country, and is taking measures to be master at sea likewise. Mr. Bernsdorf thinks it necessary to crush the czar immediately, to secure his ships, and even to seize his person to be kept till his troops shall have evacuated Denmark and Germany. I went immediately to the king, who asked how far I could venture to give orders to sir John Norris. I told him that as far as joining his offices with those of the king of Denmark, I would make no difficulty; and I will accordingly write to sir J. Norris by an express, which shall be dispatched to-morrow to inform him on which side the king inclines: but the king desires that your lordship will consider seriously of this matter, and of instructions for our fleet here.

I do

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I do verily believe things will come to an eclat, perhaps before I can have an answer from you. I shall check my own nature upon this occasion, which was ever inclined to bold strokes, till I can hear from you. But you will easily imagine how I shall daily be pressed to send orders to sir J. Norris. The truth is, I see no day-light through these affairs. We may easily master the czar, if we go briskly to work; and that this be thought a right measure. But how far Sweden may be thereby enabled to disturb us in Britain you must judge. If the czar be let alone, he will not only be master of Denmark, but with the body of troops which he hath still behind on the frontiers of Poland, may take quarters where he pleases in Germany. How far the king of Prussia is concerned with him we do not know, nor will that prince explain himself. The king now wishes, and so doth your humble servant, very heartily that we had secured France. The abbé talks to me as one would wish, and shewed me part of a dispatch from Marshal d'Huxelles this morning, whereby they promise that the minute our treaty is signed, they will frankly tell us every thing they know touching the jacobite projects from the beginning. I was, you know, very averse at first to this treaty, but I think truly as things now stand we ought not to lose a minute in finishing it.

P. S. Since the writing what goes before the abbé shewed me an extract of d'Iberville's letter to Mr. Chateaufort, by which it appears but too plainly that your lordship judged right of d'Iberville. He is plainly against the thing; and I assure you the abbé is as angry with him as you can be. I do therefore think the only way to end, is to frame, as I often mentioned, such an article as you think it possible for the regent to accept, and send it hither as your ultimatum. I do not despair but that I should prevail upon this man, who as I tell Mr. Methuen, hath a new commission and full powers, dated the 12th instant, to sign it with me as we signed the others.

I am perhaps too easily alarmed, but I confess that I think it will be of fatal consequence, if the negotiation should miscarry; which it certainly will do, if this eclat in the North breaks out before we have finished.

Mr. Bernsdorf has been twice with me to desire that I would recommend to your lordship the business of the money due to Munster and Saxe-Gotha.

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SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716. *King satisfied with du Bois, and impatient for the conclusion of the alliance with France.*

September 29, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

SINCE my last letter to your lordship, I carryed the abbé du Bois to the king for the first time: they parted perfectly well satisfied with each other, and the reasons I have mentioned to your lordship in some of my late letters, continue to make the king very desirous that this matter may speedily come to an issue. A fresh motive, which adds to the king's impatience is the advice we have from Paris of the 21st instant, that Monsieur Beretti, a new Spanish ambaffador, had left Paris in order to go to the Hague. We shall be embarrassed what to do with this man, till our business with France be finished one way or other. If we close with France, I think I have a plan for Spain, which will not displease you, which I will communicate to your lordship in a short time.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Confidentially communicates to him his opinion that the prosecution of the Northern war will be their ruin, and earnestly exhorts him to prevail on the king to make a speedy peace.

DEAR DON,

Sunday, September 23—October 4, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

MY heart is so full with the melancholy news you sent me in your last, that I cannot help writing this letter to you, which I beg may be seen by no one person living, but remain absolutely between you and me a secret for ever. My chief design is to beg of you not to consent to sir John Norris staying any longer than the first of November, nor to the king's engaging openly in the affair about the czar. This Northern war has been managed so stupidly, that it will be our ruin. Is it possible for the king to carry it on with Denmark only on his side, and the Muscovite troops against him, supposing even the intended project should succeed? Would it not therefore be right for the king to think immediately how to make his peace with Sweden, even tho' he shou'd be obliged to make some sacrifice in obtaining it?

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

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Ill effects of a rupture with Russia, particularly in preventing the importation of naval stores.—It is the opinion of the prince that the Squadron of Sir John Norris ought not to winter in the Baltic—Dreads an invasion from Sweden—Insinuates the danger and difficulty of seizing the person of the czar, and securing his troops.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Sunday, September 23—October 4, 1716.

YESTERDAY morning I received your private letter of the 25th instant, which I immediately laid before the prince. His royal highness is extremely concerned at the ill turn which affairs in the north are likely to take, and particularly that this should happen at a juncture the most critical that could have been found for doing hurt to his majesty's affairs, as well by checking the regent's eagerness to finish the alliance, as by encouraging the pretender to proceed in those attempts which we are assured he is preparing to make in concert with Sweden. Under so fatal a *contre-temps* his royal highness's greatest satisfaction is, that the treaty with France is in such forwardness as gives room to hope, that the regent will rather choose to go forward, than by retracting what he has done, abandon for ever all hopes of an alliance with his majesty.

Stanhope
Papers.

His royal highness has considered your letter with all the attention which the importance of its matter requires, and observing that the exigency of the affair you write about, is such as not to admit of any delay, he has thought fit to dispatch an express with his own opinion, and that of such of his majesty's servants as are here at present, which are none but Mr. Methuen, Mr. Walpole, and myself. You will easily believe from the discourse which you may remember passed between you and me upon the czar's being first permitted to bring such a large body before Wismar, that I was not much surprised to hear of his proceeding in this manner; and since what we could not then gett believed is now verified by the event, all that remains is to consider what remedy can be provided, which you may depend upon it his royal highness wishes to be as decisive and speedy a one as you can possibly desire; being sensible that slow and gentle methods will in this case work no effect, or worse than none. But the accounts given by lord Polwarth of what has passed between the czar and king of Denmark are so lame and imperfect, that it is impossible for his royal highness to form any certain judgment of the
state

Period II. state of affairs there, and how far the Danes are in a condition to execute the
 1714 to 1720. vigorous measures proposed in your letter. The sentiments therefore which
 1716. his royal highness commands me to transmitt for his majesty's deliberation
 relate chiefly to the consequences which those measures are likely to produce
 with respect to England.

The first and most obvious effect of our breaking with the czar will be his
 seizing on our merchants with their ships, cargoes and effects (which are un-
 doubtedly of great value), and his prohibiting our commerce to Muscovy,
 which at this time when we are unable to supply ourselves with navall stores
 from any other country, certainly deserves the greatest consideration, and so
 much the more because his royal highness having consulted the most ex-
 perieneced members of the Admiralty and Navy, finds that it is our misfortune
 at this juncture, by the knavery of the Muscovites in imposing on our
 merchants last year to have our navall magazines so ill provided with stores,
 particularly with hemp, that if the fleet of merchant men, now lading in the
 Baltick, should by any accident miscarry, it will be impossible for his majesty
 to fitt out any ships of war for the next year, by which means the whole navy
 of England will be rendered perfectly useles, and the enemies of his majesty's
 government will be furnished with the most popular topicks of complaint.

His royal highness is also of opinion, that it will above all things be
 necessary for his majesty's service, that sir John Norris should be at liberty
 to return with the fleet by the beginning of November at farthest, not only
 on account of the danger to which the merchantmen would be exposed with-
 out his convoy (which yet in our present circumstances is alone sufficient to
 make his stay impracticable) but because our sea officers are all of opinion
 that the ships which winter there will certainly be so far damaged by the
 frosts (which begin usually in November) and by other accidents in those
 seas, that they will scarce ever be fitt for any other expedition. Besides,
 they cannot be of any use or service there during the winter season, and our
 officers are all clear in their opinion, that the Squadron may return thither
 earlier in the next spring from England, than they can be fitted for action in
 those parts after the thaw; and even supposing their stay there were practi-
 cable, yet the service proposed being either to be performed at a blow or not
 at all, the event will be decided one way or other before November, after
 which time the rigour of the season will impose a kind of naturall armistice
 on all fleets in those seas. I may add, that it will be an unpardonable step
 here, if at a time when the nation is threatened with an invasion, and finds it-
 self

self in so defenceless a condition as to shipping, such a considerable branch of our naval force should be detained abroad, to the evident detriment of the ships themselves, as well as to the hazard of the men's lives for want of provisions: and what gives the greater weight to this consideration, is, that the king of Sweden (according to the intelligence sent you in several of my letters) is at this time actually treating with the jacobites in order to joyn with the pretender, so that no doubt can be made, but when he sees the descent on Schonen laid aside, and Great Britain embroyled with the czar, he will think himself at liberty to give a full carriere to his passion by pouring a body of forces into England.

However, if his royal highness apprehends these difficulties and ill consequences on the one hand, he is on the other no less deeply affected with a just sense of the imminent danger which these kingdoms as well as the empire are exposed to from the behaviour of the czar, who it is plain intends to make himself master of the whole coast of the Baltick; his royal highness is therefore of opinion that the measures proposed in your letter, or any other, be they never so strong and vigorous, ought rather to be made use of, than that that prince should be suffered to go on, and effect the plan he seems to have formed. But it is thought here, that the execution of what is proposed by Monsieur Bernstorff does entirely depend upon the king of Denmark; neither can his royal highness see how his majesty's immediate assistance can at present contribute to that end; if the czar's troops are to be secured, and his person to be seized, it must be done by the king of Denmark's army alone, and the success of this enterprize must wholly depend on the condition the Danes are in to execute it. His royal highness is therefore of opinion, that his majesty, if he thinks the king of Denmark able to go through with such a project, may insinuate privately and under the greatest secrecy that he will not only acquiesce in his Danish majesty's making this attempt, (if he thinks fitt to undertake it), but that he will also support and assist him in the sequel of this affair when once the blow is given. But his royal highness submits it to his majesty, whether it can be for his service to appear openly at this juncture in an affair of this kind, to the success of which, as I said before, he cannot at present contribute; for if once the stroke is struck at land, and the czar and his troops secured, the Muscovite fleet will be of little or no service, and the Danes will of themselves be more than able to deal with them. However, if this last particular relating to the fleets should not prove true, his royal highness does not see there would be any harm in sending private orders to

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.} fir John Norris, that if after the king of Denmark has secured the czar and his troops at land, the Muscovite fleet should attempt to attack the Danes, he might in such a case declare to the Muscovites, that being sent thither to act defensively in favour of Denmark, he could not by the instructions he brought with him suffer their being attack'd. These orders the Danes may have private notice of, and his royal highness thinks this ought to content them; since the king's taking any further step in their favour would be attended with insuperable difficulties, the least of which might be, that the whole of the war against Sweden as well as Muscovy would be devolved upon his majesty.

1716.

These are the sentiments of his royal highness, as well as of those who have the honour to be employed in his majesty's service upon this ticklish and intricate affair, all which his royal highness desires may be entirely submitted to his majesty's judgment and determination. I am, with the greatest truth and affection, yours.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Lord Townshend is treated by the prince with particular confidence—laments the situation of affairs in the north.—Enforces the necessity of the king's augmenting his forces in Germany.—Strongly objects to the continuance of the British Squadron in the Baltic.—Recommends a peace with Sweden.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Sept. 25,—October 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Original
draught.

I Am commanded by my lord to acquaint you, that the prince was so earnest with him to write the enclosed, and has been pleased to use him with such particular confidence of late, that he could not think it for his majesty's service to decline obeying his royal highness's commands in an instance, when they appeared not only highly reasonable but necessary; and he was the easier induced to do this, having lately seen a letter from Hanover, which makes it very probable his majesty will not come over this winter. His lordship thinks, that his writing to you in this manner need put you under no sort of difficulty, since if you do not think it proper to speak to his majesty directly on this subject, you need only write a respectful answer, which he may show the prince, letting his royal highness know your opinion, and assuring him you will take the first convenient opportunity to learn his majesty's pleasure on these particulars.

Last night lord Townshend received your letters of the 29th instant, and is so affected with the melancholy turn which the affairs of the north have taken, that he cannot help troubling you with his private sentiments on that subject. The strong representation which you mention as designed to be made to the czar, his lordship thinks is certainly a right step; but he cannot see how any body can with reason flatter himself, that it will be attended with success. The behaviour of the czar at this juncture is certainly not the effect of any sudden change in him; but the consequence of a plan he has long been forming: of the truth of this, he gave sufficient proof when he married his niece to the duke of Mecklenburgh. He has certainly for some time looked upon Sweden as out of a condition to give him any great disturbance; and he seems to have had no greater apprehension from his majesty as having only Denmark on his side; and being in no condition to oppose his views and measures in Germany.

His lordship wishes he may not have judged right in this particular, but fears if the king does not alter his measures very soon, it will prove too true: the present greatness of the czar being chiefly owing to the king's not caring to be at the expence of having a sufficient number of his own troops to support the figure he ought to have made, and the interest he has in the northern quarrel, as partly to the jealousy that has long prevailed between our court and that of Prussia. If therefore the czar should continue in the resolution he has taken, the only way to prevent the mischiefs so justly apprehended is, in his lordship's opinion, to remove, before it be too late, the cause that first brought on the danger, which must be by the king's resolving to augment his troops to such a number, by raising, or hiring, or both, as shall shew the czar, that his majesty does intend to be master so near home; and at the same time his lordship thinks endeavours should be used to get the court of Prussia at any rate. The very noise of his majesty's raising or hiring 20,000 men now, would do him more credit and service at this time, than the raising 40,000 men a year hence; and though the expence would fall heavy at first; yet his majesty would have means of making himself whole; and even of being a gainer by the credit which such an augmentation would give him towards carrying on his own terms of peace with Sweden; whereas without some such step no man living can foretell what extremities the king may be driven to before a year goes about. Such a resolution would confound the czar's measures, establish the king's interest all over Europe, and keep every thing quiet here; and unless something of this kind be done his

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Period II. lordship is afraid you will see the king's affairs here and every where else fall
 1714 to 1720. into very great confusion.

1716.

My lord Townshend perceives by a letter from M. Robethon, that the king is likely to insist on sir John Norris's squadron being left to winter in the Baltic; and he commands me to acquaint you, that it makes him loose all patience to see what ridiculous expedients they propose to his majesty for extricating themselves out of their present difficulties; as if the leaving you eight men of war to be frozen up for six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the north. However if they have had the influence to persuade his majesty, that such a step is absolutely necessary, thus much his lordship thinks he may venture to affirm, that no one can ever bear the weight of such a resolution, without majesty by acting in every part with suitable vigour, will make it plain, that nothing less than the most imminent danger obliged him to provide for his defence in this extraordinary manner. A peace with Sweden, his lordship thinks, would be the shortest way to put an end to all these disturbances; but considering that prince's temper, he very much fears any new project of that kind would, at this juncture be impracticable. I am, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Desires in the name of the prince of Wales, to be informed whether the necessary plans for opening the session should begin to be arranged.—Complains of the interference of Robethon.

Hampton Court, Tuesday, September 25—October 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

Draught.

YOU will have heard from Mr. Secretary Methuen, that the parliament was prorogued on Tuesday the 18th instant, for one month; but the usual time of the session drawing on, and the business which must be brought in, being such as will take up a great deal of time in preparing and digesting, as well as in being afterwards dispatched in the house; for these reasons, his royal highness thinks it would be for his majesty's service, that he should know as soon as possible, whether it is majesty's pleasure, that he should begin to form the necessary plans, as also at what time the session is to be opened. But as this affair is somewhat of a nice and delicate nature, his royal highness has commanded me to write to you in confidence as to a friend, desiring you to apprise yourself of these particulars at such a time, and in such a manner,

as may give no sort of offence to his majesty, the promoting of whose service is the only view his royal highness has in making this enquiry.

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1716.

There is one particular relating to the conduct of Mr. Robethon, which I am obliged to take notice of to you, and which I hope you will endeavour to put a stop to. The Scotch find means of applying to him, and upon his partial representations to the king, he obtains and transmits orders hither, which we, who have the honour to serve here, conceive by no means for his majesty's service. I have had several instances of this, and particularly two by the last post. He gives directions in his letters to count Bothmar to enquire of me how sir James Campbell came not to be turned out of his command in Sterling Castle, and why Mr. Erskine was turned out from being collector of the customs at Inverness. As for the former, his majesty may remember, that upon his shewing me the list of the duke of Argyle's creatures and dependants given him by the duke of Roxburgh, he was pleased to declare, that such of them against whom the want of zeal or skill in their business could not be objected, should keep their places; and upon my assuring his majesty, there was no objection of that kind against sir James Campbell, he was pleased to declare he should be continued in his post at Stirling Castle. As for Mr. Erskine he was removed for being a near relation of Mar's, and one whom several of the Scotch members of parliament affirmed to Mr. Walpole on their own knowledge to be a most notorious jacobite. I am, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Enforces the necessity of the king's presence; but if he continues abroad, recommends the propriety of not deferring too long the opening of the session, which would disgust the prince.—Flourishing state of the revenue and public credit.—Is preparing a scheme for paying off the debt.—Conference with Bothmar on the sale of the lands in the island of St. Christopher's.—Dissuades the king from appropriating the purchase money, and recommends another mode of proceeding.

DEAR SIR,

London, Sept. 28—October 9, 1716.

I Have received the favour of yours of the 19th instant, and am very glad to hear, that our endeavours to render his majesty the best service we are able is graciously accepted by him; and 'tis a further satisfaction for us to find that tho' we have no easy game to play here, we are not entirely unsuccessful; and altho' it may be possible still to carry on the king's business here with

Stanhope
Papers.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1716. with a constant assiduity, application and carefull management, I must confesse I was infinitely pleas'd with that part of the letter which gave us hopes of his majesties coming over to hold the parliament himself. But I cannot but be concern'd at your apprehensions upon this point express'd in your letter to Mr. Poyntz; but in this case next to the want of the king's presence, to be kept in doubt and suspense will be the greatest misfortune.

I have gott the prince's leave to goe into the country for a month, to try if I can lay in a little stock of health, to enable me to undergoe the winter's campaign, and as I may not be in the way to give you my thoughts very suddenly again, I shall take the liberty to tell you my sense very plainly. If 'tis possible to prevail with the king to come over, no endeavours should be wanting to convince his majesty, that 'tis of the last consequence to his affairs, and indeed almost of such absolute necessity, that nobody dares to answer for successe in this businesse in parliament in his majesties absence; so that if there is any hopes of the king's coming over, I think it adviseable to defer the meeting of the parliament as long as 'tis possible, which I think may be done till after Christmas. But on the other hand, if his majesty is determin'd to suffer the prince to hold the parliament, I am of opinion, there should be no thoughts of deferring the sessions any longer than the latter end of November or beginning of December at furthest. For besides the generall inconveniencies of a late session, and the particular prejudices that the public suffers in our mony matters, you may depend upon it, the prince will soon grow uneasy; and if he once begins to think, that the session is delayed only to defeat him of what he so much desires, this will be imputed entirely to us; and if he at last holds the parliament, his resentment upon this account, may give those that desire to confound the king's affairs such an advantage over us, that we shall feel the effects of it thro' the whole session; that 'tis plain to me, if the king designs the prince shall hold the parliament, and will thereby putt the whole affairs of this winter into his highness's hands and power, it should be done in such a manner as may not engage the prince in measures opposite to the interest of the king. It is easy to see of what use and service it will be, for the king's servants to know his majesties resolutions upon this head as soon as may be, that they may begin to form the scheme of the session, and take his majesties pleasure upon the severall heads, before they are finally fixed and determin'd with the prince.

The state of his majesties revenue being at present in so good a condition, I hope you will excuse me that I give you the trouble of acquainting you in general,

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easily judge what must be the tenour and cheif of our discourse. I do apprehend, that St. Christopher's being a cession to England upon the peace, it will be thought, and some time or other declar'd so in parliament, that it being purchas'd by the blood and treasure of the publick, the nation ought to have the benefitt and advantage of it. This I speak, as the language of such, as will be dispos'd to find fault, and what will perhaps be too much attended to by even the well-meaning country gentlemen. There is no doubt but 'tis in the power of the king to sell or dispose of it, as he shall think fitt; that the only question is about the manner, and the application of the money. I have had this summer two or three different proposalls offer'd to me, which I have allways declined entering into, because I did not know the king's sence and pleasure about it. The highest sum that has been ever yett mention'd to me, was 70,000*l*. I cannot say that more will be given, but it so seldom happens, that the highest price is bid at first, that I make no doubt but the case would be the same here likewise. I understand by count Bothmar, that the king is pretty much determin'd to have the whole produce at his own will and private direction, and what is suggested, to bring this matter immediately into a transaction, is the danger there may be, that the parliament may by some act, or vote, lay their hands upon it, and prevent the king's intentions, as was done in the case of the Farthings. I can only say to this, that whoever should think off meddling with this previously to any thing being done upon it, would sooner fall upon it after it was done in such a manner, as they might apprehend will give a handle to fix a blame or censure upon the king's servants; for I have always observ'd that the love of finding fault is at least as prevalent in our house, as the desire of doing the publick good; and I believe Mr. Lechmere would be more forward in fixing a censure upon your humble servant, than in saving such a sum to the publick. Upon the whole, if his majesty is very intent, that something should be done in this matter, I humbly hope, he will give leave that it may be consider'd in the best manner that is possible; and if he is very desirous to take the benefitt of it to himself, I hope his majesty will be so good as to forgive me, if I give it as my humble opinion, that the surest, and most effectual way to secure such a share or part of it as shall be thought reasonable to his own private disposall, will be by permitting, that a greater part of it should be applied to some use that will appear to be a publick concern, which will still be so entirely under his majesty's direction, that if it is his majesty's pleasure, a reasonable advantage may be in his majesty's power, without any clamour or complaint, which

I am

I am afraid will never otherways be avoided. Suppose for instance, if a plan should be prepar'd for re-building Whitehall, which I think has been before mention'd to his majesty, and part of this be declared as the foundation of that publick work, it would stop the mouths of all reasonable men, and I think it would be possible afterwards to give such a turn to this affair that what should be applied to his majesty's private use might be so order'd as to have the appearance of a saving to the publick. I thought it proper to give you a general view of my conceptions in this affair, that you may learn what it is the king expects, and in relation to the apprehensions of the parliament's being before-hand with us, I will only add one thing, that whenever St. Christopher's comes to be sold, it is not to be suppos'd, but the purchasers will require a considerable time for making the payments of so large a sum, that by the nature of the thing this will be publicly known, before any considerable part of the money will be paid in, and upon such notice; 'tis more probable the parliament will call for an account of it, than whilst it lies asleep, and an addresse of the house of commons will as effectually reach it, if at all, after the contract is made, as before. When I have said this, I hope if any thing happens in parliament upon this subject, contrary to his majesty's wishes, it will not be imputed to me; for I must observe to you there being several persons who have this matter in their view, with a prospect of private advantage, it is to be expected, that the disappointed will find ways to bring this upon the stage, whenever any agreement is made with others.

I send you herewith the warrant for lord Manchester's office, for his majesty's hand, as likewise the grant to lady Mar, &c. pursuant to the power given to his majesty by act of parliament. I believe I have by this time sufficiently tired you, but I write now for a month. Pray believe me, dear Don, with all possible sincerity and friendship, your's for ever, &c.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Jacobitism loses ground in the inland and western parts of England.—Wales ripe for rebellion.—Jacobites mix religion with politics.—Tory clergy discontented with these proceedings of the jacobites.

SIR,

Hampton Court, October 5, 1716.

EVERY thing is very quiet in England at present, and jacobitism visibly looses ground in the home countys. But in the western and inland parts and in all Wales the disaffection is as violent as ever and ripe for rebellion.

Walpole Papers.

Private.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.}
 1716. The present game of the jacobites is to erect as many meeting houses as they can, and to mix religion with their political quarrels, that they may gain the furor hold on their profelytes. One Spinks has lately been seized who appears to be a bishop, and one of the treasurers of the party, accounts appearing among his papers of above 16,000*l.* distributed among the poor nonjuring parsons; being partly contributions, and partly legacys of the lady Coventry, Dr. South, Nelson, Hickes, &c. The discovery of this formidable schism works a good effect on the tory clergy, who have been so used to lead, that they cannot bear the thoughts of following a poor despicable sett of men, who are engrossing the whole name and preferments of the church to themselves; I believe they will rather chuse to stand where they are than venture all they have to be but second in the pretender's favour.

There never was known such a demand for wollen manufecture as at this time.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Expresses his satisfaction that the article about Mardyke is settled.—Is alarmed at the affairs of the north.—The king desirous that the treaty with France should be signed without delay.—Separately with du Bois, if the States are not ready.

SIR,

Hanover, October 6, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

THE letters which came hither this morning by Heywood, the messenger from England, brought us the good news of the settlement of the article about Mardyke. Whereupon it is agreed here that the abbé du Bois shall set out from hence for the Hague, at the same time the king goes to the Goer, which will be on Saturday next, in order to sign the treaty in form with you.

The accounts in your letter of the third instant, which I also received this morning, as also those from other hands about the affairs of the north, you may imagine give the king no small uneasiness; since it is to be feared that matters may come very soon there to an open rupture between the Danes and Muscovites, for which reason his majesty is desirous of giving the finishing stroke to the treaty with France, as soon as possible. And for that purpose has made choice of the first of the three expedients offered by France for the removal of the pretender, which is that the French king obliges himself to remove the pretender beyond the Alps immediately after the signing of the treaty,

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

treaty, and before the exchange of the ratifications. I must therefore re-
 commend to you by the best means you are able to dispose the pensionary and
 our other friends in Holland to give the greatest- dispatch to our business,
 that they also may be ready to sign without loss of time. But if you find that
 the forms of proceeding in Holland will occasion a necessary delay. I desire
 you will send me your opinion, whether it will not then be the properest
 course for you to acquaint the pensionary with the reasons his majesty has to
 get the French tied down immediately by something under their hand; and
 for that purpose, that you and the abbé should sign the treaty, but with this
 express agreement on both sides, that the States are to be admitted into it as
 parties, as soon as the necessary forms of their proceeding will allow
 them to come in. I am the more inclined to think this must be the
 method, because it seems to be incumbent upon us to procure the States Ge-
 neral's accession to our treaty with the emperor which ought to be done at
 the same time they sign the treaty with France. Such a proceeding will be
 agreeable to the resolution the States had taken of carrying on the two nego-
 tiations at the same time, and it would certainly give the court of Vienna a
 very specious, not to say, a just ground of dissatisfaction, if we should lead the
 Dutch into a treaty with France, and omit engaging them to become parties
 to that which we have signed with the emperor. I desire your opinion there-
 fore without loss of time upon the matter. You must in the mean time inge-
 nuously communicate to the marquis de Prié the substance of our treaty with
 France, which in my conscience I think is for the emperor's advantage;
 since England and France do, by not confirming, tacitely rescind whatever
 was stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht to the emperor's disadvantage, in re-
 lation not only to Sicily, but even to the succession of the house of Savoy to
 the crown of Spain in default of the branch of Anjou. This is not only a
 subtil inference to be drawn from the words of our treaty; but I can tell
 you in confidence, that the abbé du Bois has in fact, in all his discourses with
 me, given up the pretensions of the duke of Savoy to both. And if the court
 of Vienna is capable of acting reasonably, and of quitting their chimerical
 pretensions to the crown of Spain, I do verily believe the king may in a little
 time procure for them very considerable advantages on the side of Italy.

Period I
 1714 to 1716.

Period II.
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1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

[Enclosed in the preceding dispatch.]

Expresses the king's satisfaction that the French have consented to the demolition of Mardyke—signs the agreement with du Bois—explains the motives for desiring to hasten the signature of the alliance with France—orders full powers for signing to be forwarded instantly to the ministers at the Hague.

SIR,

Hanover, October 8, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

I Am commanded by the king to express the satisfaction which he has in learning, that the business of Mardyke is happily concluded in the manner you acquaint me by your letter of the 19th of September last, O. S. Nothing could happen more seasonably for the king's interest; for the affairs of the north have given his majesty of late no small uneasiness; and it was very much to be apprehended, that France taking advantage from thence, might have laid hold on such an occasion not only to break off the negotiation, but to have fomented and abetted new disturbances in Brittain, to prevent which his majesty thinks no time at all should be lost in fixing the regent, and tying his hands, by this treaty. For this reason his majesty has commanded me to sign with the abbé du Bois the agreement you will find at the head of the inclosed treaty; and in pursuance to the said agreement I have his majesty's commands to send orders to the Hague to sign with the abbé as soon as he shall come thither, in the manner you will find express'd in the convention, at the end of the treaty.

His majesty thinks, that, by the whole treaty and by the said convention at the latter end of it, whereby both parties oblige themselves to make use in concert of all possible offices to accelerate the Dutch signing, so much regard is shewn to Holland, that they cannot possibly take it amiss; and especially since the king is so much concerned, that the pretender should as soon as possible be forced to pass the Alps, which it is become the more necessary to hasten, since by advices from so many parts, his majesty is informed that he is at this time projecting a new invasion. The same consideration hath induced his majesty to accept of the first of the three expedients offered by France, touching his removal, because France will thereby be absolutely tyed down from the minute the treaty shall be signed.

*Tis

'Tis possible that the full powers lodged at the Hague, which probably were calculated for the three powers signing jointly may not be sufficient to authorize the king's ministers to obey the directions I am to send. This I have told the king, whose pleasure it is, that in such case proper powers should be forthwith sent. I have likewise by his majesty's command told the abbé du Bois, that such a thing is possible; to the end he might not be surpris'd or become suspicious of our sincerity, if it should prove so. But I have told him likewise, that I have the king's commands, that proper powers should be sent, if those that now are there should prove defective. I am likewise to acquaint you, that I shall by his majesty's commands and directions send to his ministers at the Hague to use their utmost endeavours, that the states do sign the treaty with the emperor, at the same time they shall sign that with France. Such a proceeding will be very agreeable to the resolution formerly taken by the states of carrying on the two negotiations jointly, and is absolutely necessary on his majesty's side to prevent the umbrages which the court of Vienna might otherwise take with justice. The necessity his majesty apprehends himself to be under to keep those measures with the emperor is another strong motive for our concluding with France; since it would be very imprudent to suffer the removal of the pretender, and fixing the regent, by this treaty, to be delay'd so long as 'tis possible they might, by the difficulty's which may be rais'd during the negociations for these two treaty's in such a government as Holland.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Hanoverian ministers press the immediate signature of the treaty with France—hopes the Dutch will not take it amiss.—Russian affairs begin to wear a better aspect.

MY LORD,

Hanover, October 9, 1716.

I Heartily congratulate with your lordship upon the happy conclusion of our French treaty, which with your lordship I do hope will turn very much to the glory and advantage of his majesty, and the quiet and security of his kingdoms. Had it been less advantageous than I think it really is, the situation of affairs in the north made it absolutely necessary to close with France; and such was the impatience of some people, who till within these three weeks were utterly averse to this whole negotiation, and used all possible industry to defeat it, that I assure you I have had much ado for this fortnight last past to withstand the importunity of Monsieur Berensdorf and others who pressed

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

me

Period II. 1714 to 1720. me to frame an article here with the abbé touching Mardyke, and to send him with it to the Hague, with orders to Mr. Walpole to sign it: so apprehensive were they of your delays in England. I did resolutely withstand this: but since your agreement about Mardyke is come, I have by repeated orders from the king, and very earnest solicitations from Mr. Berensdorf been forced to give it the dispatch which you will see in my letter* to Mr. Methuen. Upon the whole matter I think the Dutch would be to blame if they should take it amiss, especially since the pensionary himself expressed his apprehensions to Mr. Walpole of the northern disturbances.

Inclosed I send your lordship copies of the letters which have passed since this fracas between sir John Norris and me; your lordship will easily conceive what a time I have had; you may perhaps imagine I have been too forward in what I have writ to him, but I can assure your lordship it was not thought so here. I have however the comfort to hope; and our way of proceeding hath certainly determined the czar to imbarck his troops, as you will find he has done by the last letter of sir John Norris: but we are yet far from being at a certainty what course he will steer. What did increase our uneasiness was an advice we received that a minister was dispatched privately from the czar to France; but now that the Muscovites are on ship-board we do hope they will all go at least as far as Poland. As soon as ever this crisis is over, sir John Norris will be at liberty; and I shall repeat the orders already sent him, to have a watchfull eye upon the Swedish ports.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Expresses his surprize and dissatisfaction at the conduct of the ministers at Hanover, and censures their alarm and precipitation—requires lord Townshend's opinion how to act in this critical juncture.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 10, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your favour of the 25th past; and I dont doubt but the letters which the messenger carries on this occasion from Hannover to England, will bring you an account of the great confusion the affairs of the north are at present in; and how extreamly frightened our ministers at Hannover are; and indeed with very good reason. But I could wish they would not propose things which seem to be impracticable, or if put

* The preceding letter.

in execution would rather increase, than remedy the mischiefs we apprehend. If we are to change our measures here with so much precipitation on every alarm, we shall expose our weakness; and I must own, I shall grow distracted as to my behaviour. I shall endeavour to keep up my spirits as well as I can, and by steadily pursuing what seems to me to be solidly right, I hope to gett thro' these troubles that at present embarrass people's minds. If we are to have a confidence with France, will it not be necessary to concert with the regent and the states the best measures for quieting the troubles of the north; and to check the growing power, and encroaching temper of the czar? I don't doubt but the states would be glad to concert with us a proper plan for these purposes; and I believe considering the present situation of affairs; and the relation, that the king has to the business of the north, and his engagements as elector; the states must first begin to open the way for pacifying these troubles. You will pardon the trouble of these undigested thoughts, and lett us know as soon as you can lord Townshend's opinion upon this critical conjuncture.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Objects to sign the separate treaty between England and France with the abbé du Bois, as incompatible with his honour, and contrary to the solemn assurances given to the States that no separate treaty should be concluded without them.—Requests permission to return to England.

MY LORD,

Hague, October 14, 1716.

YOUR lordship has inclosed a private packet of papers from Mr. secretary Stanhope which he left open for my particular perusal. I am extremely obliged to him for the confidence he shews me thereby, but I am under the greatest concern imaginable for the step he has taken with the abbé du Bois. Were it not done by his majesty's directions, I would venture to say to your lordship alone, that I think it must be extremely prejudicial to the king's interest, and I am afraid must end with a great deal of confusion and uneasiness between us and the States. Your lordship will, without doubt, see a full account of this proceeding in Mr. Stanhope's letter to Mr. secretary Methuen; and therefore I shall not enter into the detail of it. As soon as my lord Cadogan and I had open'd the dispatch to us relating to this matter, and seen the contents of it, his lordship immediately declared he had no full powers that would enable him to sign with the abbé du Bois; of which

your

Townshend
Papers.
Private.

Period II. your lordship easily understands the meaning; and as for myself I really am of
 1714 to 1720. opinion that the full powers I have, do not sufficiently authorize me to sign
 1716. separately with the abbé; they being calculated for negotiating and concluding an alliance between England, France and Holland jointly, which I shall certainly let the abbé know upon his arrival here, and his requiring me to finish this matter with him. But as I find by Mr. secretary Stanhope's letter to lord Cadogan and me, that it is expected we should have full powers dispatched anew for this purpose in case we are not sufficiently authorized, I must have recourse to your lordship's friendship and known affection towards me to desire, that you will entirely get me out of this business; and that if there is no possible remedy against a separate conclusion of the treaty with the abbé, I may not be the person employed in it, which I think in respect to myself, will be the most ignominious part that can be acted; after having repeated so many solemn declarations to the States, that nothing of this nature should be done or finally concluded without them, which I renewed in conference with the deputies yesterday in a most authentick and positive manner. And therefore I must beg your lordship, that if I have any merit as a faithful minister, or any place in your affection as a brother; you will find out some means to prevent my acting a part, that I think, will be infinitely prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, and infamous to the greatest degree in myself, and I shall contentedly retire without the prospect of any business or reward for the future; and amongst the many obligations I have to your lordship, I shall ever think this the greatest. My lord Cadogan being here ambassador in form, I think, strictly speaking, I have nothing to do here. I therefore hope your lordship will make use of this hint, or any other means to deliver me from this unfortunate situation; for I can never bring myself to sign the treaty in the manner proposed.

Since having wrote thus far, I have been again with my lord Cadogan, and found him very ready to do any thing, on account of a letter which he read to me from monsieur Robethon, in which that gentleman tells him that it is his majesty's intention his lordship should facilitate the conclusion of this matter as soon as possible, and therefore it is expected from him. I have likewise since privately and separately seen monsieur Slingelandt and the pensionary; and upon telling the first what has been done at Hanover, he plainly declared to me, that we have given the fatal stroke to the right system of affairs in Europe; that he did not see what good could ensue, or danger be removed by it, at least sufficient to compensate the evils that he apprehends will follow; that
 this

this precipitated and separate step without the States, while they have made no alliance with the emperor, and are in no way of coming to a good agreement upon the unexecuted point of the barrier, will destroy the confidence between his majesty and them, and create such a confusion, distraction and jealousy among one another, that he did not know what recourse they might have, or whose hands they might sling themselves into. And as to the pensionary*, it was melancholy to behold the agony and consternation into which this news cast him and he asked me what he should say, when some people in the States would charge him and his friends with having been the dupes in this whole affair? In short, my lord, he had not then time to talk more fully with me; but it is impossible to express the uneasiness I left him in. My lord Cadogan and I are to have a conference with him this afternoon, of which we shall send you the result, by a joint letter. And, it is likely we must desire full powers for signing with the abbé. But as instruments of that nature generally contain a clause for the plenipotentiaries to act separately or jointly, my name may be inserted in the commission; and I, notwithstanding that, and without prejudice to his majesty's service, may make use of such means as your lordship and my brother Walpole shall think proper to afford me of returning into England, without my signing with the abbé du Bois, in case we should be obliged to do it before the States are ready, which, for my part, I never can in honour and conscience agree to do: tho' I should have been extremely proud to have put the last hand to this treaty, could it have been done upon a right foot.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

* Heinfius.

16 October. We detained the Messenger untill we could know the sentiments of our friends upon the directions sent us by Mr. Stanhope, and your lordship will see them at large in our joint dispatch. Is it therefore impossible that their unanswerable arguments, the contrary winds, the usual delays in passing powers under the great seal, or some other excuses that may be proper to be made to the abbé, should prevent our signing with him before the States are ready? If it is impossible, I am extremely sorry for it, but I can never consent to set my hand to that separate act, after having plighted my honour, my faith, and my conscience that nothing of this kind should be done. I must therefore, repeat my instances to your lordship to get me out of this affair, and for that purpose I have writ you the inclosed letter for desiring his royal highness's leave to return home, to which I hope you will be able to send me a favourable answer by the first opportunity, that I may accordingly

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1714 to 1720.

1716.

ingly make use of it to get away, in case it is impossible for me by any other way, to avoid signing with the abbé alone, 'without disobeying his majesty's commands, which as I should look upon it to be the greatest misfortune that can befall me, so I depend upon your lordship's kindness to secure me from it by the method I now propose, or any other you shall think fit; I am with the greatest respect and affection.

Your lordship will pardon the haste and confusion of this letter. I shall likewise in confidence desire Mr. secretary Stanhope to ask the king's leave for my returning home on account of my health.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Desires lord Townshend to obtain from the prince of Wales his permission to return to England on account of his ill health.

MY LORD,

Hague, October 16, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

I Have been constantly troubled with such an ill state of health ever since I came into this country, that I should some time ago have desired his royal highness's permission to return into England for my recovery; but that I was willing to undergoe any inconveniency rather than make the least step by which I might seem to neglect his majesty's service, while there was no other minister here. But now my lord Cadogan on account of whose absence I was sent hither is returned to his station; I must entreat your lordship to represent my case to his royal highness, that I may obtain his gracious leave to goe immediately home for my releife against the violent returns of the cholic which I am daily more tormented with. I am with the greatest respect imaginable.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Is concerned that he is commanded to sign the treaty with France separately from the States, after the solemn assurances he has given, and expresses his resolution not to sign.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 17, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

I Return you many thanks for the confidence of your private packets to lord Townshend contained in your particular letter to me of the 9th instant; and I am concerned to see by it the dangers you apprehend from the sudden and extraordinary conduct of the czar; but still more, that those apprehen-

prehenſions ſhould have preſſed his majeſty ſo far as to engage you to come to an agreement with the abbé du Bois, that my lord Cadogan and I ſhould ſign with him ſeparately from the States as ſoon as he arrives here. You will find by our diſpatch, that we have not ſufficient powers for that purpoſe. I ſhall not enter at preſent into the reaſons pro and con relating to this matter, which in my opinion may prove a very fatal blow to the intereſt of England, and no real advantage to his majeſty's affairs even in the north; at leaſt not ſufficient to balance the inconveniencies of abandoning and diſobliging the States for ever. While the Imperial miniſters are at the ſame time outrageous, and ſhew no manner of diſpoſition either to ſettle the unexpected points of the barrier, or enter into an alliance with the ſtates, ſo that in a ſhort time we ſhall ſee the utmoſt confuſion in the Low-Countrys, which I am afraid this precipitated confidence in France will hardly remedy.

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1714 to 1720.
1716.

You know that it is my real opinion to conclude this alliance with France; and I do in my conſcience think, the doing it in a proper manner with a joint concert and concurrence of our old and ſure friends is the moſt advantageous thing to Great Britain that was ever yet compaſſed; and the nation has infinite obligations to you in having ſucceeded ſo well in the negotiation with the abbé. But when I ſaid that, I muſt own I am in the greateſt agony on account of the laſt ſtep; and particularly in relation to the part that I have acted: having plighted to the States my faith, my honour, and my conſcience in his majeſty's name, that nothing of this nature ſhould be done, and if I ſhould afterwards ſign with the abbé in violation of theſe ſacred and ſolemn aſſurances, which I repeated but laſt Tueſday in a conference, I ſhould never be able to ſhew my ignominious head here again. And therefore I plainly ſee that this buſineſs in which I thought I ſhould have had ſome ſhare of credit, will end in my ruin: becauſe, altho' I ſhall ever think it the laſt miſfortune to diſobey ſo good and gracious a ſovereign; yet I muſt freely confeſs I had rather ſtarve, nay dye, than doe a thing that gives ſuch a terrible wound to my honour and my conſcience, and will make me for ever incapable of ſerving the king any more, eſpecially in this place, where I have at preſent ſome little credit and intereſt.

If therefore notwithstanding all that the penſionary and our friends here repreſented, and the ſentiments of the miniſters in England (who I believe by this time you will have found of a different opinion with you) it is his majeſty's command, that the agreement you have made with the abbé ſhould be executed, I muſt have recourſe to your friendſhip to gett me out of this

Period II.
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1716.

matter without pushing me to the extremity of not complying with the king's orders, should we receive such powers from England for that purpose. I have therefore wrote the enclosed letter to desire the king's leave to return home for my health, which I leave to your discretion to lay before the king, or to use any other friendly way to deliver me from this violent situation. I have wrote to the same effect to lord Townshend, and I shall only add, that my case is particular; and my not signing can be no prejudice to the king's affairs. For lord Cadogan is readily disposed by a letter he has received from M. Robethon to execute what you desire; being sensible that he has never made the protestations I have made to the States, nor is by no means, as to his own particular, under these sacred ties and engagements that I have bound myself with to them. I must therefore earnestly intreat, that if you have the least kindness for me, to give me your assistance in this matter (for I can never consent to do what is required) and I shall look upon it as the greatest obligation to him, that is with the greatest friendship and affection, and shall ever be, dear sir, yours, &c.

P. S. The abbé du Bois arrived here last night, and would by all means see me, altho' it was 12 o'clock before I came home. I talked alone with him in great confidence, and let him know that my powers were not sufficient, but that we have writt for others. For God's sake give me (I desire you once more) this mark of your friendship, as to prevent me from disobliging the best of kings and masters, if possible. Supposing instead of shewing the inclosed letter for my leave to return to England, you obtained his majesty's consent for me to go to Hanover, to give him a state of affairs here relating to this treaty, and the conduct of the Imperial ministers.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

The king expresses himself dissatisfied with Walpole, that he has not settled the sums for the payment of the German troops.—Stanhope endeavours to justify Robethon.—And to shew the propriety of counteracting the views of the czar, who seems inclined to obtain possession of Mecklenburgh.

MY LORD,

Goehre, October 16, 1716.

Orford
Papers.

Private.

YOU will see by my other letters the state of things here; all endeavours have been used with Prussia, but hitherto to no purpose. Mr. Bernstorff said to day to one who told it me, that if the king were now in England the exigency of affairs here would make it necessary for him to come over hither.

I must

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I must observe to you that as the king is now to make use of the troops of Munster and Saxe Gotha, he told me with some warmth that he has hitherto been obliged to pay them himself, notwithstanding what had been promised him in England, and that he had contracted for them at the request of his council. I must therefore beg of you to press Mr. Walpole to have that matter settled. I have more reason to press this than I care to say to you, but I fear some people do ill offices to Walpole. I am about getting a man sent to Sweden; there is reason to believe that the duke of Mecklenburg has signed a treaty with the czar to give up his country to him in exchange for Livonia and other tracts of country that way. Wisshmar which is the strongest town and best fortified in Germany is at present garrisoned by six battalions, two of the king's, two Danes, and two Prussians. 'Tis probable the czar will immediately invest that place, and God knows how far we may depend upon either of the auxiliary presidarys; such is the stupidity and knavery of both those courts.

As for Robethon you know he is naturally impertinent and busying himself, but at present the man does not certainly mean ill, and tho' he did, I do not think it would be proper to complain to the king of him at this time. I will endeavour to give him some advice, and shall, I believe, prevent his doing any hurt.

The sale of land in St. Christopher's or any method of helping in this exigency will be most acceptable. I believe it may not be impossible even to put this northern business in such a light as may induce the parliament not to look upon it with indifference. If I mistake not Cromwell, who understood very well the interest of England with respect to foreign powers, fitted out more than one fleet to the Baltick, with no other view than to secure, that in the treaties of peace to be made betwixt these northern potentates a freedom of trade to the Baltick should be preserved to all nations. He frequently offered considerable sums of money to the king of Sweden for Bremen. The Dutch have likewise heretofore thought themselves very much concerned that a balance of power should be maintained in those seas; I think therefore no time should be lost in trying to concert some measures with them. 'Tis certain that if the czar be lett alone three years, he will be absolute master there.

Period
1714 to 1716.

Period II.
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1716.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Requests him to obtain permission from the king that he may return to England, and avoid signing the treaty with France separately from the States, after the solemn assurances he has given that no such design was in agitation.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 20, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

YOU will see by the letters the messenger brings you from England the sentiments of your friends upon his majesty's intentions that we should sign the treaty with the abbé without the states, notwithstanding which it being possible on account of the agreement you have sign'd with that minister, that the king's orders may be renewed to us on that head, I must earnestly repeat my instances to you, that you will use your utmost credit and interest with his majesty to give me leave to return immediately into England, that I may have some pretext for not doing, what no consideration whatsoever can dispose me to after the solemn engagements I am under both publicly and privately to the States and their ministers here, that nothing of this kind should be done; and I have by that means and upon that condition kept them from embroyling your negotiation at Hannover. I do not pretend to make myself a judge of his majesty's reasons for what you have done, and I should have thought myself obliged in duty to obey them without the least hesitation, were I not under these unfortunate circumstances of sacrificing by such an act my honour and every thing that I think is really valuable. My lord Cadogan is sensible that his case is not the same with mine, and therefore, if his majesty persists in his resolution I dare say he will be ready to submit to his royall pleasure; and as all full powers to two ministers contain a clause for their acting jointly or separately, his majesty's commands may be executed without my concurring in it, which I can never do. For I shall look upon it no better than declaring myself a villain under my own hand; and I shall therefore be forever obliged to you if you can gett me safely out of this business. I hope I have had the happiness of living so long so well with you, that I may expect the favour to save me if possible from his majesty's displeasure: but I am resolved at all hazards to preserve that which no human power can take from me; I am with the greatest respect and affection, &c.

HORACE WALFOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

 Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1716.

Expresses his earnest hope that permission of returning to England may be granted, as the only means of honourably getting out of his present dilemma; and positively declares that he will sacrifice his fortune and even life, rather than sign the separate treaty with France.—Censures the measures in regard to Mecklenburgh.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, October 20, 1716.

YOU will perhaps have seen by my private letter of last post to lord Townshend the distraction I am in on account of the orders we have received from Hannover to sign with the abbé du Bois as soon as we have sufficient powers to do it, and I'm afraid that notwithstanding his royal highness's and the opinion of the ministry in England, the agreement Mr. Stanhope has made with the abbé will dispose the king to renew his orders to us to execute his commands. I therefore hope I shall by the first post, or at least as soon as the full powers come from England, receive the prince's gracious permission to return home pursuant to a letter I wrote to lord Townshend for that purpose; that I may have a pretext to gett out of this violent dilemma, either of disobliging the king, or of acting a part that I really think will render me infamous for ever; and as my not signing can be no prejudice to his majesty's affairs, since my lord Cadogan will be sufficiently authorised, and is not in my unfortunate circumstances, having never made the protestations I have done both publicly and in private. I hope a favourable interpretation will be put upon my actions, and that my lord Townshend will, if no other way can gett me home, open the matter in the most tender manner to the prince for his indulgence; for I must ingenuously confess to you that no consideration whatsoever can make me comply. I will willingly give up my present and all future advantages; I will lay my patent of reversion in the West Indies, nay, even my life at his majesty's feet sooner than be guilty of an action which in me would be such a one as I cannot name. I have wrote again to Mr. secretary Stanhope to the same purpose, and have earnestly desired his and lord Sunderland's favour and protection to obtain the king's leave for my going home. Lord Cadogan is so sensible of the hardship I am under on this occasion, that he has wrote to lord Sunderland in the handsomest manner in my favour, for which I shall ever think myself obliged to him. My humble respects to lord Townshend, with my repeated instances to him to give me this last mark of his affection by sending

Period II. sending for me home. I am under so great a concern, untill the fate of this
 1714 to 1720. matter is over, that it is impossible for me to think of any thing else, soe that
 1716. I must acknowledge by you the favour of his lordship's letter of the 5th
 inst. O. S. and send by you my affectionate congratulations to his lordship
 upon my sister's being so happily deliver'd of a son. I am, with the greatest
 sincerity, &c.

P. S. October 21. Lord Cadogan and I having been in conference
 yesterday with the Imperial ministers from six in the afternoon till twelve at
 night, had not time to dispatch our letters till this morning, when a messenger
 arrived from Hannover with repeated orders to us to sign with the abbé, and
 the only reason that I find for it is, least the czar should become master of
 the nobility of Mecklenbough. I can't for my life see the connection between
 our immediate signing and that affair, or why the whole system of affairs in
 Europe, especially in relation to the interest of England, must be entirely
 subverted on account of Mecklenbough. God knows what will be the con-
 sequence of such politicks; but I lay that aside; being sensible that it is not
 for me to judge of his majesty's reasons for these proceedings; and that I
 am in duty bound to execute his commands, which I would readily doe, were
 I not under such solemn engagements to the contrary in this case, that my
 honour and conscience can never dispense with.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*The prince of Wales and lord Townshend acknowledge the inconvenience of
 signing the separate treaty with France without the States, yet the prince
 cannot venture to grant permission to return.-- Lord Townshend hopes that
 the necessary delays in preparing and forwarding the full powers will enable
 the States to sign at the same time.-- Objects to his removing from the Hague,
 but thinks that he may find excuses for not signing.*

SIR,

Hampton Court, October 9--20, 1716.

Walpole
Papers.

MY lord Townshend being very busy has commanded me to acknowledge
 your private letters of the 14th and 16th October. You will have seen
 by his lordship's late dispatches, that the prince as well as he is entirely of
 your opinion as to the inconveniencys that are to be apprehended from
 signing this treaty seperately; and his lordship owns, if it were his own case, he
 should be under pretty much the same difficulties as you, but he thinks you
 cannot well decline the king's positive commands, at least no relief is to be
 obtained

obtained against them from hence, neither does it depend on his royal highness to permit you to come over for the recovery of your health. But considering that the necessary forms of preparing the instrument of your full powers, cannot be got over till Friday or Saturday next, after which the winds may detain it on this side the water for some days longer, his lordship hopes that you will not be put under the difficulty you apprehend, but on the contrary that the pressing instances of the king, as they owe their rise to the exigency of the northern affairs, and not to any design of flighting the States, will have the good effect to bear down the tedious formalities of their government, and to bring the States to sign at the same time with lord Cadogan and you. The full powers will run *conjunctim vel sepeparatim*, so that if you think it absolutely necessary to decline signing, you may find excuses without removing from the Hague, which would make too much eclat, and might do you great disservice with his majesty as well as some with the prince, whose good graces you certainly possess at present.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Sends intercepted correspondence from count Gyllenburg, proving the intentions of the king of Sweden to invade England.—Regrets that the king will not attempt to procure the stadtholdership for himself.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Friday, October 12—23, 1716.

I Am very glad to see by yours of the 12th instant, N. S. that the abbé du Bois received so well the insinuations you made him in relation to the affairs of the north.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

You will find the inclosed letters very curious; that from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz is decyphered, but there has not been time enough to gett the baron's answer decyphered here; our man says it is a new cypher, and if you can gett it decyphered, I beg you would send me a copy of it. You will see in count Gyllenberg's letter, his notions of the regent and of the part he is likely to take in the affairs of the north; what he says of the king's being to make France for the future of the same use with regard to the empire, that Sweden has been ever since the treaty of Munster, is so ridiculous that nothing but his passion and his malice to the king could make him suggest such nonsense. The latter part of his letter confirms all we have ever suspected as to his corresponding with the disaffected here, and his saying that

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.}
 1716. that money will not be wanting to compleat his scheme, shews plainly that he has had large offers from the party, and that they are determined to try once more their fortune if the king of Sweden will assist them with troops. Count Gyllenberg has passed most of this summer with Cesar, a creature of lord Oxford's, in Hertfordshire. How far the king of Sweden will engage in these schemes time only can discover; but the weak and low condition to which the Danes are reduced, and the present views and behaviour of the czar may, for ought I know, make him think that he has now an opportunity of indulging what seems to be his darling passion, revenge upon the king; and for my own part I must freely own to you, that I think the unfortunate turn the northern affairs have taken, has putt the king under some difficulties at home, as well as very great ones abroad. For the czar's behaviour has made all measures which might have been taken towards farther reducing the king of Sweden dangerous and almost impracticable; so that the king will be obliged to guard equally against the views of both, which cannot in my poor opinion be done, but by making such an augmentation of his troops in Germany as may lett the czar see he intends to maintain that authority and influence he ought to have in the north. Such a step would revive and hearten Denmark, and secure the king of Prussia (who as I am certainly informed leans to the czar only through fear) and consequently make the king once more master of affairs in those parts, provided such precautions are taken at the same time in England as may shew the king of Sweden that any attempt upon this country must end in his confusion.

Mr. Walpole sent me the same intelligence as he did to you in relation to the choice of a stadtholder, and I am very much concerned to find by your letter that his majesty will not think of procuring that dignity for himself. I am however of opinion there will as yet be no occasion for his majesty's coming to a positive resolution on that head; the best advices I can get from Holland assuring me, that the best intentioned and leading members of the States, and even some who are thought to favour in general the office of stadtholder, do not think this a remedy proper to be proposed at this time, but on the contrary have drawn up a plan by which they hope more effectually to obviate the disorders and confusions they now labour under, than they could even by the choice of a stadtholder at this juncture; so that were his majesty inclined to undertake the procuring that dignity to himself, this would be by no means a proper opportunity to attempt it; for the States will
 not

not, I am persuaded, be brought to choose a stadtholder till their affairs are come to greater extremities, and till they find other schemes and experiments ineffectual.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

My brother Walpole being in Norfolk I cannot send you his opinion as to the possibility of finding a sum for this service; but the revenue in England consisting as you know but of two branches, one of which, the parliamentary subsidies, is wholly appropriated to particular services, this matter lies within a very narrow compass, and I fear whenever any attempt of this kind is to be made, the money must come out of the civil list. I have already by his royal highness's commands sent instructions to Mr. Walpole at the Hague to do all he can to hinder the prince of Hesse from being advanced to that dignity, and I am persuaded he will find no great difficulty in defeating that attempt, should that prince's friends think fit to try their strength, which I can scarce imagine they will at present.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Justifies the conduct of Walpole in not venturing to appropriate any sum for the payment of the German troops.—Expresses his concern that both himself and Walpole are exposed to evil suggestions.—Mentions their services, and hints at his resignation.—Boasts of the good effects which already result from the alliance with France.—Objects to the prosecution of the contest with Russia.—Is of opinion that the parliament will never approve it.—Imputes Bothmar's malicious insinuations to the rage of disappointed avarice.

SIR,

Hampton Court, Tuesday, October 16—27, 1716.

I Have received the favour of your private letter of the 16th inst. N. S. and am sorry to find his majesty should have spoken to you with some warmth concerning the payment of the Munster and Saxe Gotha troops. My brother Walpole is at present in Norfolk, so that I cannot send you his thoughts as to the practicableness of finding some expedient for paying those troops before a parliamentary provision is made for them; but being able to charge my own memory with the particular circumstances which have hitherto hindered that payment, I must beg leave to give you a short deduction of that matter, leaving it to you to trouble his majesty with as much or as little of it as you shall think proper.

Orford and
Harrington
Papers.

Privat.

Period II.
 14 to 1720.
 1716.

You must, I am persuaded, remember as well as I, that upon the pretender's landing in Scotland, no one imagining he would have engaged in such an undertaking without foreign assistance, the parliament gave the king unlimited power to raise what number of men he should think fit for the defence of the kingdom, and farther the lords of the Cabinet Council, his majesty being present, did unanimously advise and desire him to secure and take into his service a body of troops from abroad, and orders were accordingly given to the king's German ministers to hire the troops above-mentioned. The precipitate retreat of the pretender having afterwards made it unnecessary for his majesty to increase the number of troops within the kingdom was as intended, and it being thereupon judged adviseable for his majesty to mention to the parliament this instance of the good use made of the trust reposed in him, it was thought very inconsistent after such a step to retain a body of foreign forces in pay; accordingly orders were given for stopping the conventions with Munster and Saxe Gotha, in case they were not finally concluded. But those orders coming too late, it happened that the treaties were (according to the report of Messrs. Bernstorff and Bothmar) actually signed; however we were assured that in consideration of the troops not being made use of, endeavours should be used to gett a new convention, by which part of the charge should be mitigated, which convention I am told has since been perfected. These first treaties did not come over till late in the session, while my brother Walpole lay so ill that his life was despaired of, and as soon as ever he recovered Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar and I had a conference with him about settling this affair in order to the laying the said treaties before the parliament that the necessary provision might be made for this service. But upon perusal of the papers brought us by Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar we found they were only cypsy of the treaties, and that the originals were not sent over. This made it impracticable to have them laid before the house of commons, to whom either the original conventions or authentick copies attested by one of the secretaries of state must always be produced; besides which, one of these conventions was drawn in such loose terms as seem'd to imply that if the troops were not demanded within a certain time, the agreement was void, which however Messrs. Bernsdorf and Bothmar assured us was not the intent and meaning of it. For these reasons it was judged improper to bring this matter before the parliament at that time for fear the want of an authentick instrument, and the loose wording of the treaty should have given a handle for putting a negative on this demand, and

thereby

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

thereby have precluded us from ever bringing it into the house again; and it was agreed to defer moving that matter till the new conventions could be finished, and authentick acts of them be got ready to lay before the parliament, which conventions were not perfected and sent hither till since the end of the session. So that the soonest this money can be paid in a regular way will be some time after the opening of the next session; but if it is the king's pleasure some extraordinary method should be found out for furnishing this sum immediately, I own freely to you, were I in Mr. Walpole's case, I should expect his majesty's commands for laying that matter at least before the Cabinet Council; it being in my opinion too great a weight for Mr. Walpole to take upon himself.

In the mean time it is a very melancholy reflection, that our best endeavours for his majesty's service are liable to be thus interpreted; and I am sorry I have this occasion to be confirmed in my opinion, that no services which Mr. Walpole, or you, or I, can ever render to his majesty, will be sufficient to screen and support us against the false and malicious suggestions of our enemies. The success with which our endeavours have hitherto been crowned is such, as it would look like vanity even to mention, and since the only aim of my ambition and the reward of all my labours is now attained by seeing his majesty firmly seated in the throne; I can struggle no longer against the difficulties which our enemies about the king create us every day, and shall therefore most earnestly beg leave to resign my employment and to retire into the country as soon as the king returns, and his majesty may depend upon my not behaving myself in the manner others have done after quitting his service. But I shall, I hope, by the steadiness of my conduct, and by doing the duties of a good subject in a private station, efface those ill impressions which have been given him of me.

The good effects which already begin to appear from the prospect of a treaty with France will, I hope, convince every body, that I was not mistaken in my notions with regard to that alliance; the present situation of his majesty's affairs here being more prosperous than the most sanguine of his servants could have expected or imagined, and the publick credit is higher than ever was known. By which means an opportunity may certainly be taken in parliament this winter of reducing all public interest to 5 per cent. whereby a fund will be gained out of the present interest of near 800,000*l.* per ann. towards sinking the debt, which sum well managed will in a small number of years clear all we owe; and this may be done without the least breach of faith

Period I.
1714 to 1716.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. 1716. faith or publick credit, or burthening the people with any new tax, provided nothing intervenes that may bring a disreputation on his majesty's administration, or that shall look like engaging the nation in a new war.

The miserable and distracted condition into which the northern affairs are plunged gives the discontented and enemies of the king's government hopes, that they may be able to raise some disturbances in parliament on that head, which they flatter themselves may be managed so as to affect the king's affairs in general; and indeed I cannot but own their expectations in this particular to be better founded and their schemes more wisely laid than they use to be. You will see by the intercepted letters the part count Gillenberg is to take in this scene; Mr. Lechmere and some other whigs, as I am credibly informed, are to take their share; and your humble servant, and yourself, are personally to suffer in this attack, *tho' God knows we have had no direction in all this northern quarrell.* However be that as it will, whilst we carry a musket, we must do our duty without murmur or complaint; and that we may do it in the best manner for the king's service, I must beg leave to say a word or two to you upon that part of your letter, where you say you do not think it impossible even to set this northern business in such a light, as may induce the parliament not to look on it with indifference; and you alledge the expence England was in at Cromwell's time, in fitting out a fleet for preserving the balance of the north.

I perfectly agree with you, that England as well as the rest of Europe, ever had and always must have a great interest in the preservation of the ballance of the north, and yet I cannot help being of opinion, that if the northern affairs were brought into parliament by his majesty's order upon the foot they now stand, his majesty would be so far from obtaining any assistance on that head, that there would be great danger from such a step of ruining his credit and influence in both houses. The arguments for maintaining a ballance in the north will be turned against all that has been doing ever since the siege of Stralsund; and they will tell us, I fear, that had the intended descent succeeded in the way, and with the troops designed for that expedition, the balance of the north had been effectually ruined, and the czar made master of all the trade of the Baltick. And I do not remember that I ever was furnished with any other answers to what may be said on this subject, among all the wise reasonings you and I have heard, but that the czar's son is a mere Muscovite, and is to ruin all his father has done in a very little while after the czar's death, who to make the scheme a little more tolerable was
also

also supposed to be in a very languishing condition. But the scene being since a great deal changed, I suppose by supporting the balance of the north, it is now meant both against the czar and Sweden; and I doubt very much whether any scheme of that kind can be displayed in such colours as to invite the parliament to engage in it. For besides the difficulties our trade must lie under, should we actually break with the czar, the expence necessary to support such a scheme will be an insuperable reason with the parliament never to come into it. The expecting therefore any money from the parliament towards carrying on that war is a mere delusion, and can end in nothing but breaking the king's friends amongst themselves, ruining the publick credit, and preventing us from getting into a method of paying the nation's debts. Could indeed the States and the regent or court of Vienna be prevailed upon to form in concert with his majesty a plan or project of a peace for the north, and at the same time to enter into measures with his majesty to force the contending parties to accept of the terms so offered, the parliament might upon such a foundation give something towards enabling the king to pay his proportion of the expence; but the States have hitherto been so averse from meddling in those affairs, that I fear there is little hopes of their engaging in them at present.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

I find all the king's servants here are of opinion that the most we can expect from the parliament this session is two shillings in the pound, and the malt, which together make one million and a half; with this, allowing for 10,000 seamen, we may I believe keep near 20,000 land forces, so that you see upon this foot the utmost assistance that is to be expected from hence as to the affairs of the north, is a squadron of ships. I am, &c.

P. S. I am very sure that all these malicious insinuations to Walpole's and our prejudice arise from Bothmar, who has every day some infamous project or other on foot to get money; and his disappointments in these particulars are what he cannot bear, having nothing in his view but raising a vast estate to himself; and therefore he will never be satisfied till he has got the Ministry and Treasury into such hands as will satiate his avarice, at the expence of the king's credit, interest and service.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Praises Secretary Stanhope.—The northern affairs seem in a better train.—
Hints at the good effects of the king's return.*

MY LORD,

Gohre, October 26, N. S. 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

YOUR lordship will receive by this courier, from Mr. Stanhope, copies of the abbé du Bois's letters to him, and of the orders the king has sent to his ministers at the Hague; they are the only ones could be given on this occasion and which must bring this affair to a conclusion, either by the signing the treaty, or obliging the French to shew the whole world, that it's they that break, and not the king. Mr. Stanhope has manag'd this business with the utmost pains and dexterity, and has brought it so far to bear, that which ever way it turns the king must be the gainer. The affairs of the czar, seem to take a better turn, which will very much conduce towards that which all honest men wish, the king's return to England, which is of so vast importance to the being of the king's government, that whether it be some weeks sooner, or later is of small consideration, to the main thing of his return, though no doubt the sooner it is the better. I am ever, with great truth and respect.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

States the opinion of the lords of the council on the best means to prevent an invasion from Sweden, and to co-operate with the czar.—Mentions the heads of business to be laid before parliament, and submits to the king, if he continues at Hanover, the propriety of investing the prince of Wales with discretionary power.—Horace Walpole appointed by the prince to convey this dispatch for the explanation of the points therein specified.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Nov. 2, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Draught.

HIS royall highness being returned from Hampton Court on Saturday last, and several of the lords being come to town, Mr. secretary Methuen and I had by his royal highness's command a meeting on Sunday at the duke of Devonshires with my lord chancellor, the dukes of Devonshire and Bolton, lord Orford, and lord Parker, to consider, pursuant to the king's orders, what heads of business might be proper and necessary to be laid before the parliament, in order to transmitt the same to his majesty for his approbation. We began by communicating to them the enclosed copies of intercepted correspondence

fpondence between the Sweedish ministers, some pieces of which, that are very materiall, you have not yet seen; and upon mature consideration of the contents of those letters, of the present disposition of the king of Sweden, and of the disunion which prevails among the northern allies, the lords were all unanimously of opinion, that it is of the utmost consequence to the safety of the nation, that all possible precautions should be taken both at Hanover and in England, to put it out of the power of Sweden to execute the design framed by count Gyllenborg and the jacobites. As to what can be done abroad towards diverting the Sweedish forces, and finding them full employment in their own country, nothing appears to the lords more effectually and desirable for that purpose, than closing with the proposal lately made by the czar, transmitted hither by sir John Norris, and mentioned in your letter of the 31st of October, for making a descent from Finland next spring, which, especially if seconded by a descent on Schonen at the same time, will in the opinion of the lords give the king of Sweden his hands full of business, and put him out of a condition to spare any forces towards supporting the cause of the pretender. For which reason, they think his majesty will be justified to all mankind, if in order to avert this blow, and to rescue his kingdoms from the visible danger to which at present they stand exposed, he engages immediately to send into the Baltick next year a squadron of men of war sufficient to cover the projected descent from Finland; the said squadron being insisted on by the czar as a condition necessary to render that attempt practicable. The lords are indeed unanimously of opinion, that considering the obstinacy and inveteracy of the king of Sweden, the poverty and weakness of the court of Denmark, the treachery and corruption of Prussia, and the little probability there is of any cordiall and effectually assistance from the emperor at this juncture; there is scarce any prospect left of the king's extricating himself out of the difficulties into which northern affairs have plunged him, without coming to a better understanding with the czar: and since that prince has already gained such footing as makes it impossible for the king at this time to force him to such terms as might perhaps be most for the interest and peace of the empire, they are humbly of opinion, that his majesty's service requires, that the czar should at this juncture rather be indulged in some particulars than irritated to such a degree, as may tempt him to throw himself entirely into the notions and schemes of the court of Prussia, and perhaps of that of France. It is therefore their humble opinion that all gentle methods should be employed towards persuading him to pursue vigorously his views against Sweden, and such encouragement given him

Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1716.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.
 1716. him, as the present situation of his majesty's affairs here will admitt of, which certainly require the sending a squadron to the Baltick the next year. As to the continuing a detachment of the present squadron in those seas during the winter, his royal highness having referred that proposal to the admiralty, has received from them the inclosed report, by which you will see the lords of the admiralty are of opinion, that a detachment wintering in the Baltick will ruin the ships without being of service to his majesty's affairs.

The lords having considered in the next place the precautions necessary to be taken in England upon the present prospect of affairs, are of opinion, that the whole force both at sea and land, which is now on foot, should for the present be kept up. But the nation is so sett upon reducing the forces, and upon easing themselves of the burthen of taxes, that it is feared the parliament will not easily be brought to continue the whole force now on foot, or to grant more than two shillings in the pound and the malt; and therefore the lords desire to receive his majesty's particular sentiments and directions on this important affair, and beg leave to offer it as their humble opinion, that if his majesty cannot be here in person, it will be absolutely necessary for his service, that he would be pleased to give a discretionary power to his royal highness, and to those who have the honour of serving his majesty here to conduct this matter in parliament in such manner, as they shall think most proper for bringing it to a happy issue. It being as much impossible to foresee what may arise in either house on a question of this nature, as it will be to wait his majesty's particular instructions from Hanover, upon every sudden incident which may be thrown in the way to obstruct his majesty's service.

The other heads of business, which the lords had under their deliberation, and which they think absolutely necessary to be brought before the parliament this session, were, the putting the public debts in a method of payment, the asserting and strengthening the supremacy of the crown over the clergy, and the better regulating of the universities; lord Oxford's trial and a generall act of indemnity. As to the putting the public debts in some method of payment they look upon it as necessary to the very being of the nation; and Mr. Walpole has a scheme to offer for this purpose, which he flatters himself will give universall satisfaction, but he being not yet returned out of the country, we could not enter into the detail of that particular.

The archbishop has desired, that he and some of the bishops may have a meeting with the lord chancellor and some other lords to prepare heads of a bill for asserting the supremacy, and for better regulating the clergy and the two univer-

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

universities. With respect to lord Oxford's trial, the lords are of opinion, that the charge of high treason should be dropped, it being very certain that there is not sufficient evidence to convict him of that crime, but that he should be pushed with all possible vigour upon the point of misdemeanour, without which, it is certain that the best intentioned of his majesty's subjects will be so broken and disunited, as not to be able to carry on the publick service any more this parliament. The act of indemnity, their lordships all agree to be absolutely necessary for quieting and composing the minds of the nation, and they think the properest time for bringing it in will be towards the close of the session.

The last thing their lordships had under consideration was, what time it would be proper for the parliament to meet to do business. They humbly conceive that the sooner this can be, the better, and that the utmost limit to which the opening of the session can conveniently be defer'd, will be to the end of the Christmas's holydays; all which they desire may be entirely submitted to his majesty's consideration; and they make bold to repeat it as their humble opinion, that in the conducting so many important affairs through the difficulties incident to all popular assemblies, and more particularly increased by the unhappy divisions under which this nation labours, it will be impossible for them to succeed or even to carry on the session without frequent and long interruptions, unless his majesty thinks proper to trust his royal highness with a discretionary power to which they may have recourse for extricating the service out of unforeseen difficulties, and for accommodating their conduct from time to time to the several variations of circumstances that may arise, which can hardly be communicated, much less be provided for at a distance. It being thought necessary to pitch upon somebody to carry this dispatch, who might be able explain any of the points contained in it, his royal highness has been pleased to appoint Mr. Horace Walpole, who was therefore present at the meeting of the lords, that he might by hearing what passed, be enabled to give his majesty the most exact information of the sentiments of his servants on the present state of affairs.

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Period II.
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SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716.

Assures him of the king's attachment.—Seems to censure Walpole for not performing his promise made to the king.—Expresses himself dissatisfied with his own continuance in office.

MY LORD,

Goehdre, November 6, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

I Am to acknowledge the honour of your letter of the 12th and 16th of October. I do not yet know whether baron Gortz's letter will be decyphered, but if it be, I will not fail to send you a copy of it. I think there is no reason to doubt from the king of Sweden's temper, but that he may be prevailed upon to undertake any thing. I have laid before his majesty all these intercepted letters, and have communicated to him good part of the contents of both your lordship's of the dates above-mentioned. I think the latter of them is come very seasonably; for the king being upon the point to take his final resolution touching his holding the session of parliament in person or not; it hath given me an opportunity to shew his majesty, that his servants in England did not think it possible to carry those things in parliament, which seem absolutely necessary, unless countenanced and supported by his presence. I very believe this will determine him to take the resolution we all wish, and that his presence will enable us to deal with Mr. Lechmere and his followers. It was never imagined, that any supply should be asked of the parliament, immediately, on account of the northern affairs: but it will certainly become the parliament to address the king to form in concert with such other powers, as your lordship names, such alliances, in order to force a good peace there, as shall be judged necessary, and to promise the parliament's support for such engagements; otherwise I know not what minister can make a step with safety towards forming any plan. Whether the disbanding forces, while these matters are pending, will enable the king to treat with advantage, I beg may be considered.

Since my last to your lordship, I have had two conferences with general Schulemburgh, the king of Sicily's* minister, by whom I perceive that his master will think himself very happy, if the king can secure his peace with the emperor at the expence of Sicily: so that we may boldly offer Sicily to the emperor, and may, I hope, secure his assistance for these northern affairs, which I must own have, in my opinion, so near a connexion with England, that I think we must look after them. If a small part of the money, which will accrue by the reduction

* Victor
Amadeus.

duction of interest, should for one year or two, be employed to settle things in the north, so as that neither our trade nor indeed our country should have any attempt to fear from thence; I cannot but think this parliament will very readily come into it, especially, after the great things that have been done, and the care they will see hath been taken to secure them against a war with France, which is the only power that can endanger us or occasion a great expence.

Period II.
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1716.

I have represented therefore to the king, the sentiments expressed in your letter on this head, as proceeding from the apprehensions you were under of difficulties, in case his majesty should not come in person to give life and vigour to all his business. You may imagine I said nothing of that part of your letter where you talked of laying down: for if you knew how thoroughly well the king thinks of your lordship, and how often he upon all occasions expresses it, I am sure you would not have said it yourself. It is very likely that Bothmar may have done ill offices to Mr. Walpole: but the king upon that subject tells me, that he spoke himself with Mr. Walpole about it before he left England. It is very possible the king and Mr. Walpole might mistake one another. But the king says, he did apprehend, that Mr. Walpole had told him a way would be found to pay that money: he says he hath in fact advanced the money. I do therefore beg, that Mr. Walpole and you will think of this matter. If it be necessary that I write a letter to be laid before the cabinet council, let him tell me in what manner he would have me write, and I will immediately send a letter, if he would have it, and do every thing that he and you will let me know of for your service. The concern I have for him makes me wish most earnestly, that he will find some way to make this matter easy, which may, and will otherwise, give his enemies an opportunity of hurting him. I am sure I have staid in this office much longer than I would have done, for your sake and his; and whenever we are to go out of place, let it not be upon such a foot, that the king shall say Mr. Walpole hath promised such a thing, and that Mr. Walpole shall say otherwise. I vent my thoughts very freely to you, and will do so, while I am in business. You will easily believe me, when I tell you, that considering the present situation I am in, I do not wish that may be long. In all states and conditions I shall ever be, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1716.

Severely censures the conduct of lord Townshend, and accuses him of purposely delaying, from motives of jealousy, the signature of the treaty with France.—Requested the king's permission to resign the seals.—Desires lord Townshend to explain his conduct, and to write in French, that the king may read the original.

MY LORD,

Goehre, November 11, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

A few words
illegible.

J'AY été très surpris par plus d'une raison d'apprendre par la dépêche de my lord Cadogan du 5^{me}. de Nov. le nouvel incident qui arrête à present la signature du traité à la Haye, outre l'inquietude que nous peut causer l'apprehension de quelque mauvaise foi du côté de la France, je vous avoueray que je suis inquiet pour une raison qui me touche de plus pres. La forme nouvelle du plein pouvoir, que l'on a envoyé à my lord Cadogan me fait croire, que ce n'est pas sans dessein que l'on s'est écarté de la route commune, et des formes constamment usitées en dressant des pleins pouvoirs pour les traités particuliers, que l'on a en vue. Dans votre lettre du 28^{me}. de Sept. écrite à la verité avant que je vous eusse fait part de ma signature par ordre du roy avec M. l'abbé du Bois vous déconseillez la signature avec la France * * * * *. Dans cette même lettre vous marquiez que le plein pouvoir qu'avoit M. Walpole étoit suffisant pour l'autorizer à signer. Dans une lettre du 2 d'Oct. vous reconnoissez que les pouvoirs qu'avoit M. Walpole n'étoient point suffisants. Cette variation, et le delay qui s'est ensuivi d'envoyer un autre plein pouvoir, la conduite de M. Walpole dans cette affaire, l'affectation d'éviter dans ce nouveau plein pouvoir d'y mettre quoyque ce soit, qui puisse paroître avoir la moindre relation au traité en question, le desaveu qui semble être intimé dans la lettre de M. Methuen du 16^{me}. d'Oct. de ce qu'on a limité dans l'article quatrième du traité, la largeur des vaisseaux qui seront permis d'y faire commerce, le silence que l'on a affecté de garder dans toutes les dépêches qui me sont venues depuis que je vous avois fait part de ma signature avec l'abbé du Bois par ordre du roy, sur cette signature. Tout cela ensemble, my lord, je vous avoue, me fait imaginer, que ce que j'ay fait icy est tellement desapprouvé, que l'on se tient sur ses gardes pour ne pas faire une démarche, qui puisse m'avouer; et que ce sera à moy seul à répondre de ce que j'ay fait par des ordres réitérés du roy, et sur des raisons à mon sens très bien fondées, et très soutenables contre tous ceux qui y voudront trouver à redire: ces soupçons ont fait une telle impression sur moy, que je vous

avoue

avoue que j'en ay fait part au roy, et l'ay supplié très humblement, et très instamment de me permettre de resigner ma charge, et d'écrire à M. Methuen pour me venir relever; car je ne croyois pas qu'il convenoit au service du roy de rester dans une employ comme celuy que j'ay, si j'avois fait quelque chose, et cela par ordre du roy, que mes confreres dans le ministère ne jugent point à propos d'approuver. Sa majesté n'a pas jugé qu'il fût pour son service de m'accorder pour le present la grace que je lui avois demandé avec instance, mais il m'a permis de vous en écrire pour que le roy soit éclairci de ces doubtes. C'est ce que j'ay l'honneur de faire par celle cy, et je vous prie que vôtre reponse vienne en François, à fin que le roy lise luy même l'original de vôtre lettre. Je crois que cette même méthode sera toujours bonne pour l'avenir, à fin qu'il ne puisse pas y avoir dans toutes les lettres particulières, que nous nous écrivons, du mesentendu.

Period II.
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1716.

THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Expresses his dissatisfaction, and mentions the king's resentment that the signature of the treaty with France is delayed.—Censures his notions that parliament will not be induced to approve an interference in the northern affairs.—Apologizes for his freedom.

MY LORD,

Gohre, November 11, 1716.

MY giving your Lordship this trouble, is occasioned by Mr. Stanhope's having shewn me a letter he has writ to you, by the king's express command upon the subject of the French treaty, and the delays in the signing of it. Your Lordship may remember, that at the beginning of this negotiation with France, I was very much against it, apprehending it was an artifice only of the French party in Holland to avoid the treaty with the emperor, and to sow disunion among the allies. However, when I left England, I saw plainly the torrent was for carrying on the negotiation. I knew no more till I came hither of this affair, but what I had from the common news and reports in the Low Countries; and therefore, upon the same general notion, I writ my opinion to your Lordship in general, still to the same effect, while I was at Aix. But upon my arrival there, and Mr. secretary Stanhope's having acquainted me with the treaty itself, and every step that had been taken in it, I was entirely convinced that no negotiation had ever been managed with more pains and prudence, nor no treaty ever brought to a conclusion more glorious nor more advantageous to the king of England: especially,
under

Townshend
Papers.

Period II. under the circumstances Europe is like to be in by these proceedings of the
 1714 to 1720. czar, the king of Prussia, &c. which very probably may make France take a
 1716. pretence, from these delays, to avoid signing at last; and, what is worse yet, is,
 that the occasions of this delay leave it in the power of France to say it is
 not their fault.

I am sincerely concerned at any thing that may be prejudicial to the king's service, and particularly at any thing that happens, that may not rightly be understood among those in his service, that always have, and always ought to act cordially together: and that is the single reason why I say any thing upon so unpleasant a subject. I must therefore be so plain as to tell you, that I never saw the king resent any thing so much, as this affair, in which he thinks not only Mr. secretary Stanhope but himself not well used; and indeed, I think it wants to be explained.

I must not omit too acquainting your Lordship, that the king is very much surpris'd at the strange notion that seems at present to prevail, as if the Parliament was not to concern themselves in any thing that happens in these parts of the world, which he looks upon not only as exposing him to all kinds of affronts, but even to ruin: and indeed this notion is nothing but the old Tory one, that England can subsist by itself, whatever becomes of the rest of Europe, which has been so justly exploded ever since the revolution.

I am very sensible, that upon many accounts, it might have been more prudent in me, not to have mentioned these things; but the king's service, and the supporting of the right interest, and the union of those in his service depend so much upon these things being rightly understood, that I could not have answered it to myself, if I had not troubled you with this letter. You will take it, as I am sure it is sincerely meant by him, that is with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Stanhope
and
Townshend
Papers.

(Nov. 11, 1716.) THE enclosed is a copy of my letter to the king; my heart is so full with the thoughts of having received this usage from you, to whom I have always been so faithful a friend, that you will excuse my not saying any more at this time. I pray God forgive you; I do.

P. S. Lord Sunderland will, I am persuaded, excuse my not answering his letter.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.*

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

Justifies himself from the imputation laid to his charge of having purposely delayed the signature of the treaty with France.—Shews that he had used all possible diligence to expedite the full power for lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole, and that he was not accessory to the demur of Mr. Walpole in declining to sign the treaty separately without the Dutch.

SIRE,

Whitehall, cet 11—22me. Novembre, 1716.

C'EST avec une surprise et une douleur très sensible, que je reçeus hier la lettre que vôtre majesté a bien voulu m'écrire le 1—12 de ce mois, comme aussi en même tems une lettre de Monf. Stanhope écrite par ordre exprès de vôtre majesté.

Harrington
and
Townshend
Papers.

Je m'étois flaté que parmi plusieurs inconveniens que la franchise avec laquelle j'ay toujours agi m'auroit pû attirer, elle m'auroit pour le moins procuré cet avantage que de m'avoir garanti du soupçon d'être jamais capable de me servir de ruse et d'artifice pour cacher mes sentimens réels, et pour éviter par des voyes indirectes, ce à quoi je n'osois pas m'opposer ouvertement; mais comme je me trouve assez malheureux d'être soupçonné d'une pareille bassesse, il me sert de quelque consolation que la preuve qu'on en

* The original English draught and the French translation of this dispatch, in the hand writing of Mr. Poyntz, are in the Townshend's papers, the French letter in the hand writing of lord Townshend, which was sent to the king, is among the papers of Charles Stanhope, in the possession of the earl of Harrington. I have printed it in both languages, as well for its importance, as because there is some trifling difference in the draught.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

May it please your Majesty,

Nov. 11—22, 1716.

IT is with the utmost surprise and concern that I received yesterday your majesty's letter of the 1—12 instant, together with one from Mr. secretary Stanhope, written by your majesty's express command.

I was in hopes the frankness and openness of my temper, might among several inconveniences, at least have had this one good effect with respect to myself, that I might thereby have been secured against the suspicion of being likely to have recourse at any time to artifice and evasion, in order to conceal my real sentiments, or to decline by indirect methods what I had not the courage openly to declare against and oppose. However, since it has been my misfortune to fall under the suspicion of such a weakness, it is at least some comfort to me, that the

Period II. ^{1714 to 1720.} en veut donner à vôtre majesté est de telle nature, que le simple récit des faits suffira pour la convaincre que je suis entièrement innocent du crime qu'on veut m'imputer. 1716. Votre majesté me fera la justice de se souvenir que depuis le premier jour que le régent a donné quelque preuve de la droiture de ses intentions à l'égard de cette alliance, en envoyant l'abbé du Bois à la Haye, j'ay toujours été parmi les plus zélés à pousser et à avancer le traité dont il s'agit, et cela même dans un temps où j'avois quelque sujet de douter si vôtre majesté étoit entièrement convaincûe des raisons qui me portoient à croire qu'une telle alliance seroit avantageuse à ses Royaumes.

Après que l'article de Mardyke fut renvoyé icy les ingénieurs Anglois, le ministre de France, les seigneurs du conseil, et son altesse royale même me rendront la justice de temoigner avec combien d'ardeur et d'affiduité Mons. Methuen et moi avons travaillé pour amener cette affaire à une prompte et une heureuse conclusion. Depuis ce tems là j'ai contre signé moi même les deux ordres de son altesse royale à my lord chancelier pour afficher le grand sceau au pleinpouvoir de my lord Cadogan pour l'autoriser à signer ce traité ou conjointement avec les Hollandois ou séparément; et j'ose dire avec toute la soumission possible qu'après tout ce qui s'est passé dans cette négociation je ne m'attendois pas que personne au monde m'eut jamais dû accuser de manque d'empressement à voir achever ce traité.

J'avoue

instance given, is such, that your majesty upon a fair representation of what has passed, must be convinced from the facts themselves, that I am entirely innocent of the crime insinuated against me.

Your majesty will do me the justice to remember, that ever since the regent first gave reason to believe he was sincere in desiring this alliance, by his sending the abbot du Bois to the Hague, I have all along been one of the forwardest in pressing and soliciting the advancement of this treaty, even at a time when I had some grounds to doubt, whether your majesty entered with equal conviction into the reasons which induced me to represent this alliance as most advantageous for your kingdoms.

As soon as the article of Mardyk was referr'd hither, the British engineers, the minister of France, the committee of council, and his royall highness the prince himself, will all witness with what earnestness and application Mr. Methuen and I laboured to bring this point to a happy and speedy conclusion. I have since countersigned two warrants from his royall highness to my lord chancellour, for causing the great seal to be appended to lord Cadogan's full powers, by which he is authorised to sign this treaty, either jointly with the Dutch or separately; and I beg leave to say, with all submission, that after all that has passed on this occasion, I never expected to be accused of want of zeal for the perfecting this treaty. I own, that I was under

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J'avoue que je me suis trompé en croiant que le pleinpouvoir de Monf. Walpole étoit fuffifant pour l'autorifer à figner avec les François féparément, mais auffitôt que je m'apperçeus de mon erreur fans attendre les inftructions ultérieures de vôtre majefté à cet égard, j'obtins un ordre de fon alteffe royale pour faire dreffer un nouveau pleinpouvoir pour my lord Cadogan et Monf. Walpole. Je contre fignai cet ordre du pleinpouvoir avec toute la diligence qu'il m'étoit poffible, la cour étant alors à Hampton Court, et plufieurs des feigneurs étant à la campagne.

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1716.

Il eft vray que ce pleinpouvoir a été conçu en des termes généraux, renfermans tous les cas particuliers, et étant par là (comme ou croyoit icy) mieux accordé à toutes les circonftances et événemens imprevis qui pouvoient naître. Il eft auffi vray que des pleinpouvoirs d'une pareille forme ont été accordés, et s'accordant tous les jours à tous les pleinpouvoirs que vôtre majefté envoie, ou que fes prédeceffeurs ont envoyé, en quelque cour que ce foit, fans qu'il y foit fait la moindre mention d'aucun traité particulier à faire, neant moins quand il a été queftion de figner quelque traité particulier on n'a jamais fait aucune objection contre ces pleinpouvoirs comme étant conçûs en termes trop généraux. Monf. Methuen luy même fit le traité avec le roy de Portugall en vertu d'un pleinpouvoir de cette efpece, et plufieurs autres ont faite de même fans qu'on leur ait jamais fufcité l'objection faite par l'abbé du Bois à cette occafion, et il eft sûr que vôtre majefté pourroit par un feul acte constituer la même perfonne pour négocier avec tous les princes

an error in thinking Mr. Walpole's first full powers were fufficient to authorife him to fign with France féparately; but as foon as ever I was fenfible of this miftake, without expecting your majefty's particular commands, I immediately obtained a warrant from his royal highnefs for a new full power to lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole jointly, which warrant I counterfigned, and gott the full powers paffed through the féveral forms, and difpatched to Holland with as much expedition, as was at that time poffible; the court being at Hampton Court, and moft of the lords out of town.

This full power was, it is true, conceived in generall terms, including all particulars, and confequently (as was thought here) the better fitted to fuit all unforefeen circumftances that might arife. And it is no lefs true, that full powers in the fame generall form have ever been, and are daily given to all the plenipotentiarys, whom your majefty or your predeceffors have fent into foreign courts. Mr. Methuen himfelf, concluded the treaty of Portugal, in virtue of fuch a full power, and féveral others have done the like, without any one's making the objection now ftarted by the abbé du Bois; and it is certain, that your majefty might, by one fingle full power, authorife one and the fame perfon to negociate with all the princes in Europe.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

princes en Europe. Les lettres de my lord Cadogan montrent, qu'il est de ce sentiment, comme il paroît par les paroles suivantes dans sa lettre à moi du 17me. de ce mois N. S. (Dimanche au soir le 15me. de ce mois je reçus par le messager nommé Smith l'honneur de vôtre lettre du 29 d'Octobre N. S. avec les nouveaux pleinpouvoirs, et prens la liberté de vous dire, que je suis du même sentiment que vous, que ceux que j'avois auparavant étoient suffisans) monsieur d'Ibberville en est persuadé à un tel point, que lors que monf. Methuen luy exposoit l'objection de l'abbé, il dit que l'abbé n'étoit qu'un novice dans ces affaires et que son objection n'avoit pas la moindre force. Mais pour faire voir à vôtre majesté que je n'avois aucun dessein d'apporter du délai à la signature de ce traité avantageux, et que je n'ay jamais songé, en expédiant en termes généraux le premier pleinpouvoir, de me servir de cet artifice pour éviter de donner aucun ordre signé de ma main pour autoriser my lord Cadogan à signer avec la France séparément sans les Hollandois, dès le moment que my lord Cadogan me fit sçavoir l'objection de l'abbé sans attendre le commandement exprès de vôtre majesté, j'obtins un ordre de son altesse royale (copie du quel je prens la liberté d'envoyer à vôtre majesté) que je contre signai de ma main propre, pour faire dresser un second pleinpouvoir selon la forme prescrite par l'abbé, et comme la cour se trouvoit alors en ville je le fis expédier en telle diligence, que quoique la lettre de my lord Cadogan ne me fût rendue que le 29 d'Octobre au matin, le messager partit la nuit du dit jour à douze heures, avec le pleinpouvoir: et le vent n'étant pas bon pour passer en Hollande, je donnai un ordre au maître des postes de lui fournir un vaisseau pour aller à Calais en toute

My lord Cadogan's letters to me, shew him to be of this opinion; and M. d'Ibberville is so much of the same sentiment, that when Mr. Methuen stated the abbé's difficulty to him, he said the abbé was but a novice in this sort of business; and that there was not the least weight in this objection.

But to convince your majesty, that I had no intention to delay this great affair, and that it never was in my thoughts to make use of any artifice to avoid having my hand appear to the orders for my lord Cadogan's signing this treaty separately without the Dutch, the very moment that I received notice from him of the Abbé's objection, I obtained a warrant from his royal highness (and countersigned it myself, a copy of which, I take the liberty to inclose to your majesty) for passing a second full power to lord Cadogan in the form prescribed by the abbé; and the court being then returned to town, I got it dispatched with so much expedition, that tho' lord Cadogan's letter was not received till the 29th of October in the morning, the messenger sett out with it the same night at 12 o'clock, with orders to the postmaster to furnish him with a boat express to Calais, the winds being then contrary for sailing to Holland. The dispatching

these

toute diligence. J'espère que l'expédition de ce pleinpouvoir en des termes si précis, et avec tant de diligence avant que j'eusse eu l'honneur de recevoir les ordres de vôtre majesté, la convaincra de la droiture de mes intentions et combien j'ay été éloigné des deffins qu'on vent m'imputer.

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1716.

Je ne suis pas moins surpris que fâché d'apprendre que nonobstant l'expédition de ce pleinpouvoir l'abbé persiste à former de nouveaux prétextes de délai, alléguant que ce pleinpouvoir auroit dû être contresigné de ma main; il est vray que les premiers pleinpouvoirs que j'ay envoyé à my lord Cadogan furent contresignés par moi, ce qui est arrivé parce que je me suis trouvé alors à Hampton Court où je ne pouvois avoir recours aux livres des bureaux: mais ayant vû par les objections de l'abbé à ces pouvoirs combien il étoit délicat et scrupuleux dans les choses de cette espèce j'ay crû qu'il étoit de mon devoir de prendre soin, que toutes les formalitez requises fussent observées dans les derniers pouvoirs, qu'on a envoyé, et ayant pour cet effet examiné les registres de la secretaire et ayant fait faire un extrait de la signature des pleinpouvoir (dont je prens la liberté d'envoyer copie à votre majesté) il paroît que les secretaires d'état n'ont pas accoutumé de contresigner ces pleinpouvoirs, les ordres cependant en vertu desquels le grand sceau a été affiché aux pleinpouvoirs ont été (comme j'ay déjà eu l'honneur de dire à vôtre majesté) contresignés de moy, selon qu'il se pratique icy en des pareilles occasions. Les seigneurs du conseil ayant lû la lettre de my lord Cadogan ont été d'opinion

nion

these full powers, with so much diligence, and in such explicit terms, before I had the honour to receive your majesty's commands, will, I hope, convince your majesty of the fairness of my intentions, and how far I was from having the design with which I am charged.

I am equally surpris'd and concerned to find, that notwithstanding the arrival of these powers, the abbé still persists to form new pretences of delay; alledging now, that these full powers ought to have been countersigned by me. The warrants by virtue of which the great seal was appended to both the powers were (as I have already had the honour to acquaint your majesty) countersigned by me, according to what is usually practis'd here, in the like cases; but having examined the registers of the office, and caused an extract to be made of the manner of signing the full powers for almost an age back (a copy of which extract, I have sent to lord Cadogan) it appears, that it is not the custom for secretaries of state to countersign instruments of that nature. And the lords of the committee, having read my lord Cadogan's letter, were of opinion, that it was not convenient in the present case to recede from the usual practice on the like occasions, lest a handle should be taken from thence to invalidate all that was transmitted by the English ministers at the treaties of Utrecht, of Riswick, of Nimeguen, and higher up, at all which negociations, the ministers of France and other courts signed with ours,

upon

Period II. 1714 to 1720.
1716. nion qu'il ne falloit pas s'écarter de l'usage ordinaire, mais comme l'abbé a temoigné à my lord Cadogan de vouloir se contenter d'une declaration sous ma main portant que cette contre signature n'est pas essentielle, je luy en expédiai une hier en toute diligence.

Pour ce qui regarde le refus de monf. Walpole d'affister à la signature de ce traité (ce qui a contribué à porter monf. Stanhope à l'ombrage à mon égard) je puis affurer vôtres majesté que loin de luy avoir inspiré ce sentiment lors qu'il m'écrivoit pour luy obtenir la permission de son altesse royale de revenir en Angleterre, je luy envoyai un refus positif, et je luy conseillai de ne se pas laisser porter par ses sentimens particuliers à défobéir aux ordres de vôtres majesté. Ayant de cette manière exposé à vôtres majesté la verité des faits sans aucun déguisement; il ne me reste que de luy demander pardon très humblement avec la plus profonde soumission et attachement le plus inviolable.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Expresses his surprise and regret at incurring blame for his conduct.—Justifies himself.—Denies that he gave any promise to the king in regard to the payment of the German troops.—States the inconveniences, should parliament meet later than the end of January.

DEAR SIR,

London, Nov. 11—22, 1716.

Stanhope
Papers.

AT my return from the country, lord Townshend communicated to me the contents of both your letters, which so nearly concern me, as every thing must needs do, that gives me reason to believe I suffer in his majesty's good opinion. There can be no greater misfortune, than to incur blame and

upon the credit of full powers, not countersigned by any of our secretaries of state. But as the abbé du Bois signified to lord Cadogan, that he should be contented with a declaration on this head, I sent my lord Cadogan such a declaration last night by an express.

As for Mr. Walpole's declining to assist at the signing this treaty (which I perceive has helped to mislead Mr. Stanhope into these undeserved suspicions of me) is what I was so far from being accessory to, that upon his applying to the prince by me for leave of absence, I sent him a positive refusal, and advised him to lett no private reasons of his own interfere with your majesty's expresse commands.

Having thus laid the reall facts before your majesty, without any colouring or disguise, I have nothing more to add, but most humbly to beg pardon for the tediousness of this relation, and to assure your majesty, that I am with the utmost submission and duty, &c.

displeasure

displeasure for those very things, which a man thinks he has deserv'd well in; but this seems to be the fate of those who have the honour to serve at a distance. As to the businesse of St. Christopher's, I am sure I have done nothing in it yett, wherein 'tis possible for me to offend; and I have already wrote to you my sentiments so fully, that I can say no more upon it, unlesse in a conference which count Bothmar has desired with me on Tuesday morning, something shall occur that I may think proper to give you an account of; and I must beg leave to defer entering into any particulars relating to the payment of the troops of Saxe Gotha and Munster, till after that time, because I am sure count Bothmar dares not deny to me, but that I have shew'd a more than ordinary readines to facilitate that matter; and this I am confident I shall be able to tell you, he has confess'd to me. I must only add one thing, that I am at a losse what to say, when I am told, I promised the king a method should be found out to pay this money. I do not presume to enter into this dispute, but I hope I shall be thought more excusable, when I protest before God, that I cannot recollect, that ever the king mention'd one syllable of this to me, or I to him; but my memory must fail me, when his majesty says the contrary.

By your letter to lord Townshend, received this day, I understand 'tis his majesty's pleasure that the parliament should not meet before the eighth of January. I think it my duty to suggest to you, that 'tis to be remember'd, that the parliament left last year above six hundred thousand pounds of the supply unrais'd; notwithstanding which, it has been so order'd, that we shall be able to subsist the forces till the latter end of January, by throwing the deficiency upon such parts of the service as were best able to bear it, but this notwithstanding great inconveniencies; and if his majesty should have any thoughts of a further prorogation, I beg this may be consider'd, and we may timely know, what is to be expected, that all possible care be taken; tho' I am sensible, it must be done with the greatest difficulty, if at all practicable; and the methods we shall be obliged to take, will in some measure, I fear, affect our credit, which at this time proves very unfortunate. I am, &c.

Period II
1714 to 1721
1716.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

Mentions his arrival at the Hague.—His conference with the pensionary, and his resolution to set off immediately for Hanover.

MY LORD,

Tuesday night, Nov. 17, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

AFTER a good deal of fatigue at sea, and crossing Maesland-fluys against wind and tyde, I arrived here this evening as soon as the mail; and the next minute I waited upon the pensionary, who was extremely pleased with the assurances I gave him from the prince of his royal highness's affection to this republick, and particular esteem for him the pensionary. As a mark of it, I was order'd to communicate to him the intercepted letters of correspondence between the Swedish ministers; and I hinted to him the opinion of his royal highness, that we should keep well with the czar, and divert the king of Sweden from being able to attempt any thing against England, by giving him work enough at home. But if the States could think of any vigorous measures to be taken in concert with England, for quieting the troubles in the north, I did not doubt but great attention would be given to them by his majesty and his royal highness. He told me he was sorry to say, that the situation of their affairs is such as not to permitt them to act with that resolution and vigour as is often necessary; and therefore he seem'd to like well enough his royal highness's opinion in relation to the king of Sweden; but observed to me, that the design of favouring the pretender by some attempt upon Great Britain, was only at present a project of count Gullenbourgh, transacted between him and the jacobites, and not yet agreed to by Sweden; however, he own'd we ought to be upon our guard. He told me the States of Holland are to meet to morrow, and that it depends upon Leyden and Rotterdam's sentiments in relation to their tariff of sixty-four, whether they shall agree to sign the treaty with France. The pensionary himselve seem'd to think those towns in the wrong to insist upon a point which Amsterdam has waved; but he could nott yett tell me what the result would be; most of the rest of the provinces are well disposed; if that of Holland would come to a good resolution.

It is past 9 o'clock, but I am resolved to continue my journey this night for Hannover, in company of a messenger lord Cadogan sends thither, about the difficulty made by the abbé du Bois against signing the treaty with him. I am with the greatest respect and affection, &c.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.*Announces his arrival.—And surprise at the state of things.*

1716.

MY LORD,

Gore, Nov. 23, 1716.

THIS is only to acquaint your lordship, that I arrived here yesterday noon; and found that orders have been sent to England to prorogue the parliament to the 8th of January, O. S. and I don't believe that it will then meet to do business, because the king will scarcely be in England, by what I can learn, by that time, and there are some that do not think it prudent that any business should be done before his majesty's arrival; but we shall soon know with more certainty what will be resolved upon in relation to this matter, as soon as his majesty is come to Hanover, which will be on Monday next. I do not think it proper to send your lordship by letter an account of what has passed in discourse between Mr. Stanhope and me. Your lordship will have, before this time, as much to your own surprise as mine, received a letter from the king, as well as from Mr. Secretary, relating to what has been transacted about the full powers for the particular signing with France. I shall expect to see what answer your lordship will give to these letters before I set out for England; and I shall, in the mean time, learn what we are like to expect from the resolutions there as well in regard to the carrying on of the public business, as to the ministers, and management that is to be used in those matters. It is impossible for me in a letter to say any more, but that I am with the most steadfast adherence and affection, &c.

Townshend
Papers.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Arrives at the Hague much indisposed, but is anxious to continue his journey to England, for the purpose of executing speedily the commission with which he is charged, to reconcile lord Townshend and him, in which he trusts he shall succeed.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, December 8, 1716.

I Arrived here last night in a very indifferent condition; for my chaise breaking two posts from Hanover, I got into a light open waggon, and by that means was exposed to such violent storms of wind, hail, and rain, that after the first night, I contracted extream pains in all my joynts on my left side, so that it was impossible for me to ride on horseback. However, without taking any rest, I continued my journey hither, that I may loose no time in my

Harrington
Papers.

Period II. way to England, in order to execute a commission that I think of the utmost
 1714 to 1720. consequence to the publick affairs; and which my own particular concern, as
 1716. well as his majesty's service, will engage me to use my utmost skill to bring to
 a good issue. The wind continues directly contrary for England, so that
 Hutchins, the messenger, is detained at Helvetfluys; but I dispatched
 Collins yesterday by way of Calais, and wrote by him a letter to my brother
 Walpole, with notice of my being in the way for England; and intimated to
 him the purport of my errand; so that things may rest there on the foot they
 are untill my arrivall.

In the mean time, I must earnestly entreat you to divest yoursele of all
 manner of suspicion of lord Townshend's having ever had the least design to
 doe any thing to disoblige you, or contrary to that tye of friendship and con-
 fidence in which you lived so long and happily together. I think myself au-
 thorised to say this, because I'm sensible the difficulty I made in relation to
 the particular signing with France, was one of the cheifest grounds of your
 jealousy; and I protest before God, that what I did, came purely from my-
 selfe; and my lord Townshend earnestly exhorted me to the contrary. I
 shall add nothing else on that subject, because I think all expostulations and
eclaircissements must be laid aside; and we must, as you told me, look for-
 ward; in which you may depend upon my offices to put the king's friends
 and servants upon the same foot of harmony and union with which they have
 acted so successfully. And I cannot forbear to flatter myself with some hopes of
 success; and if I can compass this point, I shall think I have done my king
 and country some service.

I must take notice to you, that the East India Company having occasion
 for a quantity of money from hence, desired a yatcht might be sent over for
 that purpose; and the admiralty was pleased to favour my brother Gall: with
 that commission, who is arrived here; but as things of that nature are never
 specified in the orders, the expectation of my returning about this time from
 Hanover, and the carrying me into England, is the substance of his orders.
 I have acquainted him, that the yachts are sent for; so that he has gone on
 board to make use of the first wind to get over, in order to be made fitt, and
 return for his majesty's service with the rest of the yachts; and if the wind
 should continue contrary two or three days, I hope to be in a condition to
 goe with him. But the phyician, who has been with me, since I began to
 write this letter, is very apprehensive of a rumatism, and tells me, I must
 not stir out yet; but as I am much mended since last night, I hope by to-
 morrow

morrow morning I shall be much better, after having taken something. I am, with the greatest sincerity and respect imaginable, dear sir, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

My respects to lord Sunderland, and pardon this scrawl, which I write with great pain.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Inform him that the king has been pleased to reward his services by appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland.

MY LORD,

Hanover, Dec. 15, 1716.

THE enclosed copy of my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen,* will inform your lordship of the great regard which his majesty has thought fitt, upon this occasion, to express for your eminent services; which, as they have very justly intitled your lordship to the greatest employment a king of England has to give, so I am persuaded the services you will do his majesty in this station, will be no less advantageous to the publick, and will, if possible, increase your lordship's own reputation. That it may be so, is most sincerely wished by, &c.

Harrington
Papers.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Inform him of lord Townshend's removal, and justifies his own conduct on the occasion.—King very uneasy of late, and highly displeased with lord Townshend.—Plan for a new ministry, if lord Townshend should refuse the lord lieutenancy, and Walpole resign.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Dec. 15, 1716.

YOU will see by my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, of which I send you enclosed a copy, the alteration which his majesty hath judged necessary for his service to be made in the ministry. If I could possibly have an hours discourse with you, I am sure I should make you sensible, that the part I have had in the last step hath been for my lord Townshend's service. Every circumstance considered, I do in my conscience believe, this was the only measure which could secure the continuance of a whigg administration with any ease to the king. His majesty hath been more uneasy of late, than I care to say; and I must own, I think he has reason, even tho' I

Harrington
Papers.

* The dispatch to secretary Methuen, which announced the removal of lord Townshend, and his appointment to act as the secretary of state in England, is missing.

Period II. don't pretend to know so much of the matter as the king does; his majesty
 714 to 1720, receiving many advices, which come neither through my hands nor my lord
 1716. Sunderland's. But I cannot help observing to you, that he is jealous of certain intimacys with the two brothers. I hope his majesty's presence in England, and the behaviour of our friends in the cabinet, will remove these jealousies. No one man can contribute more to this than yourself; and I must tell you, that my lord Sunderland, as well as myself, have assured the king that you will do so. You know that ill offices had been done you here, which might have made some impression, if my lord Sunderland and I had not in good earnest endeavoured to prevent it.

You will, I am persuaded, believe that our endeavours were sincere, when I shall have told you with the frankness I am going to do, what our scheme is here for the ministry. In case my lord Townshend accepts of Ireland, which for a thousand reasons, he ought to do, the cabinet council will remain just as it was, with the addition of the duke of Kingston as privy seal. Mr. Methuen and I shall continue secretaries. But if my lord Townshend shall decline Ireland; and if, which by some has been suggested, but which I cannot think possible, he should prevail upon you to offer to quit your employments, the king in this case, hath engaged my lord Sunderland and myself to promise, that his lordship will be secretary; and that I, unable and unequal as I am every way, should be chancellor of the exchequer for this session; the king declaring, that as long as he can find whiggs that will serve him, he will be served by them. Which good disposition his majesty shall not have reason to alter, by any backwardness in me to expose myself to any trouble or hazard. You know as much of our plan now, as I do, and are, I dare say, fully satisfied, that I think it highly concerns me, that you should stay where you are. I am very sorry that my lord Townshend's temper hath made it impracticable for him to continue secretary. The king will not bear him in that office, be the consequence what it will. This being the case, I hope and desire that you will endeavour to reconcile him to Ireland, which I once thought he did not dislike; and which, I think, he cannot now refuse, without declaring to the world, that he will serve upon no other terms, than being viceroy over father, son, and their three kingdoms. Is the whigg interest to be staked in defence of such a pretension? or is the difference to the whigg party, whether lord Townshend be secretary or lord lieutenant of Ireland tanti? I hope this letter will convince you of the confidence in which I desire we may live and act; and am ever with great truth, &c.

The present dispatch leaves, you see, a commissioners place vacant at your board, touching the filling up which, I should be glad to have your sentiments as soon as may be. I believe the king will leave Hanover as soon as he has advice, that the yachts are in Holland. Judging that it may be very much for my lord Townshend's service and for yours, that you should receive this letter as soon as may be, I send it by your friend Brereton, who is a very sensible young man, and I have ordered him to manage it so, that this letter be delivered to you four and twenty hours, before the messenger who goes along with him, deliver my dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, that you may have so much time to reason with my lord Townshend.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Sends a copy of the dispatch to secretary Methuen, before it is delivered.—
Hopes that lord Townshend will accept the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.*

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, December 15, 1716-17.

HAVING received the king's command to send a dispatch to Mr. secretary Methuen, of which you have enclosed a copy, I have thought the best service I can do to my lord Townshend and to yourself, is to give you as early notice of it as possible; and for this purpose have sent Mr. Brereton with these few lines, which he will take care to deliver to you before my public dispatch can be delivered to the secretary; I think it is of the utmost consequence for the king's service, for the interest of the whigg cause, for that of my lord Townshend, and yours, that my lord Townshend should acquiesce in this disposition of the king's, wherein so much regard is shewn to his lordship, that I hope he will do it with a good grace. I am sure you cannot at this time so much conduce to the public good as by disposing his lordship to a temper suitable to this occasion, and am therefore persuaded your endeavours will not be wanting. That you may succeed, is the hearty wish of, &c.

Harrington
Papers.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

SIR,

Whitehall, December 11—22, 1716.

I Take your's of the 15th in the same sense I am persuaded you meant it; and though I have not so much vanity as to imagine my services have ever deserved the fine things you are pleased to say of them, yet I must confess, till I received this last letter from you, I was weak enough to think your partiality

Stanhope,
Harrington,
and
Townshend
Papers.

Period II. partiality to me, had given you a favourable opinion of them; and I was the
 1714 to 1720. more confirmed in this idle notion from the report Horace made me of what
 1716. passed between him and you on this subject. The inclosed is a letter to the king, which I beg you would deliver to his majesty.

I am, with great respect, sir, your most obedient humble servant.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.*

Receives his dismissal.—And declines accepting the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.

SIRE,

December 11—22, 1716.

Townshend
and
Harrington
Papers.

J'AY reçu avec la déférence et la soumission la plus parfaite les ordres de votre majesté intimés par Monsieur le secretaire Methuen, par les quels je me trouve demis de la charge de secretaire d'état.

Je demande tres humblement la permission de faire souvenir votre majesté de ce que j'eus l'honneur de luy dire quand elle me fit l'honneur de me donner cet emploi, que je me ferois estimé trop hereux si j'y avois pû apporter autant de capacité comme j'avois toujours senti de zèle et de passion pour son service; auquel cas je suis seur que votre majesté auroit eu tout lieu d'être contente de mes services. Je puis dire avec beaucoup de verité que le desir de temoigner la reconnoissance que j'avois du choix que votre majesté avoit bien voulu faire de moi pour cet emploi, a été le seul motif capable de me soutenir jusqu' ici sous les fatigues dont je l'ai trouvé chargé.

Je suis très sensible à l'honneur que votre majesté m'a faite en daignant de me nommer pour son lieutenant d'Irlande. Mais comme mes affaires domestiques ne me permettent pas d'établir mon séjour hors d'Angleterre, et que je m'estimerois tout à fait indigne du choix que votre majesté a bien voulu faire si j'étois capable de jouir des gros appointements de cet honorable emploi sans me mettre en état de les meriter en faisant les fonctions requises, j'espère que votre majesté aura la bonté de m'en excuser, et qu'elle m'accordera la permission de vaquer aux affaires particulières de ma famille, que j'ay négligées un peu trop.

Au reste j'ose assurer votre majesté, que quelque part que je me trouve, elle peut compter sur un sujet fidele et reconnoissant, assidu à avancer le service de votre majesté du mieux de son pouvoir, ayant l'honneur d'être avec le zèle et l'attachement le plus inviolable. Sire, de votre majesté, le très humble très obeissant et très fidele sujet et serviteur.

* The original English draught of this letter, is printed in the Memoirs, chapter 15.

SECRETARY METHUEN TO SECRETARY STANHOPE,

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

Complains of the extreme disagreeableness of his situation.—Requests permission to resign his office of secretary of state—and expresses his willingness to continue in the treasury, as long as Walpole is first lord commissioner.

1716.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 12—23, 1716.

I Return you my hearty thanks for your favour of the 3d instant, which I received by Horace Walpole, and am extremely glad to find that I had not had the misfortune to displease his majesty, or to suffer in your good opinion. I should have been very much concerned at either of them, considering the life I have lead since the king's departure, and all I have borne, which I can assure you is hardly to be expressed. I write this to you at four in the morning, and have been now eleven hours at my office, so that I am almost dead; and must beg of you to interceed with the king, not to take what I have written to you in my other letter amiss, for I am not able to endure the fatigue of this employment, and would, if it were put to my choice, rather be a slave in the gallies. I am quite tired with the wickedness and impertinence of mankind, and beg you would pitch on some other colleague, for I wish I may be able to hold out till you come. If the king is pleased to let me remain in the treasury as long as it stands as it does now, I shall be extremely satisfied; if not, I shall be well enough pleased, for I really want a little rest and time to take care of my health and affairs. I heartily wish you may find every thing to your satisfaction here, but am afraid you will not. I am, with all possible truth and respect, dear sir, &c.

Harrington.
Papers.

Private.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Expostulates on his conduct.—Justifies lord Townshend's and his own conduct in regard to their behaviour to the prince of Wales.—Denies any secret intelligence with the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay.

DEAR SIR;

Dec. 12—23, 1716.

YOUR private letter to me, I have not let one mortal see. I never read it, but some parts of it astonish me so much, that I know not what to say or think. What could prevail on you to enter into such a scheme as this, and appear to be chief actor in it, and undertake to carry it thro' in all events, without which it could not have been undertaken, is unaccountable. I do swear, to you, that lord Townshend has no way deserved it of you; and even after

Harrington.
Papers.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1716.

after the letter that came with the king's, I do protest to you, he never treated your conduct in that matter, but as a mistake; which, when you were sensible of, your friendship for him would easily prevail upon you to retract. Believe me, Stanhope, he never thought you could enter into a combination with his enemies against him.

I find you are all persuaded, the scheme is so adjusted, that it can meet with no objection from the whigs. Believe me, you will find the direct contrary true, with every unprejudiced whig of any consequence or consideration. I, perhaps, am too nearly concerned in the consequences to gain any credit with you. However, I can't help telling you, you don't know what you are a doing. 'Tis very hard to treat my lord Townshend in the manner you have done, but 'tis more unjust to load him with imputations to justify such ill treatment. Such sudden changes to old sworn friends, are seldom look'd upon in the world with a favourable eye. What is given out here and publish'd, from letters from among you, in regard to the prince, I cannot but take notice of, and will stake my all upon this single issue, if one instance can be given of our behaviour to the prince, but what was necessary to carry on the king's service; and we never had a thought, but with a just and due regard to the king as our king and master; and as for any secret intimacies or management undertaken with the two brothers, if there be the least handle, or one instance can be given of it, call me for ever *villain*; if not, think as you please of those that say or write this.

I will say no more, but give you one piece of advice. Stop your hand till you come over, and can see and hear, how that you have already done, is represented here. I am very sensible in what a manner lord Townshend's refusal may be represented to the king. Think a little coolly, and consider how possible it is for men in a passion to do things, which they may heartily wish undone. I write this as an old acquaintance, that still desires to live in as much friendship, as you will make it possible or practicable for me. And let me once more beg of you to recollect yourself, and lay aside that passion, which seems to be so predominant in all your actions. I have heard old friends were to be valued like old gold. I never wish'd any thing more sincerely than to bear that title, and to preserve it with you.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE

 Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1716.

Reproaches him for his change of sentiments.—Exculpates himself in regard to the payment of the German troops.—Declines attempting to persuade lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy.—Denies that he carried on any intrigues with the duke of Argyle and lord Ilay.

Dec. 12—23, 1716.

I Have received the favour of yours of the 3d instant, N. S. by my brother, and very soon after had what you sent by Mr. Brereton of the 15th. Harrington Papers.
 What could possibly create so great an alteration among you in the space of twelve days is in vain to guess, and impossible to determine. But I suppose I am mistaken, when I think there was any change in the measures, except in the time of execution. I think I have no commands at present from his majesty to you, but in relation to the payment of the Saxe-Gotha and Munster troops, which I hope will be no longer thought to stand at my door: since after all that has been said about this affair, there are at this hour no powers from Saxe-Gotha to receive the money; and as M. Hallangius tells me, his master will give no powers but to him; and count Bothmar tells me this morning, what was agreed upon betwixt us to be sent from your side of the water, in order to be laid before the cabinet council, is come so imperfect, that 'tis not fitt to be produced. He has desired however, that six or seven thousand pounds may be paid upon account of the troops of Munster, which shall be laid before the cabinet council at their first meeting.

When you desired me to prevail with my lord Townshend to acquiesce in what is carv'd out for him, I cannot but say you desired an impossibility; and 'tis fitt you should know, that there is not one of the cabinet council, with whom you and lord Sunderland have agreed in all things for so many years, but think, that considering all the circumstances and manner of doing this, no body could advise him to accept of the lieutenancy of Ireland; and that it cannot be supposed, that the authors of this scheme either thought he would, or desired he should. And believe me, when I tell you, this matter is universally received here by all men of sense, and well wishers to the king, in another manner than you could imagine, when you gave into the measure. And be assured, that whoever sent over the accounts of any intrigues or private correspondence betwixt us and the two * brothers, or any management

* The duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay.

Period II. in the least tending to any view or purpose, but the service, honour, and interest of the king, I must repeat it, be assured, they will be found, pardon the expression, confounded liars, from the beginning to the end.
 1714 to 1720.
 1716.

Whilst we write at this distance, and think so widely different of all things transacting, 'tis labour lost to enlarge; so that I will give you no further trouble till we meet, but to assure you, that I am very sincerely, dear sir, your most faithful humble servant.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Detained by contrary winds at the Brill.—Executed his commission to lord Townshend with success and satisfaction.—Warmly remonstrates, and bitterly reproaches him for his insidious conduct.—Expresses hopes, that he will yet act according to the dictates of honour and justice.—Justifies lord Townshend from the accusations urged against him.

SIR,

London, December 12—23, 1716.

Harrington
Papers.

THE accident of my not being able to get over the Maes in the yacht, and the contrary winds which followed, detained me at the Brill so long, that I did not arrive here till yesterday in the packet boat, when I had the good fortune to execute his majesty's commands, and what had been settled between you and me, in such a manner, that I performed with the greatest pleasure imaginable my errand. The letters you wrote to my lord Townshend and brother Walpole, and what I declared to them from the king, were received with so much satisfaction, that I could not say of having the success I promised myself, and which you seem'd so earnestly to desire when I left you; and I had the agreeable prospect of seeing that all past misunderstandings would be entirely forgotten, and a happy union and harmony be once more re-established between his majesty's faithful and honest servants.

But when Mr. Brereton's dispatches, who arrived at the same time, were opened, it was impossible to express the consternation they occasioned; with which you must needs think I was in a more particular and extraordinary manner affected. And I must own, I am so confounded, that I do not know well what to say. I cannot think it necessary to appeal to your memory and conscience for what passed between you and me, and to consider upon what terms we parted; how earnestly you then wish'd I might succeed in the negotiation I undertook; and that it was an express agreement, that things should continue on the same foot they then were, until you heard from

me.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

me. The measures that have been pursued at Hanover, since I came away, are so contradictory to these engagements, that you may think of treating me as you please; yet, I am willing to believe, that you have still so much honour, and such a regard for your own word, that you would have opposed, at least not have willingly consented to these proceedings; and by what you told me, I thought your influence with his majesty might have enabled you to prevent this unaccountable turn being taken, until you had heard from me the success of my journey.

I shall leave it to others, for whom you still retain some value and esteem, to expostulate more largely with you about these matters; but I think I am obliged to add, that when you have time and coolness enough to enquire into the truth of them, you will with shame and confusion be obliged to own, that you have been most grossly deceived and imposed upon in every particular relating to my lord Townshend, as well as to what concerns yourself, or the service of his majesty. Those that see and converse with his lordship every day, can give undeniable proofs of his lordship's having entertained the same affection and friendship for you, since your absence, as he ever did when you lived and laboured here so happily together. And as to his majesty's interest, not only the rest of the king's servants here, but all honest and impartial men will convince you, that it never was promoted with greater fidelity and prudence than it has been within some months last past; and that what has been by the malice of some, and weakness of others, imputed to lord Townshend and the others, as a heinous crime, will, when calmly considered, be found to have been the most glorious and faithfullest part of their administration, for the service of his majesty.

I take this liberty with you, because you talked in a very free, tho' in a very mistaken manner to me on this subject; and I have such an opinion of you, that I don't doubt, but when these things shall be put in a true light before your eyes, you will resign your good sense and calmer thoughts to the irresistible evidence of them. And if honesty, honour, and justice can prevail, as I am confident it will with you, I don't despair of seeing you once more live well with those from whom you seem at present to be separated by an unaccountable prejudice, for want of being duly informed of the true state of matters; and that this may be the case, is the sincere desire of, sir, your most faithful and obedient servant.

Period II
1714 to 1716.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

1716.

Rejoices at the removal of Townshend, which he hopes will be followed by the dismissal of Sunderland and Stanhope.—Laments that the prince is commanded to appoint a groom of the stole.

MY LORD,

Petworth, Dec. 13—24, 1716.

Campbell
Papers.

I Think lord Townshend is very rightly kicked out from being our first minister and governour in Great Britain, into a second governour in Ireland; and lord Sunderland, whoe hathe been false even to his best friends, will now fall unpityed. Stanhope hathe noe interest in the nation; hee is to make friends, when hee is made a lord; for that part of the scheme one may dive into, that hee is noe more to expose himself to the contempt of the house of commons. I long to know the parts which Lord Cowper, and my friend Parker will act in this jumble; for if they are not lett more into in the secretts, than hitherto they have been, or at least as they say, they have not been; neither the duke of Grafton, duke of Kingston, duke of Roxburgh, nor lord Polwarth's interest in parliament will bee any help, especially if Walpole doe either lay down or become silent, or one would think there is a great deal more still to bee done; or they had better not have done soe much, tho' I am in high delight with what these things will produce, good for us all at last.

Yet what distracts my thoughts, are the king's orders to the prince to give away the duke of Argyle's regiment and groom of stole. The first is in the king to doe as hee pleases, and the other as much in his royal highness; this is very hard to be acted by the prince. Will it hurt the prince to let his father know, that he takes a groom of the stole's place to be useles as his majesty dothe, therefore he desires that expence to be saved, and to bee sunk in his family too. But as you and your brother are much better judges than I can pretend, I doe submitt. This is the only alloy to the joy I have, that our wrongs are thus revenged on those two last of ministers. Forgive these rough thoughts, soe suddenly wrote on paper: they are wrote in confidence to a friend, who I have all the value and esteem for, that man can have. Ten thousand thanks for your lordship's letter. I beg my very humble service to your brother and my lord Orrery.

THOMAS BRERETON TO CHARLES STANHOPE.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1716.

Excuses Secretary Stanhope.—Relates the general consternation on the removal of lord Townshend, and public censures of that measure.—Walpole pressed not to resign.—Many threaten to follow his example.—Fatal consequences of these divisions.—Jacobites elated.—Secretary Stanhope's conduct generally disapproved.—Considered as a German measure.

DEAR SIR,

London, December, 1716.

BY Friday's post, I acquainted * you with my safe arrival here, with my having delivered the dispatches with which I was charged, and slightly hinted the confusion I found every body in at the contents of 'em: I have since, by going to the court and city, had opportunitys more particularly to observe the temper of those who make up these two different parts of the town; and as I have the greatest reason to have a perfect esteem for the secretary, you will give me leave to trouble you a second time with the sentiments of those, who have his majesty's interest entirely at heart, and who wish him also the greatest prosperity. I told you in my last, the turn I gave to the surprising news I brought was, that to prevent the further torrent of the German interest, the secretary found himself for the present obliged to come into their measures so disagreeable to himself, which was relished by some persons pretty well, and I don't know, but thereby a stop was put for a while to the sinking credit of the stocks: but those transacting that way, since fearing the certainty of it, and seriously reflecting on the fatal consequences of the removal of so great a man as lord Townshend, and that that must necessarily be attended with further alterations, I will venture to say, the town is in greater confusion now, than it was in any part, or at any alterations whatsoever made in the late queen's reign, and that all publick credit will continue daily to sink till his majesty's arrival, or a further prospect that the true and honest interest of the nation will still be preserv'd and restored. Perhaps it may be disagreeable, that I tell you, when I go into the city, all the considerable men there crowd about me, and press me in the most earnest manner to give some reasons for these sudden and unexpected resolutions, to tell them who I thought the advisers and contrivers of them. When I go to the court, the very great ones there, to whom I had scarce the honour of being known before, salute me, and are also very solicitous to find out the true springs and causes of what they don't scruple aloud to call these extraordinary proceedings. Nay, it has there been said already, that never was any thing more unprecedented, than for his majesty

Harrington
Papers.* This letter
is missing.

Period II. majesty, when out of the nation, with the council of one single minister only, to
 1714 to 1720. make so prodigious a change in his ministry, just before the meeting of his parlia-
 1716. ment: a parliament, which 'twas to be hoped, by their unanimity and steadiness, might have brought about not only the reduction of interest upon public funds, but several other matters of the greatest importance, to the further security and quiet of his majesty's government, the very prospect of which had raised your credit to such a pitch of glory; and all these good projects, I will take upon me to pronounce, cannot even be proposed, unless the ministry is continued, and lord Townshend restored.

I still flatter myself I am right in my notions of Mr. Stanhope, and that he will preserve the ancient friendship he has professed to lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole. If he does not, give me leave to say you will see the most valuable part of his majesty's friends shew their resentment in a most generous manner. For I have reason to know not only the ministry, but the most wealthy in this metropolis, have been to intercede with Mr. Walpole not to resign his office, and have given him the strongest instances of their support and friendship; and that if he should find it consistent with his honour so to do, his example will be followed by the strongest body of the greatest subjects that ever prince had. How often dear sir, have I said to you, that the greatest bulwark against the foreign and home enemys, was the everlasting unity of lord Townshend, the secretary, and Mr. Walpole, that whilst they went hand in hand, the expectations of both were equally absurd and ridiculous, and the jacobites had very little to hope. This already appears by the gayness of the disaffected, who tho' silent ten days ago, are now as loud as ever in the coffee-houses; and I saw twenty guineas given, to be repaid with ten times the sum, when baron Price is chancellor.

Forgive me for letting you know these particulars, and impute it to my zeal for my country and my extraordinary veneration for the secretary: I must take the liberty to let you know the world crys aloud against him, and if his correspondents from hence be faithfull, he must be sensible of it. All I am able to say in his vindication, avails but little, yet I require some further proofs, before I can give into opinion, that he will be guilty of that faithlessness with which he is charged: for God's sake, wont he consider, he not only forfeits his private honour, but will draw upon himself a number of enemys, which he will find it impossible to subsist against. The ministry looks upon this juncture as a tryal between the English and German councils, and will no doubt exert themselves in a manner becoming Englishmen; and I should be very
 sorry

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

forry indeed, to find him that has preserved so steady a character hitherto, forfeit it by adhering to a new interest in opposition to those who have I will say promoted his equally with their own. I delivered the message he commanded me to Mr. Walpole. I wish I cou'd assure myself, 'twas received with that confidence that heretofore such a message wou'd have been received. Several conjectures are made from my being sent exprefs with this unwellcome alteration, (I may boldly so call it, since the whole body of the king's friends are displeased at it) but most agree that 'twas to hinder me from knowing by what councils these measures were pursued, and from having opportunities of learning what is yet intended. But my friend will permit me to say, notwithstanding the great care that was taken by him to prevent my knowledge of any of these matters, I was not so altogether ignorant of them as he may imagine; but I all along depended upon the secretary's integrity, and that another expedient was forming which wou'd have been much more consistent with his honour and profit; and you may remember, that when I was apprehensive of lord Townshend's being sent to Ireland, I expressed my concern, and hoped the secretary wou'd never be the adviser of it. All I shall say further is, that I am afraid he will find himself trick'd by a man, who tho' so unreasonable in his pretensions, has the smallest interest of any one that's admitted to his majesty's council board. Forgive me dear sir, for taking up so much of your time; but I should think myself unworthy the future favour of Mr. Stanhope, if I flattered him, or forbore to let him know things as they are: perhaps those who have greater expectations from him, will be cautious how they do this; but I shall allways chuse to give a faithfull account of things, tho' disagreeable, rather than one filled with falsehood and flattery. One thing I must not omit, which is, that Mr. Micklethwaite has offered wagers, that Mr. Walpole will be out in thirty days; but notwithstanding his imprudence, I will pray that he, lord Townshend, and Mr. Stanhope may unite and remain what they have long been, a terror to king George's enemys; if they do not, I shall expect a long continuance of the present disorder and discontent, tho' I assure you, that will be to no one upon earth more disagreeable than to dear sir, &c.

Period
1714 to 1716.

Period II.

1714 to 1720.

1716.

CHARLES STANHOPE TO THOMAS BRERETON.

Reproves him for his mistaking the motives of secretary Stanhope's conduct, and for his ill-judged zeal.—Considers the removal of lord Townshend to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, a promotion, not a disgrace.

Harrington
Papers.

I Have received your two letters, and am, I confess, concerned to find your zeal for the public not so well directed, as I am satisfied it might have been, by those you have lately conversed with, had they thought it for their advantage to have it so; but as I never pretend to make converts against people's inclinations, I shall wave talking deeply with you upon this subject, and endeavour always to agree with you in things more indifferent to us both. I cannot, however, but take notice, that the turn you say you used in excuse of the secretary, for I think you do not say you made it yourself, might full as well have been let alone, since it is founded upon a groundless supposition, and which at the same time is very prejudicial, and as I think of things, injurious to the king, for whose honour and interest all sides would, I thought, have willingly been supposed to have a regard. I believe, when you are as cool as I am, you will see as I do, that what you call this prodigious change in the ministry, is the removal of one man from a great place to a greater; the rest which is done, being only the advancement of some persons, who have deserved well of their country, and are unexceptionable to all: and this without the turning out of any one man; and that the fall of stocks, which you mention in both your letters, and say that by that the resentment of the city is shewn upon this occasion, tho' uncertain from whence it proceeds, yet certainly amounts to not one per cent. which you know very often happens without any reason at all. Nor will I, till you are cooler, pretend to prove to you, that a king may without injustice, and such as ought to be resented by all good subjects, remove one subject from a good post to a better, unless he shall at the same time explain to that servant, and to all his fellow servants the reasons why he thought it for his service that it should be so. If it is suggested that more removes are intended, I can assure you there are persons of your acquaintance in England, who know better; and if they disguise it from the world, they do not use that candour they have been thought to be masters of. As to the insinuations in your letter concerning the secretary, since we are upon a foot of freedom together, and telling our private thoughts, I cannot help observing to you, that it is in no respect becoming
you

you to give into them. I need not mention his character in the world, which doubtless will be able to support itself. But shall conclude this long letter with acquainting you, that I have obeyed your commands to the prince, who was glad to hear you was well, as I shall be to find you so in England, and to end all these variances of opinion, which seem reducible into a very narrow compass, over a bottle of true hermitage. Being, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

1717.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Complains that his conduct has been misapprehended.—Desires him to use his influence with lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.—Justifies his own conduct.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 1, 1717.

I Have received the favour of your two letters of the 12th of December, and am very sorry to find, that what I judged and meant as a service to my lord Townshend, is refented in the manner it is. I delivered my lord Townshend's letter to the king; and instead of representing his lordship's refusal to his prejudice, I have procured his majesty's commands to repeat this offer to his lordship, and I rather choose to mention it to you, than to write directly to his lordship as yet. In the mean time I am commanded to acquaint you, that Ireland will be kept open till the king comes to England, and I cannot help telling you, that I think you cannot do your king, your country, and my lord Townshend a more signal service, than by prevailing with his lordship to accept of it. If you can suggest to me any method by which it may still more plainly and evidently appear, that the king's intention and desire was, that he should be lord lieutenant of Ireland; I shall be obliged to you, and will certainly convince you, that you have judged hardly of your humble servant, in supposing it was not meant so. I do not write to my lord, because I fear, that any thing which comes from me, at this time, will only irritate. But I do pray you to communicate to him, what I have in command from his majesty, in relation to this business. I have as just a value for old friends as is possible, and I cannot, I confess, discover that I have been guilty of a breach of friendship, in procuring the offer of Ireland, at a time when the king was determined he should not be secretary.

Harrington
Papers.
Draught.

I wish it had been as easy for me to have got ridd of my office of secretary,

Period II. as I will venture to affirm, it was impossible to have kept lord Townshend so.
 1714 to 1720. Ought I, either in my own name or in the name of the whiggish party, to have
 1717. told the king, that my lord Townshend must continue to be secretary of state, or that I, nor any other of our friends, would have any thing to do. I really have not yet learnt to speak such language to my master; and I think a king is very unhappy, if he is the only man in the nation, who cannot challenge any friendship from those of his subjects, whom he thinks fit to employ. I think more is not required from a man in behalf of his friend, than in behalf of himself. And I can assure you, that it would be impossible for me to bring myself to tell the king I won't serve him, unless he give me just the employment which I like best, tho' at the same time he either gives or continues to me an employment much more honourable and beneficial than that which I had a fancy for. You alarm me, and I fear with too much truth, with the consequences of this step, which may prove very fatal, and create a division amongst the whiggs. But pray, at whose door must this resentment be laid? I hope that you will grow cooler on your side; that even my lord Townshend will sacrifice his resentment to the public good. And I would then gladly know what cause or colour of uneasiness there can be to any honest man. I heartily wish you may well consider all circumstances, and promote that union amongst well meaning men, which is necessary. No one man in the world can do so much good as yourself; and give me leave to say, no one man will, I think, have more to answer for to his country, if you do not heartily endeavour to make up these breaches. That I have never been wanting in any kind of friendly office to you, I am perfectly conscious to myself; and I am sure, that my interest, as well as inclination, lead me to wish the continuance of a friendship I ever valued. Pray excuse me to your brother Horace, to whom I am sincerely a well wisher, though he be very angry with me. I am, &c.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Denies that any other removal is intended.—Hopes that he will have no thoughts of quitting his place in the treasury, and trusts that their friendship will continue.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 3, 1716—17.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

HAVING sent by last post an answer to your letters of the 12th instant; this serves chiefly to cover a duplicate of the same letter which goes by a messenger for fear of accidents. Upon reading over your letters again, I wonder what could induce you to make use of one expression. You caution

us to stopp our hands, and to proceed no further in changes, when both lord Sunderland and I had told you in the strongest terms we could, that no other alteration was thought of, or intended; unless your quitting your employment should have made it absolutely necessary to fill it. At the same time, I think I could not express in words more strong than I did, how much I desired that might not happen. Notwithstanding the passion you were in when you writt, I am very glad you expressed no thoughts of leaving the king's service, and I will even flatter myself that you will still prevail upon lord Townshend to accept Ireland, and that we may continue to live and act for the king's service, with the same friendship and union which has been. I think it more respectful to my lord Townshend, that I should not write to him to acquaint him with the king's repeating the offer of Ireland, till I hear from you, who are more likely to prevail. I am, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO SECRETARY METHUEN.

Requests him to continue in office.—Represents the ill consequences which must result from his resignation—and entreats him to use his influence to prevail on lord Townshend to accept the lord lieutenancy.—Declares that the king would rather abdicate, than reinstate lord Townshend.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Jan. 13, 1716—17.

I Am favoured with three private letters from you, two of the 12th and one of the 14th of December. The intercepted letters are indeed very curious, and you may depend upon it, that I will take particular care to bring over every one that has been sent hither; and I have informed his majesty, that you will continue the method my lord Townshend had taken in relation to this secret correspondence. As to the business of the Scotch signet, you have certainly done very right. The duke of Roxburghe had writ to me about it, and I had yesterday received the king's commands before your letter came. I am sorry that Pringle suffers by this, and shall be extremely glad if he can suggest any proper thing for himself, which I do assure you, I will very heartily endeavour to procure for him.

Harrington
Papers.
Draught.
Private.

As to your other letter concerning yourself, I am more at a loss how to understand, or how to answer it. What I have writ to you in my publick dispatch of this day, will sufficiently inform you of the king's sentiments touching you, and how little disposed he is to take any thing you have writ amiss. He desires and expects you will continue where you are, and every thing you say to excuse yourself,

Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1717.

yourself, is a farther argument for the king to wish it. I am but too sensible of the many difficultys the king is like to labour under, and I protest before God, that no consideration upon earth, but my attachment to his majesty, would engage me to go on in this life. But I do really think, that one does owe something to one's prince, and to so good a prince. He thinks fit to remove one servant from a worse to a better post. Is this a reason for others to abandon him? I am sure, that if it had happened to yourself to be turned out, and without any colour of reason, you would not in your own case, let your resentment carry you to any indecent behaviour, much less would you spirit up mankind to such divisions, as must end in the destruction of your country, if not prevented. Do some people expect by their behaviour to force the king to make my lord Townshend secretary again? if they do, they dont know him; if they do not, what do they propose? I writ last night to Walpole, by the king's command, and repeated the offer of Ireland to my lord Townshend. Whoever wishes well to his king, to his country, and to my lord Townshend, ought to persuade him still to accept of it. I hope Walpole, upon cooler thoughts, will use his endeavours to this end, and Ireland will be kept open till the king's return. If you have any interest or credit with them, for God's sake make use of it upon this occasion. They may possibly unking their master, or (which I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate England; but they will certainly not force him to make my lord Townshend secretary. I will not enter into the reasons which have engaged the king to take this measure, but 'tis taken, and I will ask any whigg, whether the difference to the public between one man's being secretary, or lord lieutenant of Ireland, is of such consequence, that we ought to hazard every thing for the resentment of one man? Pardon me, dear sir, for venting myself thus freely. I am writing to one of the very few honest men of our country, and 'tis to such that we must owe our salvation, if we are to be saved. The king will set out in ten days; God willing. I am ever, &c.

M. DE SLINGELANDT * TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period II.

1714 to 1720.

1717.

Expresses his regret, that lord Townshend had declined the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.—Trusts and hopes that he will not withdraw from the public service; and describes the ill consequences of such a conduct.

MY LORD,

à la Haye le 5 Jan. 1716—17.

D'ABORD que j'ai appris la nouvelle de votre démission, j'en étois si frappé que j'hésitois, si je garderois le silence, ce que l'amitié dont vous m'honorez sembloit ne pas me permettre; ou si je vous écrivois; bien assuré que votre démission ne peut être attribuée qu'à une intrigue de cour, ou à la mesintelligence entre le roy et le prince; et la voyant d'ailleurs accompagnée d'une démonstration authentique de la considération que le roy continue d'avoir pour vous, en vous offrant un poste de tant de confiance et d'honneur, que la vice-royauté d'Irlande, j'étois incertain de quel oeil vous regarderiez ce changement; quoique je ne puisse le regarder que comme préjudiciable au bien des affaires, tant de votre pais que du nôtre; connoissant et vos talens et vos principes. Mais depuis que j'ai appris que vous refusez la vice-royauté, je ne puis plus douter que vous ne regardiez ce changement comme une disgrâce, et comme une raison de vous éloigner de la cour et des affaires.

Townshend
Papers.

Je vous avoue my lord, que cela m'a causé une véritable douleur, car quoique vos sentimens ne soient trop connus pour craindre, que vous soyez capable d'agir par un principe de ressentiment; le roi n'en fera pas moins privé d'un conseiller de votre suffisance et capacité, et la division entre les principaux membres du bon parti (division dont les suites sont tant à craindre) ne s'en augmentera pas moins, et se terminera peut être en schisme déclaré. C'est du moins ce que nous autres étrangers appréhendons, et ce que les ennemis de votre constitution souhaitent. C'est à la vérité un doux plaisir de se faire regretter par ceux de même dont on croit avoir souffert du tort; mais vous ne pouvez pas vous faire regretter, my lord, sans que le public en souffre d'avance; et je vous connois trop d'amour pour le bien public, pour ne pas sacrifier à cet amour tout ce que pourroit flatter votre amour propre.

C'est pour toutes ces considérations, qu'usant du privilege que l'amitié donne, je prens la liberté de vous supplier, my lord, de ne pas vous rendre inutile à votre roi et à votre patrie, mais au contraire de donner en cette rencontre une preuve éclatante que rien ne peut vous détourner d'employer les grands talens dont

* A leading man in the republic, afterwards pensionary of Holland.

Period II. Dieu vous a donné, au véritable usage pour le quel vous les avez reçus, c'est
 1714 to 1720. à dire au service du publique. L'on vient de signer l'alliance avec la France.
 1717. Elle peut avoir d'heureuses suites, si vous demeurez bien unis en Angleterre; sans quoi vous perdrez votre credit ici, et cesserez aussi bien que nous d'être respectable à la France.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. SLINGELANDT.

Vindicates his conduct against the charge of delaying the signature of the alliance with France.—Of caballing with the duke of Argyle.—Of supporting the interests of the prince of Wales in opposition to the king.—And of counteracting the scheme of northern politics.

SIR,

Jan. 1—12, 1716—17.

Townshend
Papers.

Draught.

I Have receiv'd the honour of your letter, and much oblig'd to you for the kind part you are pleas'd to take in my late disgrace; the friendship which you express upon this occasion, cannot but be the more valuable to me, for those sentiments of honour and publick spiritedness, with which I find it animated; and it is no small satisfaction to me to reflect, that as long as I steddily pursue these good ends (which I have ever esteem'd to be their own great reward) I shall have the pleasure, in spite of the malicious endeavours of my enemies, to secure to myself the friendship of one, whose favourable opinion, I look upon as the most honourable testimony my actions can receive. That ill impressions, therefore, occasioned by flying reports, may not rob me of any part of so valuable a friendship, I shall take the liberty to communicate to you, under the greatest confidence, all the causes of my late disgrace that have yet been alledg'd, and are come to my knowledge; which are of such a nature as will, I flatter myself, make it easy for me to justify to you, the resolution I have taken, of declining the offer made me of the lieutenancy of Ireland.

The first occasion of the king's expressing any displeasure against me (that I know of) was for sending over the full powers to lord Cadogan and Mr. Walpole, drawn up in general terms, without making express mention of the treaty with France; which omission, having been laid hold of by the abbé du Bois, as a pretence for his delaying to sign the treaty, was represented to his majesty as contriv'd by me, on purpose to gain time, till the States could be ready to sign in conjunction with Great Britain; and thus I was once more to suffer for too great a compliance with Holland. I must confess, that in my own private opinion, I thought what was done by Mr. Stanhope and the abbé du Bois at

Hanover,

Hanover, made it unnecessary for us to sign separately again at the Hague; and that it would carry a much better appearance for the ministers of his majesty and the States to sign the treaty at one and the same time. But his majesty having expressed his pleasure otherwise, without ever desiring to know my sentiments as to this point, I did not offer my opinion to the contrary, and was so far from designing (by such a pitiful artifice and evasion) to elude the king's intentions, that I made no manner of doubt, but the treaty would have been signed directly, in virtue of those full powers, which were allow'd to be sufficient by monsieur d'Iberville, lord Cadogan, and all who are versed in forms of that nature. And indeed the true reason of my choosing to have them drawn in general terms, was, that if the king should think it necessary to have his ministers sign separately, before those of the States, that separate instrument might (according to his majesty's intentions) be afterwards perfectly sunk upon our signing altogether, and no footsteps of any such order appear in the full powers whenever they should come to be made publick together with the treaty. However, upon the first intimation of the abbé's objection, without waiting for his majesty's orders, I immediately procur'd a new full power in the form desir'd by the abbé, and gott it pass'd through the several offices, and dispatch'd in one day's time. My conduct therefore in this particular, was so clear and so justifiable, that my enemies failed in this attempt; for upon a full representation of these facts to his majesty, he was pleas'd to express himself entirely satisfied.

Another reason of his majesty's displeasure, I am told, has been my suppos'd caballing with the duke of Argyll, and undertaking to procure his reconciliation with the king; in relation to which, I can safely affirm, that since the king's leaving England, I have never had the least conversation with the duke of Argyll (otherwise than accidentally at court, in the eye and hearing of every body) except once at his request, from which he parted highly dissatisfied with my brother Walpole and me, for having tutour'd him (as he called it) for two hours together. And indeed, the whole subject of our conversation was to convince him, that the only possible method for him ever to hope to recover the king's favour, was to shew an entire submission to his majesty, and to behave himself without any signs of resentment in parliament; not undertaking however, either directly or indirectly to effect his reconciliation upon these or any other terms; and all the representation that ever was made in his behalf, was only this, that when my brother Horace Walpole was sent by the prince to Hanover, I desired him to tell Mr. Stanhope in confidence, that I thought it would facilitate the king's service in parliament, if the duke of Argyll's family
and

Period I
1714 to 17

1717.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. and dependants were not made absolutely desperate, but had some distant hopes given them, that upon behaving themselves well in parliament, there would be a possibility of their meriting his majesty's favour again; which however, I desired might be left to Mr. Stanhope to mention to the king, or wholly to drop as he should think most adviseable.

1717.

But the last and blackest imputation is what is contain'd in a letter, which I have seen, under lord Sunderland's own hand, of the same date with those which brought my dismissal, in which he directly charges the lord chancellor, my brother Walpole, and me, with having entered into engagements with the prince and duke of Argyll, and form'd designs against the king's authority. The fatal consequences of any misunderstanding between the king and prince are so very obvious, and the bare insinuation of such a design as is implied in lord Sunderland's letter, is a charge of so high and extensive a nature, that it is hard to conceive how so much villany and infatuation could possess the heart of any man as to suggest such an infamous accusation, not only without evidence, but without the least colour or pretence. Since it will be easy to make it appear from every step of the prince's behaviour, that he has confined himself strictly to the limitations prescrib'd by the king his father; and that he has never exercised the least power of any kind without taking respective opinions and advice of those in whose hands the king thought fit to leave the several offices and departments of public business. And considering the misrepresentations under which, I with several others of his majesty's servants, had the misfortune to labour with the prince, at the time when the king left England, I cannot but think it a particular service to his majesty's affairs, as well as my own great happiness, that I found means by my assiduity with the prince, to efface those ill impressions which had been given him of me, and which must otherwise have prov'd a great obstruction to the public service. And I defy my lord Sunderland, or any one else, to produce one single instance of my having made an ill use of the confidence with which his royal highness was pleas'd to honour me, or of the prince's having invaded the regal prerogative in any the minutest branch, or having deviated in any particular of his behaviour, since his majesty's leaving England, from that entire duty and submission which he ought always to shew towards the king his father; and I must own to you, that instead of expecting this unjust and scandalous imputation (which if true, would require much harder usage than what I have met with) I had the vanity to think, that no service which I ever perform'd to his majesty, was equally meritorious with that of having had some
small

small share in cultivating in his royal highness those good dispositions, which alone could have made the king and the nation easy during his majesty's absence. Period 1714 to 1717.

You will not wonder, therefore, if when instead of having these fond expectations answer'd, I found myself removed from being secretary, and this removal grounded on a charge of the highest nature, by a person so near the king as lord Sunderland; I thought it no ways consistent with my reputation, to accept of the offer his majesty was pleas'd to make me of the lieutenancy of Ireland, which post I must have refused at any other time; my private affairs not permitting me to remove to Ireland, any more than common honesty would, allowing me to put the profits of that employment in my pocket, without going over to do the duty's of it. So that upon the whole, I am satisfied you will agree with me in thinking, that after being turn'd out of the secretary's office in such a manner, my accepting the lieutenancy of Ireland, under the circumstances abovemention'd, would have appear'd to the world like a confession of some degree of guilt, and a tacit compounding for pardon; which far from enabling me to serve my country, must have robb'd me of all means of ever doing good hereafter, either in a private or public station.

These are all the reasons I have yet heard alledg'd for my disgrace. Lord Sunderland, indeed, did sometime ago write me a letter in one of his frenzy fits, in which he lays down very extraordinary notions, and such doubts as he will find very impracticable as far as they relate to this country, upon the subject of the northern affairs: but I made him no answer to his letter, and having never been acquainted with the king's scheme as to those affairs, neither in whole or in part, I suppose I am not punish'd for not acquiescing in what was never yet communicated to me. However, though these are the topics given out by my enemies, I am far from thinking that they are the true and original causes of my disgrace. I believe the dukes of Munster, Mr. Bernstoff and Mr. Robethon, could give a much more exact and authentic account of the real causes that produced this event, if they thought it as much for their own service, as it might be for my credit to have the whole mystery of this alteration laid open.

I hope what has been said, will be sufficient to convince you, that I have not hitherto acted upon a principle of private passion and resentment on this occasion; and I promise you faithfully, that nothing of that kind, shall ever with me, stand in competition with the good of the public, or with that desirable union, on which that publick good is founded.

Period II. My duty, my honour, and my interest, do all of them attach me to the king
 1714 to 1720. and his service; one undutyful action towards him, or my opposing his real ser-
 1717. vice in the minutest particular, would be giving the lye to all I have been doing,
 ever since I came into the world. I beg you would communicate this letter

* Heinfius. to no soul living, except it be to our common friend the pensionary. *

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

*General discontent at lord Townshend's removal.—Sanguine expectations of the
 tories, jacobites, and discontented whigs.—Stanhope's dependants, busy and
 impertinent.—Requests that no further offer of the lord lieutenancy may be
 made to lord Townshend till the king's return.*

DEAR SIR,

London, Jan. 1—12, 1716—17.

Stanhope
 Papers.

I Have the favour of your's of the 1st instant, N. S. and am glad to find you
 seem to be in a little better temper than you were, and believe me, if you
 were here, you would be ten times more sensible, than any representations
 from hence can possibly make of the ill effects of what is a doing. The uni-
 versal discontent and apprehensions of all that wish well, is more than can be
 expected, and I doe assure you, this is not owing to any industry or endea-
 vours of those that may be thought more nearly concerned. The spirit of
 the tories and jacobites is at the same time reviv'd beyond measure, and has
 had this effect already, that summonses are sent into all parts of England to
 make a general muster, when 'tis certain they had no thoughts before of
 giving any trouble this session; I must farther acquaint you, that the discon-
 tented whigs flatter themselves, that the game is now their own, and are dis-
 posing and dividing of all the employments with an air of authority, which you
 may easily imagine, gives great credit and weight to those in possession. I
 cannot forbear telling you, that some immediate creatures and dependants of
 your's, are the most busy and impertinent in all parts of the town; I have said
 thus much in short, that you may be truly inform'd of the state of affairs.
 If you have any other accounts from hence, you are abus'd, and depend upon
 it; you will find the sense of every man in England of any consideration, that
 you ever had any esteem for, or that deserves the least regard, to be the same.

When I have said this, I will not enter into any reasoning or argumentation
 with you at this distance, but think, you must be sensible, that a great deal of
 what you say, is not to be supported in a conversation betwixt old friends. We
 very well understand the language of ministers, but when this matter comes to
 be

be canvass'd with freedom and liberty, you will be sensible of more than 'tis proper to write.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

In the mean time, as to what immediately concerns my lord Townshend, I must only beg at present, that you will prevent a second hardship being putt upon him, by a second offer of the lieutenancy of Ireland, and since you say, that the king commanded you to acquaint me, that Ireland shall be kept open till his majesty comes into England, there can be no difficulty in this, or at least no necessity of doing any thing till his Majestie's arrivall.

You will give me leave to think it a little hard when you say, no one man will have more to answer for to his country, than I may have. I agree with you, if I do not honestly endeavour to make up these breaches, I shall be very much to blame; but if what has been done, or is still to be fear'd, have or shall make that impossible, the weight will fall elsewhere, and be a burthen too heavy to bear. Lett me use your own words; you must grow cooler on your side, consider all circumstances, and remember that in England, the manner of doing things is often more to be regarded than the thing is itself, and I am confident I shall be able to convince you when we meet, that my lord Townshend's case can be consider'd in no other light. I can give no advice, but repeat what I said before; take care that nothing more be done, till you are upon the spott: I think you will alter your sentiments with the climate, if you have not drank deeper of the bowle than I am willing to believe. For as I lived with you so many years in intimacy and freindship, I shall be glad still to live and dye upon that foot, and shall with great pleasure see you deliver'd from imputations, it would grieve you to think of. I will do my part, and if you will do yours, it seems possible to retrieve the most fataall step, that ever was taken: that all may go well, is my sincere wishes, and I am, with all possible truth dear sir, your most faithfull humble servant.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Will follow his advice not to make any further offer of the lord lieutenancy to lord Townshend.—Is ready with lord Sunderland to conciliate matters.—Earnestly entreats him to prevail on lord Townshend to comply.—And promises in the king's name, to permit his lordship in due time to exchange that place for another.—Justifies his own conduct.

DEAR SIR,

Hague, January the 16th, 1717.

I Have received this morning the favour of your's of the 1st instant, O. S. and I shall follow the advice you are pleased to give me, of writing nothing to

Stanhope
Papers.

Copy.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.
1717. lord Townshend touching Ireland, which as I told you, his majesty will keep open till his arrival. Since you seem to lay a greater stress upon the manner in which this offer was made than upon the thing itself, I hope you have been turning it in your thoughts, how any thing which may have been taken amiss in the manner, may be set right; and whenever you will be pleased to suggest any thing of that kind, which may be consistent with the king's dignity, and the firm resolution he has taken of supporting what he has done, I shall most willingly and heartily employ my best endeavours to make my lord Townshend easy, and so will my lord Sunderland. But tho' I will not repeat to my lord Townshend, in the king's name, the offer of Ireland, till you allow me so to do, I must, and do for the king's sake, for that of the whiggs, and of my lord Townshend himself, most earnestly repeat to you my entreaties, that you will dispose my lord Townshend to accept of it. I am at liberty to assure you, in the king's name, that when my lord Townshend shall have accepted of Ireland, if in six months or in a twelvemonth, he should like better some other post at home in the cabinet council, that his majesty will very readily approve of any scheme that his servants shall concert for placing my lord Townshend where he shall like. At the same time, I have procured liberty from the king, to declare thus much to you. Believe me dear Walpole, when I swear it to you, that I do not think it possible for all the men in England to prevail upon the king to readmit my lord Townshend into his service, upon any other terms than of complying with the offer made of Ireland. The king will exact from him this mark of duty and obedience. I do assure you, that I am not at present in a passion, I tell you very coolly what in my conscience I think, I leave it to you to make such use as you shall think fitt of this very true information; and I will hope, that being thus informed, you will prevent things from being pushed to extremities, which I dread to think of.

For God's sake, is not a lord lieutenant of Ireland of the cabinet council? has he not the same access to the king, whenever he pleases, as any other minister whatsoever? will not my lord Townshend's talents, and the just esteem which every body in the council must have for him, give him a share in business, for ought I know greater, I am sure at least, less invidious than he had before? will not he be constantly in the way of effacing, by his behaviour, any impressions made to his prejudice? if I were not still sincerely a well wisher to his lordship, and did not think it probable, that I should again live well with him, I would not press you at this rate upon this point; I would quietly suffer him to indulge his resentment, which must end in the ruin of his and his friends

friends interest at court, as long as this king lives, which, give me leave to tell you, he is like to do many years.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.

1717.

As to the apprehensions you mention, to have been very general of a change, you know as well as I, what foundation there has been for them, and whether the refusal of my lord Townshend has not given occasion to them. I will not imagine, since you say it, that any of your friends have used any industry or endeavours to begett such a ferment. I will rather hope, that you, knowing with so much certainty, that not one remove was intended by the king, will have endeavoured to quiet and calm this ill grounded jealousy. I do not know that I have any creatures or dependants, whose behaviour I can govern, or be answerable for, but this I know, that I have not directly or indirectly, either myself or by any other person, writt or caused to be writt one syllable since this business has been on foot, except to yourself, and once to Mr. Methuen. I know not what you mean by having drank deep of the bowle, I have already acquainted you with what I judge and know to be the king's sentiments upon this business. Whilst I am his servant, I will, to the utmost of my ability, support his dignity, which, amongst many other good things, I have learnt to do from lord Townshend; and I shall not in so doing, value or fear any imputation. It will appear to the world in due time, whether any motive of ambition or interest has governed me in this business, and whether I hadd not most effectually served those who are at present most angry with me, if their own passion did not hinder the good effects of what was well designed. I have, dear Walpole, a very clear conscience; and whilst I am conscious to myself of well doing, I have learnt to be very easy in mind, whatever other people think of me. I am, with great truth, &c.

BARON DE WASSENAAR DUVENVOIRDE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Excuses Sunderland and Stanhope.—Represents the danger to be apprehended from a division among the whigs.—Exhorts him to accept the lord lieutenancy.

MY LORD,

De la Haye ce 19 de Jan. 1717.

ATTRIBUEZ toujours, s'il vous plaist à mon zèle pour le bien public et à mon attachement à ce qui vous reguarde, la liberté que je prens de vous entretenir sur un sujet dans lequel je ne devrois pas me mesler sans ces considerations. J'ay eû journellement des conversations avec my lord Sunderland et M. Stanhope depuis qu'ils sont à la Haye, et très particulièrement aujourd'hui qu'ils ont dînez chez moy. Il seroit inutile de vous parler de leurs sentiments,

Townshend
Papers.

Period II.
 1714 to 1720.
 1717.

sentimens, puisque M. Stanhope les a mandez amplement à M. Walpole; permettez moy de vous dire, que comme je leur parle le plus fortement que je puis, sur le danger de brouiller le bon parti, je crois devoir vous en entretenir aussi, en vous suppliant d'en bien peser les consequences. La malheureuse diffension vient par de faux rapports, dont ces Messieurs s'excusent, et pretendent que le roy a appris par d'autres les sujets qui l'ont portez à faire ce qu'il a fait. S. M. peut s'estre determinée sans un mur examen de choses; mas aiant pris son parti, on croit que sa dignité et le point d'honneur ne veulent pas, qu'elle aie le dementi de ce qu'elle a fait, mais qu'estant mieux éclaircie, elle peut entièrement vous rendre ses bonnes graces. Les deux Messieurs m'assurent, que S. M. est dans cette disposition, et qu'eux le souhaitent et le désirent très ardemment, s'offrant dy'contribuer de tout leur pouvoir. Ils m'assurent aussi, que si vous avez la complaisance de ceder en ceci à la volonté du roy en acceptant la viceroiauté d'Irlande; S. M. vous donnera dans peu de temps toutes les marques de sa faveur, que vous voudrez demander ou souhaiter.

Je vous répète encor, my lord, ce que j'ay pris la liberté de vous dire dans ma précédente, que si vous pouviez vous résoudre d'accepter la viceroiauté, vous seriez dans peu de temp en estat de faire voir la fausseté de ce qu'on a dit contre vous à S. M. de vous remettre dans sa confiance, et d'avoir plus de credit que vous n'avez jamais eu, à la honte de ceus qui vous ont nui, et qui seroient peut estre bien aise, que vous prissiez le parti opposé, en vous retirant, ou temoignant du mécontentement. Pardonnez à mon zèle et au devouement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'estre, &c.

BARON DE WASSENAAR DUVENVOIRDE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Apologizes for Sunderland and Stanhope.—Informs him of the king's kind intentions.—Renews his solicitations to accept the lord lieutenancy.

MY LORD,

De la Haye ce 26 Jan. 1717.

Townshend
 Papers.

JE me suis trouvé honoré ce matin par celle que vous avez eu la bonté de m'écrire le 11 de ce mois V. S. je crois presqu' inutile que je vous parle d'avantage sur la malheureuse division que va causer dans le bon parti ce qui vous est arrivé, puisque le roy peut estre arrivé à Londre devant celle ci, et que vous serez éclairci par le roy mesme, et par M. de Bernsdorf des intentions du roy à votre égard. M. de l'Hermitage vous aura déjà dit que c'est par l'abus de my lord Cadogan, que je me suis trompé, quand j'ay mandé, que vous aviez écrit en faveur du duc d'Argyl. J'espère que M. de l'Hermitage

mitage s'est acquitté de cette commission, afin que vous ne croiez pas que my lord Sunderland m'a dit cette fausseté. My lord Cadogan passant un peu Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717. visite sur toute chose n'a pas fait la distinction sur l'écrire, et le message qu'a fait de votre part M. de Walpole. M. de Stanhope m'a défabusé, dès que je luy ay mandé ce que vous aviez écrit, et en quel termes.

Mais mon cher my lord, je souhaite de toute mon ame, que les éclaircissements que vous recevrez à l'arrivée du roy pourront faire évanouir les dissensions. Je sçais que S. M. est résolue de vous donner des marques de son affection, et de vous faire offrir par M. de Berensdorff tout ce que vous voudrez désirer en cas que vous ayez la complaisance présentement d'accepter la viceroiauté d'Irlande. Le vieux ministre m'a long tems entretenu sur votre sujet, et m'a assuré qu'il emploiera tout ce qui dépendra de lui de vous rendre satisfait; désirant que pour le présent vous acceptiez la viceroiauté. En ce cas toutes les choses resteroient dans la même situation, et il n'y auroit aucun autre changement dans toutes les charges, que lorsque dans la suite vous voudriez troquer la viceroiauté contre quelqu' autre: toutes ces assurances vous seront faites.

Ce n'est pas à moy et à vos autres amis d'icy de vous parler de ce qui regarde vos intérêts, mais pardonnez moi si je prens la liberté de vous dire que nous croions que c'est l'intérêt public que vous vous accomodiez à ce que le roy desire, la chose pourroit estre considérée dans le monde comme un point d'honneur entre S. M. et vous, puisqu'il y a une démonstration publique que le roy conserve pour vous de bonnes intentions, et que ce n'est que par quelqu' accident sans doute mal interpreté, que S. M. vous a osté les sçeaux de secrétaire d'Etat, lesquels S. M. croit ne pouvoir vous rendre sans faire tort à sa dignité et à sa réputation. My lord Sunderland M. Stanhope et M. de Berensdorf m'ont fort assurée que my lord Sunderland n'a rien contribué contre vous: j'espère qu'il pourra vous persuader de ceci, et que tous ceus qui sont intéressés dans la lettre qu'il a eu l'imprudence d'écrire à my lord Orford oublient ce qui y est contenu, afin que la paix et l'union soient rétablies dans le parti, et que les malintentionnez ne profitent point de votre désunion. Il me semble que cette considération doit prevaloir contre toute autre, même contre celle qu'inspire le ressentiment le plus juste. Il faudroit estre bien seur de ne pouvoir pas nuire à la bonne cause ou à la patrie, avant que de prendre des mesures qui portent à la dissension entre les amis. La chose est si importante, qu'on doit bien la peser et même sans partialité de crainte qu'on risque.

Vous

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

Vous êtes si éclairé et si sage, my lord, que vous pèferez mieux que qui que ce soit toute chofe. Dieu veuille que tous enfemble vous preniez le parti le plus avantageux à vôtre patrié et à la bonne caufe, je fais ce voeu avec d'autant plus d'ardeur, que je fuis perfuadé que le bonheur de ma patrié dépend de celui de l'Angleterre. Je vous demande pardon 'encor de la liberté que je prens de vous entretenir derechef fur cet important fujet; et j'ofe me flatter que vous ne le trouvez pas mauvais; eftant affeurez que je le fais par zèle pour le bien public et pour le vôtre en particulier, qui me fera toujours à coeur comme le mien propre.

Je ne vous parle pas des nouvelles, du voïage du roy, de là négociation rompue avec le czar, perfuadez que je fuis que vous en êtes entièrement inftruit par les rélations. Nous avons efpré de revoir icy M. de Walpole durant l'abfence de my lord Cadogan; mais j'apprens qu'il y a un Leathes de Bruffelles que nous ne connoiffons guère, qui fera chargez des affaires, s'il y en furvient d'importantes nous ferons embaraffez. Il eft impoffible d'avoir d'abord confiance dans une perfonne qu'on ne connoit point. Si je pouvois eftre affez heureux d'avoir une converfation de bouche avec vous, je pourai vous faire fouvenir de ce que je vous ai dit quelque fois fur le fujet de certaines perfonnes; et je fuis le plus trompez du monde fi vous ne trouveriez juftice ce que vous aviez de la peine à croire alors. Il y a certains caractères qui une fois reconnûs fe decouvrent toft ou tard dans les occafions. Mais, my lord, je crains d'en trop dire, et je vous importune trop long tems. Au nom de Dieu oubliez les fujets de plainte que vous pouriez avoir, et ne confultez que le bien public. Vous êtes un grand homme; vous êtes eftimez; vous ferez plus grand homme encor, et vous ferez eftimez d'avantage; perfonne ne s'intérefte plus véritablement en ce qui vous regarde que moy; ni perfonne eft avec plus de refpect et de fincerité, my lord, vôtre très humble et très obéiffant ferviteur.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Signifies his difmiffion from the lord lieutenantcy of Ireland.

MY LORD,

Cock-Pitt, April 9, 1717.

Townshend
Papers.

THE king, judging it for his fervice to difpenfe with your lordfhip's fervice, as lord lieutenant of Ireland, I am commanded to fignify his majefty's pleafure to your lordfhip upon it. His majefty is forry that many circumftances render this alteration neceffary at prefent; he commands me to affure
your

your lordship, that he will never forget your past services; and you'll give me leave to say, that I shall be very glad of an occasion of writing to your lordship upon a more agreeable subject, as being with great respect, &c.

Period II.
1714 to 1720.
1717.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE REV. H. ETOUGH.

Anecdote of sir Robert Walpole on his resignation in 1717.

DEAR ETOUGH,

Wolterton, October 12, 1751.

I Am obliged to you for your favour of the 2d instant; and entirely agree with you, that your opinion of the possibility, or if you please, the probability of my late brother's removal, had the late king lived, is very excusable, and could be no dishonour to him; and I should not have mentioned this trifle any more, had it not been to sett you right in one of your arguments, wherein you are mistaken, and there is an anecdote of some curiosity relating to it. You say that, *He that could be worked upon to turn him out, immediately after his services, in and consequent to the rebellion of 1715, was capable of being again disposed to exchange the best for the worst of servants.* The fact is this, that profligate minister, the late lord Sunderland, had engaged those of Hanover (disappointed in their ambitious and lucrative views by the non-compliance of lord Townshend and my brother) in an intrigue to gett them removed, and had gained the lady* on their side. They at last made an impression upon his majesty, by insinuations notoriously false, to the prejudice of lord Townshend, but could not prevail with the king to remove him, untill they had made his majesty believe, that my brother would not resign on that account; and accordingly when lord Townshend was (after he had been made lord lieutenant of Ireland at Hanover, instead of secretary of state) upon his majesty's return to England, entirely dismissed, my brother waited upon the king the next day, to give up the seal as chancellor of the exchequer, at which his majesty seemed extremely surpris'd, and absolutely refused to accept it, expressing himselfe in the kindest and strongest terms, that he had no thoughts of parting with him; and in a manner begging him not to leave his service, returned the seal, which my brother had laid upon the table in the closet, into his hat, as well as I can remember, ten times. His majesty took it at last, not without expressing great concern, as well as resentment at my brother's perseverance: in which contest, among other things, he told his majesty, that, were he ever so well inclined, it was impossible to serve him faithfully with those ministers, to whom he had lately given his favor and credit.

Etough
Papers.

The duch-
ess of Kendal.

Period II. induce them to come to the resolutions on which the bill is founded, without
 1714 to 1720. being convinced, I think I am not like to alter.

1719.

Some words
illegible.

26th March, lord Sunderland, at my lodging, pressed coming into the bill—the king's desire, not the act of his ministry—resents it in foreigners and others, who represent it now a contest between the king and prince—the whig administration undone, if disappointed—the whig majority preserved the constitution in queen Anne's time—this is a way to settle it—ridiculous not to say mad things will be done hereafter, when a certain event happens—must advise the king to change hands, tho' he will * * * * *

lords will consent to part with scand. magnat.—that commons may administer an oath on elections—the king will consent, crown shall not pardon before or after judgement, on impeachment—if other things can be thought of, thinks will be come into; else the bill will drop without prejudice—professed regards for me—would have me communicate it to my brother. I said I would, to him and others—desired leave to go for Ireland, and to be absent, else would be in the house, and vote with my judgement—He told me, the king would tell me his own thoughts; I offered to wait on the king, if he commanded it, after his lordship had told him, what my thoughts were, and would repeat them to him—said the prince had launched out 40,000l.—A lord offered to be bribed; poor, ill used by his father.—28th March, lord Sunderland came to me, told me he had spoke to the king, who was uneasy at my not, &c. but being urged, consented to my going to Ireland—urged it might be sometime the coming week—that I should not say on what occasion, but on my own—that I was wanted, &c.—and desired my brother would not be warm; I said I would go out of town for a few days, then return; kiss the king's hand, and go away—he desired some time this week—I promised.—Lord Coningsby, 29th March, meeting me at court, asked me, when I went for Ireland—probably, he knew it was concerted at St. James's, to have leave.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Refuses to support the peerage bill, in answer to the solicitations of the duke of Bolton and lord Sunderland.—Duke of Bolton's coldness.

Endorsed in his own hand-writing, "The grounds and steps of the duke of Bolton's coolness to me."

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, Dec. 14, 1719.

Peerage Bill.

1719.

Middleton
Papers.

I Am obliged to you for the account you give me of the fate of the peerage bill on Tuesday last, it was what I expected as well as wished; tho' I confesse, I was and am a good deal confounded how to account for their prudence; who after a former unsuccessfull attempt, resolved on renewing it so very soon after, without having taken a more exact muster of the troops they should be able to bring into the field on the day of battle. You know last spring, what my sentiments were on this subject, and I remember to have told you in what a manner my giving into the bill, was pressed upon me, and by whom. For fear of mistakes, I wrote down my resolution, and read it to a certain great man, which was in the words following. I cannot with honour or conscience vote for the peerage bill, it being perfectly against my judgement. I desire I may without displeasing his majesty, be absent from the house, while that bill is under consideration; not thinking it becoming me to give opposition, by voting or debating against a bill introduced and carried on as this has been. If this be too great a favour to be allowed me, I am ready, with the most dutiful submission, and without the least reluctance, to suffer any thing which I may be thought to deserve, for not being able to perceive the reasonableness or expediency of the bill. This I read on 17th March, 1718, and desired the person I read it to, that he would acquaint the king with it. He seemed much out of humour; said he was sorry, nay surprized to find me to have taken this resolution; having formerly thought I had been for the bill, but promised to acquaint lord Sunderland with it. On the 19th, I went to his house, and asked him if he had seen his Majesty; he told me he had not, but should see him that day. About an hour after, he called at my lodging, expressed great kindness for me, recommended the Old Whig* to me, and hoped I would be convinced: I gave him no reason to expect it, and so we parted. From that time, I suppose it was resolved, he should leave town without so much as letting me know it, much less giving me an opportunity of going at the time he did: and tho' I knew that he was preparing for Ireland, yet he never mentioned it to me, till after his footmen had talked with mine, of the day they meant to be ready.

* Addison's
Pamphlet.

I knew the meaning was, to try whether I would not stand it; and resolved not only to have staid in town, but to have been at the debate, and to have voted as my judgment led me: soon after his going out of town, I had a visit from lord Sunderland, by whom I was pressed on the same subject, but I continued firm; and after some expressions of concern (with a good deal of warmth) we parted:

Period II. parted: and soon after, I was told, I might prepare for Ireland, without losse
 1714 to 1720. of time, &c. At this time, it was not determined to drop the bill in the lords
 1719. house, without sending it down to the commons. Hence arose the coolness of
 a certain person towards me, insomuch, that when I landed in Ireland, I
 found he had taken other people entirely into his bosom; and I also found,
 that some measures which they had resolved upon, about pushing the matter in
 favour of the dissenters, were so unpalatable, that they would prevent doing
 as much for them, as might have been attained, if no wrong steps had been
 taken at his first landing: but it had obtained (I suppose, from the great fa-
 vour and intimacy a certain person was taken into) that an entire repeal of
 the test was intended; and this had taken so deep a root before I came over,
 that it was impossible to get people free from engagements they had mutually
 entered into, to go thus far and no farther; and to convince the world they were
 not under the direction of one man. Notwithstanding the countenance I saw
 given to one person, and the court paid by all the attendants of a great man
 to him, I went on in my constant course of carrying on the public affairs in
 the easiest and best manner; and by doing every thing that could be done,
 and assuring him, that the imaginary fears with which he had been possessed,
 would come to nothing; and shewing him from time to time, that what I had
 said, had come to passe; as on the contrary, what they had suggested, never did;
 I brought him to see, that I sincerely wished him well, and served him effec-
 tually; so that I think he had entirely good wishes toward me, till toward the
 end of the session; I mean, till after he returned from a certain place, during
 the recess; when I receiv'd your letter from Newmarket, which I commu-
 nicated to him, and told him I was sorry to find, that every body as well as I,
 observed in him a coolness toward me, in comparison of the favourite. He
 said, I was ill used by him who wrote the letter, who he believed must be Mr.
 Conolly. C's.* friends; professed great kindness, &c. but when so senseless an objec-
 tion as my being against the popery bill, is made the foundation of resentment,
 I must think otherwise. In short, I was again urged (by order) whether I
 should have leave given me to attend the session of parliament, and told the
 bill would again come in: I said, I had rather remain here, then go over and
 disoblige (as I certainly should) in that particular. From that time, I take it,
 the fixed and grounded distaste is taken. This is written for your own
 satisfaction.

1720.

1720.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Duke of Bolton to be succeeded in the lord lieutenancy by the duke of Grafton.—Hints that he shall be deprived of the seals, from the resentment of lord Sunderland.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, June 12, 1720.

YESTERDAY I had a letter from the duke of Bolton, of the seventh, by which I find he is to be out, tho' he will not understand soe entirely; but I take it for granted, our next packets will bring authentick accounts of the duke of Grafton being declared. In the postscript, he tells me, that he believes I shall partake of his fate; and indeed, I little doubted being removed, as soon as it was found to be convenient to their affairs. He* whose nose burst out bleeding, on my utterly refusing to be for the peerage bill, hath resentment enough mixed with his passion for that bill to seek the ruine of all who opposed it; and there is no withstanding the current of his present power. I believe too, your riding resty this session, hath increased the weight of my sins. I am preparing for quitting all thoughts of Dublin or public affairs, during my life; and believe, I shall find more happiness and peace in a private retirement att Peperhara,* then I should ever have met with, if my zeal for his majesty's service had mett better returns from some who serve him, then they have done: but you and I have not learned to be servile enough, or to bring every body else into a necessity of dancing after the pipe of one sett of men. Farewell. Tho' my fortune be not great, I shall be able to live independant, and yet handsomely. My services to all where you are.

Middleton Papers.

* Lord Sunderland.

* His country seat in Surry.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Lord Sunderland and the duke of Bolton threaten to deprive him of the seals, because he would not vote for the peerage bill.—Is determined not to resign.—Justifies his conduct in remonstrating against the measures proposed by government.

DEAR BROTHER,

June 26, 1720.

I Thank you for your letter of the one and twentieth, but cannot be of your opinion, in relation to what you fancy will not happen: I have all along taken

Middleton Papers.

Period II.
14 to 1720.
1720.

taken it for granted, I should be removed, from the time I could not promise to go into the darling bill; and you may remember, I told you, I had it more then hinted to me by lord S. and the d. of B. what the consequences of persisting in my own sentiments, and not going implicitly into that scheme, would prove to me. It is impossible for a proud man to forgive being denyed the most unreasonable request; and you may be sure, it caused no little ferment in his blood, when it burst out so plentifully att his nose, as it did on his finding me immoveable after all the soft and rough arguments had been made use of. But, in my opinion, the late order from the lords of the admiraltye, for the yatcht to attend immediately at Chester, to bring over the lord chief baron Gilbert, with his servants, and *equipage*, shews he is to return a greater man then he went over: the usual method hath been to apply here for an order for the yatcht, which would have been granted immediately; but this being new, makes the thing more taken notice of, and creates the same opinion in the rest of the town, that it did in me, when captain Lawson first shewed me the order. It is pretty odd, if it be determind, that I am to be removed, that it is kept so much a secret; after its being none that some people have for a good while been preparing the way for doing it. We are not strangers to the offer made sergeant Pengelly, and the terms of the treaty; nor to the sending for sir R. L. to return to London: but there is something not yet adjusted finally to the satisfaction of the schemists. If my good friends fancy I will throw up, they shal find themselves mistaken; for tho' I know when I am ill used, I resolve not to give them a handle, for doing what they have only wanted a pretence for doing some time past. If I consulted my own interest, I know not that man alive whom I would rather have to succeed me, than the person who I think will doe foe.

My honest endeavours to prevent our lords from doing some things in the last parliament (for which I cannot but think most of them are a good deal concerned, tho' they cannot bring their stomachs to own it) rendered me for sometime the butt of the rancour and malice of all who were infatuated with a notion, that the lords were doing the kingdome service; and that those who opposed their proceedings, did it to make their court in England; they and their abettors were patriots, those who differed from them were betrayers of their country; thus I suffered for some time in the opinion of weak men, and you may be sure my personal enemies took care to blow the coals. Nay, I was so injuriously treated, that when the chief baron had refused to take any notice of an order of the lords here, on an appeal from a decree in the
exchequer,

exchequer, tho' there was no appeal brought before the lords of Britain, I was ^{Peerage B} said to have been privy to it, and to have advised the chief baron to doe soe: ^{1720.} tho' between you and me, I never heard of the thing till after it was done, and Mr. Gibbon told the story at the chief baron's table, when the duke of Bolton dined there, and I happened to be of the company. I think people begin now to think, that they were not so much to blame, who told them what the consequence of their hot proceedings would be, as they were once thought to be; and perhaps, it may be now thought they meant better to the kingdome, or saw farther into consequences, then some of the furious drivers of that extraordinary proceeding. This is a thing one would wish should come to passe, as I plainly foresawe it would in a little time: but when that man is made chancellor, and sits among the lords, who formerly used him very cavalierly, I cannot but think it will be looked on as the last indication in how heinous a manner his treatment and some people's behaviour to him is relished in England; and their characters must fall very low, who assured people, that they were weary of the thing in England, that it was an hot iron, which they resolved to let fall, &c. An archbishop and a certain viscount of your acquaintance, though not your friend or mine, were ever harping on this string. This step, therefore cannot, I think, fail of having this effect, that people will see I advised against doing those things which would never be born in England, but on the contrary, would irritate them to the last degree, and acted honestly in giving that advice; and had the prudence to judge better of the event, then the managers of that hot headed project. I cannot, at the same time, but think this step will lay my lord lieutenant under a good many unforeseen difficulties: whether an unacceptable man will be able to doe much service among the lords, I leave you to judge, as well as whether he will be soe; but but as to the matter of doing the businesse of a speaker in the house, or of a chancellor, in preparing the bills at the council board, I cannot but think he will, by application, make himself a master of both. We have it here, that our parliament is to be dissolved, and a new one called: if this be soe, I cannot dive into the secret, unless it be this, that a certain person desires to gett out of a post, in which he may foresee more rubbs than he hath yet mett with, or can well remove. But I fancy the thing is only conjecture; tho' Mr. Horace Walpoole, I know, hath sent over for a list of the lords and commons. I will not conclude without telling you, that it is given out among the people

Period II. confided in, that I was at the bottom in promoting the proceedings against
 1714 to 1720. the barons: is this so? if it be, no man on earth was ever more injuriously
 1720. treated on both sides than I have been.

Memorandum by lord chancellor Middleton, shewing, that the chief cause of his disgrace, was derived from his refusal to vote in favour of the peerage bill. Without date, but evidently written between his dismissal in 1725, and his death in 1729.

[In his own hand-writing, endorsed by himself.]

An account of the manner, in which I have been treated by lord Sunderland, and the dukes of Bolton and Grafton, with the causes of their displeasure against me.

Middleton
Papers.

ARCHBISHOP Abbott, having received some usage, which he thought severe, held it fit, that the reason of it, might be truly understood, least it might some way turn to the scandal of his person and calling, and therefore drew up a declaration or narrative, of the manner of his treatment; but not with an intent to communicate it to any, but to let it lie by him privately, that things being set down impartially, whilst they were fresh in his memory, he might have recourse to it, if question should be made of any thing contained in that relation. See Rushworth's coll.

I hope I may be excused for doing something in imitation of that great man, in circumstances, which seem to me to have some likeness to his, without the imputation, of having the vanity to believe, my services to the publick, to be any way equal to those of that pious and good archbishop. My years are very near the same* as his were, when he fell into disgrace. I had spent many of them in places of great service; and (as he saith of himself) I may truly say of myself, for ought I know, untainted in any of my actions. I have been made, as he was, *fabula vulgi*, tossed upon the tongues of friends and foes, of protestants and papists, of court and country; but in nothing does my case more nearly resemble his, than in his falling under the displeasure of the then duke of Buckingham, who could not endure any man that would not depend upon him, and so stoop to him, as to become his vassal. The great power which that minister and favorite had with his unfortunate and ill advised master, inclined him to expect more submission to his pleasure, than

* Archbishop Abbot, was sixty-five in 1627, when he fell into disgrace.

the archbishop thought was due to him, having learned a lesson, to be no man's servant but the king's. And it was my misfortune to fall into the disfavor of a certain minister, who was believed to have as great credit and power with his master, as the duke of Buckingham had with his, whose name, I decline to mention, since it hath pleased God to call him out of the world. But it will be necessary to shew, for what reasons, and by what steps, that great man was induced to treat me in the manner he did, for some time before his death.

Peerage B

1720.

Upon his present majesty's accession to the throne, he was pleased to entertain a very good opinion of me, as having in an eminent manner, espoused and served the interests of king George, in the life of the late queen, particularly in the parliament held in 1713, under the duke of Shrewsbury, by standing to be speaker, in opposition to the court, ministry, tories, jacobites, and all people in employment. What effect that session of parliament had on the English councils, was visible in the succeeding session of the British parliament; at which time, it was generally believed, the court intended to have brought in a bill to empower the queen to have appointed her successor by will; but the vigorous proceedings of the Irish parliament in favor of the protestant succession, cast such a damp on their project, that the session *opened* with declarations, upon every occasion, in the house of commons, of firmly adhering to the succession, as settled in the protestant line; and I am persuaded, that if his majesty had been fully apprized with what zeal and affection I served him at that time, it would not have been in the power of any minister to have procured my disgrace, which afterwards happened. It is now time to shew what were the inducements which made lord Sunderland, from being my friend (for I think it was to his recommendation, I owed being made chancellor of Ireland) to become so bitter an enemy to me as he afterwards proved.

The occasion of lord Sunderland's resentment.

In the session of the British parliament in the year 1718, a scheme was formed, to bring in a bill to restrain the number of peers in Great Britain, which bill had two views; one was to gratify some great lords of North Britain, by turning their elective seats in parliament into hereditary ones; the other was to restrain the prince, when he should come to the crown, from creating lords.

The duke of Bolton was at that time lord lieutenant of Ireland, and spoke

Period II. 1714 to 1720. to me in the end of February 1718, that such a thing was in agitation, and endeavoured to explain it to me, and to convince me of the reasonableness of it; but either had not at that time the resolutions which the lords intended to come to in that affair, or else did not think fit to communicate them to me. He was very warm for my going into it, as a thing much for the good of the publick, and seemed to admire a whig's being of another mind, after the queen had created those twelve lords at one time. At that time, I did not in any sort relish the scheme, but refrained expressing myself, with any warmth or bitterness against it.

I waited on his grace again, after the lords had come to the resolutions in that matter, which the house did come to, and was then again attacked by him with an air of confidence, of his making me a friend to the bill, which, I suppose, proceeded from my not having declared myself with zeal against it, on the first mentioning it. He then began to use arguments to incline my judgment, which not making any impression on me, I told him my mind in plain terms, that I thought the bill was a very dangerous and pernicious one to the constitution, and that it would not pass, at least that it would not have my concurrence; at which he seemed a little startled, and by his manner, I conceived, that he had so good an opinion of his interest in me, or so ill an one of my resolution as to my voting in parliament, that he concluded, I should not be against what he so warmly recommended, especially when he told me that the king had been acquainted with it, and that the ministry thought it to be much for the good of the kingdom; and that if the bill should not succeed, the consequence would be of necessity, the alteration of a whiggish into a tory ministry. I could not see any such consequence of the throwing the bill out, and declared myself determined not to vote for it; but that I should not be under any obligation to give any vote at all in it, if his grace went soon into Ireland, and I attended him over. I expressed myself not fond of speaking or voting against a bill, which I was told the king and ministry had so much at heart, as probably I should do, if I should happen to be in the house, when the bill came before the commons. The surprize and concern the duke expressed on this occasion, induce me to believe, that he had the weakness to have engaged to the ministry, that I would be for the bill, on no better grounds, than my silence, when he first moved the thing, or the interest he thought he had in me, to influence my vote in parliament.

M E M O I R S
OF
S I R R O B E R T W A L P O L E.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE THIRD.

From the South Sea Act to the Death of George the First.

1720—1727.

Correspondence and Papers principally relating to the South Sea Act.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Endorsed in the hand of lord Middleton, "Brother Brodrick about the scheme for the South Sea company to pay the publick debts."

Debate on the first proposal of the South Sea company.—Brodrick and Walpole speak in favour of a competition, which is carried.—Reports about the cession of Gibraltar, and a bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Jan. 24.

FRIDAY (the day of great expectation) the chancellor of the exchequer, Per
in pretty general terms, opened the South Sea company's scheme, of a
propofall for putting the national debt in such a way of payment, as might ef-
fect it in the shortest time possible: this he gave us to understand, would
bee

1720.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.
 1720. bee 25 years; but Mr. Letchmere, in the subsequent part of the debate, eiked itt out to 26 years. After Mr. Aislaby had spent above an hour in his harrangue, the secretary gott up, congratulated him upon the clear and perfectly intelligible light he had putt the matter in, and the nation on the prospect they had hereby of finding themselves out of debt sooner than was generally expected; concluding, that noe other regular motion could be made, than that the chairman should report our having made some progresse, and desiring leave to sitt againe; for that he tooke for granted, every gentleman's being ready and willing to receive a proposall from the South Sea company, upon the foot of what had been soe well opened. A profound silence ensued for a full quarter of an hour; every body expecting who would first rise; when the secretary getting up to make his motion in form, I rose, and was pointed to. I readily agreed with the two gentlemen who had spoake, that till the nationall debt was discharged, or att least in a fair way of being soe, we were not to expect making that figure wee formerly had. I sayd, I could goe farther, making use of the expresseion of a gentleman (Mr. Hutchyson) whoe told us in a former session, that till this was done, wee could not (properly speaking) call ourselves a nation; that therefore every scheme or proposal tending there-to, ought to be received and considered. But that the occasion of my now speaking was, that the first gentleman who spoake, seemed to mee to recommend the scheme nett onely in opposition, but even exclusivly of all others; and that the next had chimed in with him; that I hoped, in order to make the best bargain wee could, every other company, nay any other society of men might bee att as full liberty to make proposals as the South Sea company, since every gentleman must agree, this to be the likelyest way to make a good bargain for the publique.

Our great men lookt as if thunderstruck, and one of them in particular, turned as pale as my cravate. Upon this ensued a debate of above two hours. Our ministers (as they might in a committee) spoake again and again; for their auxiliaries proved faint hearted. Mr. Aislaby, in heat, used this unguarded expresseion; 'Things of this nature must bee carried on with a *spiritt*; to which sir Joseph Jekill, with a good deal of warmth, tooke very just exception; This *spiritt*, sayes hee, is what has undone the nation; our businesse is to consider thoroughly, deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, nott with the *spiritt* mentioned. Mr. Aislaby desired to explaine; sayd hee only meant that credit was to bee soe supported; which caused some smiling. Mr. Walpole applauded the designe, and agreed in general to the reason-

reasonableness of the scheme, wherein however something wanted amendment, and others (although but few) were unreasonable; but concluded strongly for hearing all, as indeed every body did, three or four only excepted. Mr. Lechmere answer'd him but little, God wott, to the matter in hand; for quitting that, he fell into invectives against Walpole's former scheme, giving great preferences to this. The town says, the bargain with the South Sea company was agreed at his chambers, between Mr. Aislaby, sir George Cawell, and three or four other South Sea-men; since which, they say Mr. Aislaby has bought 27,000*l.* stock.

South Sea.

1720.

We often observe how far passion carries men beyond reason, and certainly interest has generally the same effect; for Walpole being irritated, rose again, and began with shewing, by papers in his hand, how very unfairly Letchmere had represented facts, then proceeded to shew his fallacious way of reasoning, and concluded with going more particularly into the scheme, which in several material parts he exposed sufficiently. Letchmere rose up, but he took time to consider, whilst another had spoke, in order to reply; but this was prevented by the whole committee rising at once, and going into the floor; the chairman tore his throat with "to order, hear your member," but all to no purpose, other than to mortify Letchmere, by the members crying out, "wee have heard him long enough." If they were not infatuated, the specimen given them the preceding day, might have taught them; when a bill, empowering the committee (in a former act, for finding out the longitude) to give 2,000*l.* to such person as they should judge to have made a good progress therein, although reduced to no certainty; the reasonableness whereof, was in a very long set speech prest by Mr. Hambden, to which little more was answered then, that this was not time to squander away public money upon projects; (but the truth is, 'twas generally understood to be a job) and therefore concluded against passing the bill. The ministry marcht out at the head of 36 yeas, and left within 192 noes. Whether the bank will make a proposal (as is generally expected) I know not; but am very well satisfied, many a fair pound will be saved to the public, even by the very proposal the South Sea company will make. For this affair is in a very different situation from what they expected upon concerting without doors, and consequently a great many will fail in their hopes; for when the bargain will not bear it, they must be quiet.

The motion for an address relating to Gibraltar, which I mentioned in the former part of this letter, taking wind, has hitherto been delay'd upon assurances given by the ministry to members from man to man, that nothing of
that

Period III. that kind should be done; notwithstanding which, I have very good reason to
 1720. to 1727. believe, that at this very moment, it is under consideration; but I think they will not be hardy enough to dare do the thing, and yett if another whisper be true, noe man can tell what lengths they may goe. That the interest of the Roman catholicks of this kingdom, should be espoused by some of our most considerable allyes, is nott to be wondered at, butt that they should thinke of obtaining, what in humane probability, wou'd in lesse than an age, establish that religion here, is surely monstrous. I will nott give myself leave to mention the four particulars sayd to be insisted uppon, much lesse can I bring mysele to believe, that any expectation of succeffe should be given them. God deliver us, if itt be the case, butt no more on such a subject.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Competition between the bank and South Sea company, whose proposal is accepted.—Benefits derived from the competition.

Middleton
Papers.

(Feb. 2, 1719-20.) YESTERDAY, the committee of the whole house, came to a resolution to accept the South Sea proposal, which is to be reported (and will be agreed to) this day. That you may comprehend how this affair has been managed, I'll give you a short detaile of the whole. You know by my former letters, that Mr. Aislabie, when hee opened the scheme, concluded, that they would offer three millions to the publique, towards payment of the nationall debt, applauded their candour, in going the greatest length the thing could beare, and concluded with the great benefitt to the nation. The South Sea company foreseeing, that the house were resolved to hear every proposall, that any other company should make; became sensible, that the banke would bee able to offer a much better, and therefore, in that which they delivered in writing, advanced half a million, when at the same time, the banke outbid them full two millions; this putt them under a necessity to desire they might amend their proposall, which was easily granted, the generality of the house, being for making the best bargain for the publique. Yesterday, they gave a second proposal in writing, by which they made the three millions and a half (which they formerly bid) four millions, payable by four quarterly payments. This they were to pay in all events; they further offered, that instead of three year's purchase, which the banke had proposed to pay, out of the long termes (which for distinction, wee call the irredeemable funds)

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

funds) they were willing to pay four years and a half's purchase, which (uppon South Sea
supposition the whole should bee taken in) does amount to above three mil- 1720
lions more, and to shew that they would truly endeavour doing soe, they sub-
mitted to pay one year's purchase certaine, in the nature of a *nomine penæ*,
which one year's purchase amounts to above six hundred sixty od thousand
pounds. They had by their first propofal, demanded a continuance of the
present interest of five per cent. for seven years, when the whole was to be
reduced to four; which by this propofal, they reduce to four years, the banke
having in their propofal, offered the same; the saving uppon this head,
amounts to three hundred thousand pounds yearly; and lastly, they propose to
circulate, two millions of exchequer bills, for the terme of four yeares, gratis;
the saving uppon this head, is fifty thousand pounds. Uppon the whole, instead
of three millions, which they first offered, they are now to pay, above five
certaine, to which is to be added, the contingency of two millions and a halfe
more, uppon their purchasing in the long termes, which 'tis their interest to
doe, and consequently they will. Whoever had heard how highly the first
scheme was applauded, how earnestly recommended for our acceptance, and
how very near itt was to bee soe, would stand amased, that ever the publique (in
any instance) should be soe fortunate, as to more than double the summe intended
for them; butt thus itt has for once happened. 'Tis nott vanity in mee to say,
that this is due to my motion; because, even those whoe I am sure with mee ill,
are pleased to congratulate mee (from the teeth outward) uppon the very vast
advantage accruing to the publique thereby. I will nott say the first scheme
was formed in order to any particular sett of men finding their account in the
acceptance of itt, but am sure 'tis plaine as the sun, there was roome enough
for their doing soe. The calculators shew, that by the first scheme, the na-
tional debt would have been discharged in twenty-eight years, and even this
prospect pleased people; butt 'tis now demonstrable 'twill bee done in lesse
then eighteen.

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

*Rejoices at the reconciliation between the king and prince of Wales.—Secrecy
with which it was conducted.—Proposes to put up a member for Westminster.
—Prosperous situation of public affairs.*

Period III.

DEAR COUSIN,

London, May 7, 1720.

1720 to 1727.

1720.

Pulteney
Papers.

I Can make you no excuse for not answering yours of near two months ago, before this time, but I hope you will forgive me, if I own the truth, and tell you, that I am a most intollerable lazy correspondent. The good news which has lately happen'd, of the reconciliation between the king and prince was as surprizing as it was satisfactory and agreeable to every body; I dare say the French embassador had not the least hand in it, nay, I am fully convinced, that till the morning the prince went to St. James's, he knew nothing of it; nor do I believe ten men in all England did. The consequences of this happy event, must be very advantageous to the cause, you and I have always wished well to; among others, I think it impossible to fail of a whigg parliament, whenever the king pleases to call a new one. You may depend upon it, that I will take care of you; and if it should happen, that there should be a vacancy at Hendon, before a new parliament, you shall certainly be brought in, if not, 'tis not a great while you have to wait. I have been thinking, it would be right for some one of our family to stand for Westminster, to revive the strongest interest that ever was known in any place. The interest which the name alone would carry, joyned with the estates my uncle and I have in it, would certainly carry it for any one of the family, we should agree in setting up. But this is a distant consideration, and we shall have time enough to think of it, when you return, which I hope will be soon, since you so earnestly desire it.

I can send you no news, that you have not from much better hands; but I hear just now, that Lechmere is dismissed from the employment of attorney general, and Raymond putt in his place. I hope and doubt not, but the king's affairs will go on very prosperously, both at home and abroad. I am sure I shall very heartily contribute my small endeavours to make them do so, and I am satisfied, I cannot in any thing do him more service, than in bringing you into parliament.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

The Squadron must not be laid up.—A new subscription for smelting copper.—Lord Westmoreland at the head of it; and the prince of Wales the governor.—South Sea company purpose, it is said, to declare a dividend of 60 per cent.—Hopes that his journey to Berlin will be successful.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, July 8, 1720.

South Sea.

THIS letter, which comes by the post, serves only to enclose one which you will be very well pleas'd with, from colonel Armstrong. Upon this occasion, I beg leave to observe to your lordship, that by the papers, which the lords of the admiralty laid before the lords justices, it appears that there are with this new squadron, which we are fitting out, five and twenty thousand men, or thereabouts, in pay for this year, whereas thirteen thousand five hundred only, is the quota granted by parliament. Your lordship knows, that this squadron was fitted out by his majesty's particular order, signified by me to the lords of the admiralty; and therefore I do conceive it will not be proper for the lords justices to lay it up, nor is it very well practicable; since, they know no more, but that it is designed for Port Mahon, a disposition which they can allege no reason, nor any body to them for altering. Lord Sunderland goes to-morrow to Tottridge for a week; the duke of Roxburgh is gone into Scotland; the dukes of Devonshire and Bolton will soon be going into the country; but still I hope we shall never want a quorum to carry on the necessary business twice a week.

1720.
Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

There is a new subscription going on for what they call smelting of copper, which I take to be refining of it; they pretend a patent, which excepts them from the bubbles, destroyed by the last act of parliament; and have the opinions of some eminent lawyers, that notwithstanding that law, they may act legally under it. My lord Westmoreland was at the head of this undertaking; but his lordship, and the persons engaged with him, having represented to his royal highness the usefulness of it, he has done them the honour to accept of being their governor. I have met to day with a report, as if the South Sea company intended to declare a dividend at 60 per cent. for one and twenty years; but as I have it not from any of the directors themselves, I do not give it to your lordship for a certain truth.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

Congratulates him on the peace between Sweden and Denmark.—Walpole and the speaker ineffectually endeavour to prevent the prince from being governor of the copper company.

MY DEAR LORD,

Cock-Pit, July 12, 1720.

I Have receiv'd the favour of your private one of the 1st inst. and heartily rejoice with you on the conclusion of the peace between Sweden and Denmark.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

Period III. Denmark. I hope one good effect of your lordship's journey to Berlin, will
 1720 to 1727. be to inspire his Prussian majesty with a little more vigour against the czar.
 1720. If the affairs of religion are not finish'd, I hope you will draw this use from the delay of 'em, to keep lord Cadogan at Vienna, till they are finished. You will by this post receive more proofs of that scoundrel Beretti Landis' good intentions. I wish it prove true, that Monteleone will be president of Castille; I think he will be disposed to cultivate a good understanding between the two kingdoms. You will also see another note from Armstrong, that shews all my lord Stair's fears were not groundless; but on the other hand, does not your lordship think, sir Robert Sutton has thrown himself a corps perdu into Mr. Law; I hope in God that Carteret will goe to the congress. Mr. John Chetwynde has offer'd me his services this morning to that effect. Which ever resolution the king takes about Gibraltar, I hope he will not yield to the manner in which the court of Spain puts that matter.

The speaker and Mr. Walpole could not dissuade the prince from being governor of this copper company, tho' they told him he would be prosecuted, mention'd in parliament, and cry'd in the alley, upon the foot of Onslow's insurance, Chetwynde's bubble, prince of Wales' bubble, &c. he has already got 40,000l. by it. The South Sea company open a subscription on Thursday, for what they call the redeemable annuities. Don't you begin to think of supporting the regent? he seems to want it; might not my lord Carteret go through France in his way to England, where I take it for granted, his family and his private affairs will call him? I have secured Squerries, and shall have the pleasure of being your lordship's neighbour in Kent; a reason that has made the purchase much more valuable to me. I don't hear of Schaub upon the road, I believe your lordship would be glad to have him with you; I see by Mr. Whitworth, that he does nothing yet in that great affair of the pensionary; I leave it to your lordship to instruct Stanyan what to do, and how much money to give at the Ottoman Port.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

About subscriptions for the South Sea stock.

Pulteney
Papers.

(July 14, 1720.) IF you had been desirous to be in any of these subscriptions, which have proved so very advantageous, I would have procured you some share in them, and I will remember it henceforward, now I know your mind. But upon my word, I have not, and I believe, nobody else
 has

has put down any friends name, without their consent, for the success of these things has been uncertain.

South Sea.

1720.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

Rage for South Sea subscriptions.—Walpole and others dine with lord Sunderland.—Strange conduct of the duke and duchess of Marlborough.

MY DEAR LORD,

Cockpit, July 15, 1720.

YOU'L find, that I have but little to trouble you with this post: Mr. de la Faye's letter: and the minutes of the justices, tell your lordship all the common occurrences, and I have nothing to add of a more private nature. I have had assurance enough, to move in council, that the new attempt to evade the last law, by trumping up these old charters for smelting copper, may be prosecuted, and the methods are now under consideration. To-morrow, I goe to Richmond, where I am afraid my motion will not have been kindly represented; for my lord Westmoreland, who engaged the prince to accept this governorship, was present.

Stanhope
Papers.

Private.

It is impossible to tell you, what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowd of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great, that the bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to set tables with clerks in the streets. There dined yesterday at lord Sunderland's, the dukes of Devonshire and Newcastle, lord Carlisle, lord Townshend, lord Lumley, the speaker, Walpole, and I, and we got some very drunk, and others very merry. Lord Falmouth, whom the publick have maliciously nicknamed lord Foulmouth, bows very low and gravely to us all, and seems to be in a great quandary. Would you believe, that the duke of Marlborough, at a visit he and his good duchess made at Richmond, told the prince, he was ashamed to see his royal highness in such a country house, like a private gentleman, while such an insignificant creature as the duke of Marlborough was playing the king; that he had out of decency attended the lords justices once at the first summons, but that he would return no more. Last Saturday, when I was at that court, I observed, that the prince talked of the perfect state of his grace's understanding; but Mr. Walpole told me afterwards, that his royal highness had trusted him with this secret. You'll understand this matter better, when you reflect on the abusive language, which my lady duchess bestows every day most plentifully upon us. Here is a French refugee officer returned from France, who confirms Armstrong's last account, that they are reducing

Period III. reducing 10 men per company, and 5 per troop in France. I want to learn
 1720 to 1727. your lordship's thoughts upon these affairs, and what part the king will take
 1720. in them; here is no new body dead, or to be married since I last wrote to you,
 and consequently no more for me to say, but that I am ever, my dear lord,
 yours, &c.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Fate of the South Sea stock.—Great losses.—General consternation.

Middleton
 Papers. (September 13, 1720.) I came (as I told you I would) to towne, in order
 to adjust the matter of your lottery ticketts, pursuant to the advertisement
 from the South Sea company. Yesterday was the day appointed, butt (as
 is customary with them) they have putt itt of, and those concerned are
 to wait their leisure, and take such satisfaction as they thinke fitt to give.
 Wee made them kings, and they deal with every body as such; those whoe
 submit and subscribe are at their mercy; those whoe doe nott, are to be oppress'd
 in such manner, as shall make what is due to them of little use; and all this, I
 suppose, they are to be supported in, having engaged the house of commons soe
 far in their interest, by wayes obvious to every body, that I thinke the nation
 will bee to beare such part of the losse sustained by private persons, as the
 company shall thinke fitt; whilst the gaine obtain'd by fraude and villanous
 practices, is to turne to their advantage. I foresaw this from the beginning,
 and have as many witneses of itt, as persons I converse with; but I owne,
 I thought they would have carryed on the cheat somewhat longer. Various
 are the conjectures why they suffered the cloud to breake soe early, I made
 noe doubt butt 'twould doe soe when they found itt for their advantage, which
 nott being the case just att this time, some other reason must bee found; and
 the true one I take to bee, stretching credit soe far beyond what 'twould beare,
 that specie proves deficient for supporting itt, by circulating paper. It is ob-
 servable, that many of their most considerable men, with their fast freinds, the
 tories, jacobites, and papists (for these they have all along hugged) have drawne
 out, securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtlesse numbers,
 whose understandings were over-ruled by avarice, and hopes of making moun-
 tains of mole hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggery, what
 the consequences of that will bee, time must shew; I know what I thought
 from the beginning, and feare 'tis very near att hand. The consternation is in-
 expresseible, the rage beyond expression, and the case so desperate, that I doe
 nott

nott see any plan or scheme, so much as thought of, for averting the blow, for that I can't pretend to guess at what is next to be done.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Distress of the South Sea company.—Reports about a dissolution of parliament, seem to be unfounded.—His opinion of the instability of the South Sea scheme justified by the event.—Lord Sunderland duped by the directors.

(Sept. 27, 1720.) THE company have yett come to noe determination, for they are in such a wood, that they know nott which way to turne, butt 'tis given out (I suppose by direction) that they will lower the price of the third and fourth subscriptions, and offer more reasonable termes to the redeemables, leaving to their option the acceptance, or returne of their severall securityes, these to remain on the foote they are, till discharged by payment in mony; noe doubt att first they intended nothing lesse, butt as Mr. Budgell told them in the generall court, since the mountain would nott come to Mahomet, hee must goe to the mountaine. You misunderstood mee in thinking, I expected a speedy dissolution: that had been considered and lay'd aside, notwithstanding which, as earnest application was every where making, as if elections were to begin within a month, this was begun by the South Sea-men, and great sumes have they already spent, butt, if I mistake not, they will meet with more disappointments, then they expected; for by several gentlemen, lately come to towne, I perceive the very name of a South Sea-man, growes abominable in every country.

Middleton
Papers.

Your remark is very just, that if this great Leviathan intended to have been directors of the whole national affairs, as well as of the company doe fall, itt will necessarily occasion, such a convulsion, as noe honest man desires; but I think there remains a middle way between the two extremes, by supporting their credit, as far as in reason itt ought to be supported, distinguishing between what ought properly to be call'd credit, and chimericall calculations, and the one is certainly practicable, without running into the other. A great many goldsmiths are already gone of, and more will daily. I question whether one third, nay a fourth can stand itt; the cause of which, is this, those whoe had either originally, or by buying with mony gott by taking differences, run into pretty considerable quantities of stock, nott being therewith content, butt resolving to sitt down with nothing lesse then hundred thousands, in order to obtaine which, gave vast præmiums to the goldsmiths for mony, pawning
their

Period III. their stock, some att four, others att five and fix hundred, this being lookt
 1720 to 1727. upon as good as land security: the money thus lent by the goldsmiths was in
 1720. cash notes, which whilst paper had credit, answered the end as well as specie; butt assoon as a run was upon them, they found (by reason of the stocks sinking) their pledges would nott produce cash to answer their notes, and thus one after another are they every day going of.

From the very beginning, I founded my judgment of the whole affair upon this unquestionable maxim, that ten millions (which is more then our running cash) would not circulate two hundred millions, beyond which our paper credit extended; that therefore, when ever that should become doubtful, bee the cause what itt would, our noble state machine must inevitably fall to the ground, or att best bee brought within foe much a narrower compassse then what was projected, that our most sanguine people would find nothing more appositely expressive of their vain hopes then

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

I endeavoured, with an honest and friendly intention, to persuade as many of my friends as I conversed with, to secure the main chance, and nott dip (at least) out of their depth, in case they should resolve to goe with the current. Some few were prevailed upon by such arguments as I thought well founded, whose hearty thanks and acknowledgments I have receiv'd; butt the far greater part concluding (as I must own I did) that the thing would have been carried on for some longer time, have on this supposition, run themselves aground, which they dearly repent: into this they were generally lead by assurances from the gent. whose nose bled, and whoe himselfe was certainly duped by the honest directors from whom hee receiv'd information, whilst they were all the time (underhand) felling out as fast as they could. That he was duped, I thinke past doubt, from his having by his influence, brought all his particular friends, and even his owne family and nearest relations, foe far into the mire, as that few of them will, during their lives, surmount the losse, others of them are foe totally undone, as to bee beyond possibillity of retrieving itt. Possibly, before the end of next session, I may bee called a South Sea-man, for I shall nott join with those whose losses have foe far exasperated them, as to bee desirous, out of revenge, to run into extremes, which may endanger the nation. Farewell.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM

MR. JACOMBE* TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

South Sea.

1720.

* Under
secretary at
war.

Frequent bankruptcies.—Hints at a scheme for ingrafting part of the South Sea stock into the bank and East India company.—Public anxiously expects the assistance of Walpole.

(October 11, 1720.) WE have two posts just come in from Holland, but know not any news by them. One house in Holland is broke, with whom fir J. Beck had great transactions, what effect it will have upon him, is not yet knowne. Several merchants are broke, and we expect more every day; and till it appeares, who can stand this storme both here and in Holland, the bank cannot open any discount, not knowing who to trust. South Sea is about 240, and nobody in a condition to help it.

Orford
Papers.

When I waited on lord Townshend, he was pleased to talk with me on what could or ought to be done for the company. I mentioned a thought of mine, that would be best for the interest of the nation, if instead of adding more to the company, their capital was divided amongst the three great bodies, the bank, the South Sea, and India companies; thereby making them more equall, but upon separate interests, as checks on one another, and consequently lesse powerfull and lesse dangerous to the state. He was pleased with the thought, and commanded me to consider how it might be practicable. I promised him to doe so against your returne to London. I have since thought more closely of it, and doe believe, though there are difficultyes, yet that it is practicable and advisable. When you come to towne, I believe I shall be able to lay a short plan of it before you, and submitt it to your judgement.

(London, October 13, 1720.) Every body longs for you in town, having no hopes from any but yourself: though I must own, I don't see what effectual help can be given to them, till some time has worne off people's fears and distrusts of one another.

(November 1, 1720.) They all cry out for you to help them, so that when you come, you will have more difficultys on you, than ever you had. For though you are perfectly clear of this sad scheme, yet you will be prodigiously importuned by all the sufferers to doe more than any man can doe; and more than you, in your judgement, would think ought to be done, if it could be done.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1720.

WILLIAM PULTENEY TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Many of his friends ruined, but no sufferer himself by the fate of the South Sea stock.—Influence of Walpole; has it in his power to ruin the South Sea company and lord Sunderland.—Good effects of his interference.—General distress and despondency.

DEAR COUSIN,

London, Nov. 20, 1720.

Pulteney
Papers.

I Am perfectly ashamed to write to you, having received so many letters from you, without answering one of them; but I hope you will forgive me, when I assure you, that I have done nothing, nor thought of nothing, for these last two months, but South Sea stock, and yet I am not myself any great sufferer by it; but so many of my acquaintance are ruined and undone, that I am under as much anxiety and uneasiness of mind, as if I was so myself. 'Tis ridiculous to tell you, what a summe, I might once have been master of; but since I had not discretion enough to secure that, 'tis still some comfort to me, to have putt my affairs into such a way, that lett what will happen, I can be no looser by it. The king's coming, which every body thought would have in some measure reviv'd the stock, has from abundance of simple storys, that have been artfully dispersed, rather depressed it, and within this week, the stock has been sold at 120*l*.

It has been reported, that Mr. Walpole, who has the greatest influence of any one over the directors of the bank, has all this while prevented their complying with the bargain they made with the South Sea company, and that he has it now in his power to ruin the South Sea scheme, and the authors of it at once, in revenge for the trick they formerly served him. To tell you the plain truth, I do not think there is any very cordial affection between the ministers and him: but it is so much the interest of both of them, to relieve mankind from this generall calamity, that I am persuaded, they must co-operate in all measures for doing of it, and upon their meeting yesterday, when Mr. Walpole proposed some things for the South Sea, which was agreed to by the ministers, the stock gott up to 200*l*. I am so sensible of what you say, that foreigners have still a very great summe of money in our stocks, that I protest to you, I would rather never see it rise higher than it is, than have it raised for a little while, only by artifices and seeming advantages. This would give those foreigners an opportunity of withdrawing their money; whereas, if it be raised by solid advantages, and such as will fix it at a moderate

derate price, people will be desirous of continuing their money where it is, with more security, and better interest, than it can possibly be any where else. God send we may not think of following any of your Mississippi remedies. This last stroke of forcing people to buy stock, and deposit it for three years, is beyond any of the former contrivances, which Mr. Laws has with so much arbitrary power made use of. The ways we must make use of, must be such as are gentle, and will by degrees raise credit, and give a circulation to money again; this is what must recover our stock, and particular people must retrieve their circumstances by frugality, and a just œconomy. On fryday next, I believe the parliament will meet, tho' some people are for putting it off a week; I fear such a proceeding, would give a great damp to people's spirits, and make them imagine, nothing could be done for their safety. If the parliament does meet, I will send you the king's speech, and the addressees of both houses, with an account of what was besides done in each; but Mr. Craggs tells me, he does believe, in a very little time, you may be here: I heartily wish you was, because, I am sure it must be very disagreeable to be where you are. It was once reported, that this parliament would be continued, but I find there never was the least grounds for it, the king I believe will call a new one next summer, when you may depend upon being chosen at Henden. Pray make mine and my wife's compliments to my cousin, and believe me ever yours.

South Sea.

1720.

DRUMMOND TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Agreement settled between the bank and South Sea company.—Union between Sunderland and Walpole, raises the stocks.—Many sufferers mentioned; amongst whom are several directors, lord Sunderland, and his friends.

SIR,

London, November 24, 1720.

THE court is taken up in conferring some times with the South Sea directors, and with the bank; the later having a conductor, were pritty stubborn, and had a scheme of their own, which they insisted on; but lord Sunderland said to his friends, that tho' they had differ'd in their way of thinking in the private conference with him at his own house, yet he parted very good friends with them. And common report says, that a new bank would have been proposed, if the old had not been reasonable; and Mr. Walpole should have said to his friends, that he had a different project from that of lord Sunderland, but that the king having enter'd into that of lord Sunderland's, he

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would joyn to support it. This happy union brought up the stock again from 140 to 200 and 210, and it will in all appearance remain about 200 till something of the scheme be known, which cannot be ready so soon as the parliament was to sit; and therefore it was reported, that they were to be prorogued for 10 days. There are premiums given at 250 and 300; but I find that few are so sanguine to think that it will be raised above 300, and I wish it may not go much higher, tho' if it could be brought to 400, it would save a great many who are deeply engaged; but if brought to 400, and not supported there, a new fall would do very much more harme. Common report says, that the court designs to bring it to and support it at 300, by fixing a dividend of 15 per cent. redeemable by parliament; that the debt due by the publick to the bank, shall be paid to the bank by the company in stock at 300, and in like manner to the East India company; that the whole publick debt is to consist of 21 million of capital, bearing 15 per cent. interest; that national interest is to be reduced to three per cent. and that severall benefits of trade and fishing are to be given to the company. The directors of the company do own in conversation, that their treasurer had no orders to lend upon stock above 400 per cent. but he has lent 700 and upwards to severall, and very great sums upon subscriptions, and that must become a dead loss; for there is no more to be paid in on the subscriptions, as I am told; and what is paid in already, is to be converted into stock.

There are very many and considerable families reduced by extravagant bargains; our friends the Chetwins very deep; lord Launfdale desires the government of the Leeward islands, and will obtain it; lord Irwing has got Barbados; it's said, that lord Portland desires Jamaica, which is not thought proper, but will get a pension, for he is very much worse than nothing. The dukes of Wharton and Bolton are great sufferers; and indeed even the South Sea directors included, hardly one in 20 are gainers. Sir Justus Beck's debt is 340 thousand pound, and he cannot pay half a crown in the pound; most who are undone, are in such like state; but the bank is very easy, neither is there so much want of species as of credit. The opera is very fine, and very full; and the court very rich in foreign silks and velvets; I wish it were in good broad cloth, which would keep them warmer in this season. It was reported, that your cousin Mr. Pulteney, was to succeed Mr. Aisleby; but I am told, there will be no alterations till the session be over; and many do think, that this will not be the last session of this parliament. As all lord Sunderland's friends, by sir John Blount's advice, sold out nothing, his lord-

ship

ship is now glad it is so, for he would not have profited of the public calamity; neither lord Stanhope, Argyll, nor Roxburghe have been in the stocks; but Londonderry has suffered greatly; sir R. Sutton has been a great gainer.

South Sea.

1720.

MR. ECKERSAL TO DANIEL PULTENEY.

Stock rises on a report that Walpole had drawn up a scheme.

(Nov. 24, 1720.) SOUTH Sea stock sunk so considerably on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, that I began to think it would be under par, and come to nothing; but as then we had assurances, that the bank and South Sea were to agree, and to come into a scheme of Mr. Walpole's drawing up, and is calculated to raise the stock to 300*l.* or above. The stock rose upon it last Monday, I think one time of the day to 215-

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Papers.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE KING.

Some thoughts and considerations concerning the present posture of the South Sea stock, humbly laid before his majesty.*

IT was with great reluctance, and in obedience only to your majesty's commands, that I was prevailed upon, to undertake any thing relating to the South Sea affairs. I am too sensible of the many difficulties, that will attend any scheme, formed to regulate the perplexed and unfortunate state of the South Sea company, to hope that satisfaction can be given, to the infinite number of sufferers. But the publick security, and the restoring and establishing publick credit, in which your majesty's government is so highly concerned, are first to be consulted, and this I hope, may by this means be effectually settled and secured. A due and compassionate regard is to be shewn to the losses of private men, and all that I conceive can be expected, is to give some ease and relief to the present unhappy circumstances, in which great numbers are now involved; but it seems to me impossible, so far to repair every man's losses, that a great many will not still remain considerable losers. An attempt to raise the stock to a higher value than it can be supported at, would only involve a new set of persons in the misfortunes, that others at present labour under, and expose the publick to the great loss, that will be sustain'd by foreigners selling out at high prices, and exporting our gold and silver. And what I desire your

Orford and
Walpole
Papers.

* The original draught in the hand-writing of Sir Robert Walpole, is among the Orford papers; a fair copy among the Walpole papers.

Period III. majesty may be observed thro' this scheme, is, that I take every thing as I
 1720 found it, and do nothing to alter any man's circumstances, but by an accession
 1720 of profit, from the bank and India company, and by an impartial distribution
 of the whole, as it now appears, from the public transactions of the company; and have carefully avoided, either to inforce or release any publick or private contract or obligation, or to ease or relieve any one sort of adventurers, at the loss and expence of another.

Proposal.

That the first money subscription at 300*l.* per cent. be compleated, all future payments to be made in South Sea bonds, and allowing longer time for the same, to make them less, and more easy. That stock be given for the moneys already paid in, upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th, money subscriptions, at 400*l.* per cent. with the Midsummer dividend, and that all future payments thereon, be discharged. That the stock, which shall then remain undisposed of, be divided among the present proprietors of stock, in proportion to their several interests, and thereby an end put to the selling any more stock by subscription. That the increased capital of the South Sea stock, amounting in the whole, to 38 millions or thereabouts, be divided into three parts, 20 millions to remain to the capital of the South Sea stock, 9 millions to be ingrafted into the bank stock, and 9 millions to be ingrafted into the East India company, at 120 per cent. and the fund from the exchequer to attend this distribution, but the parts of the bank and East India company, to be all 5 per cent. Each company to have it's proportion of the charges of management allowed by the publick. That each proprietor of South Sea stock, shall have his proportion in the new ingrafted capital stock, of each of the respective companies, according to this distribution. That all profits which have hitherto arisen, by sale of stock by subscription, amounting to 15,450,000*l.* shall remain for the benefit of the 20 millions South Sea stock, subject to all charges and incumbrances. That all future privileges and advantages, to be granted by the publick, shall likewise remain for the benefit of the 20 millions South Sea stock. That any further reasonable privileges and advantages be granted to the bank and India company, to induce and enable them to admit this ingraftment.

Observations upon the Proposals.

This method, puts an end to the great demand of money, that arises from time to time, by sale of stock by subscription, which alone has put the town
 under

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under such constant distress for money, upon every payment, that whilst that subsisted, it was impossible for credit to revive; the payments to be made, betwixt the 14th November, 1720, and the 14th August, 1721, both inclusive, amounting to 8,478,600*l.* within the compass of ten months, which were to be continued on, till the whole subscriptions had been compleated, which would not have ended, till the 2d. of July 1725, but are now to be totally discharged. Every subscriber has great ease and relief from this alteration, by being obliged to take only 250*l.* stock at 400 per cent. who is now obliged to take 1000 stock, at the same price; and when the Midsummer dividend of 10 per cent. in stock, making 25*l.* stock, shall be added to the 250*l.* stock, and the future dividend in stock, arising from the stock undisposed of, after the execution of this scheme; amounting to above 46 per cent. in stock, shall be added to the 275 stock; every subscriber, for 1000*l.* paid, will receive 401*l.* 10*s.* stock. The same computation holds upon every 1000*l.* in the redeemable funds, receiving stock at the same price, with the same dividends in stock. The dividend of the stock undisposed of upon the capital, puts an end to all future sales of stock by subscription, which not only prevents the former mischief from being repeated, but puts every proprietor in immediate possession of his just share, arising from the profits of the whole, without waiting for annual dividends, subject to the management of directors, and the sundry chances and hazards, that payments to be received in a long course of time are liable to; and every proprietor, not only receives his share of profit, arising from the South Sea scheme, but has likewise a further advantage upon the whole, by the ingraftment of one half of his increased capital into the bank and East India company.

This distribution, by ingrafting 9 millions into the bank, and 9 millions into the East India company, reduces the capital of the South Sea company to 20 millions. This reduction alone remedies some of the greatest mischiefs that attended the whole scheme. A capital of 40 millions, is from its bulk alone impracticable, and if raised to an advanced price in any high degree, cannot possibly be negotiated; not only for want of sufficient specie or paper money, but for want of property. Suppose a capital of 40 millions raised to 1000 per cent. the value is 400 millions: it is not to be conceived, that all the property of England can answer such an immense and imaginary value, much less that any sort of money can be found to negotiate one half of it. It is as impossible to find any profits that can supply a dividend upon so large a capital at any advanced

South S
1720.

Period III. advanced price; but the capital being reduced to one half, all profits and
 1720 to 1727. advantages that can be reasonably given to support the scheme, are double
 1720. upon the half, to what they would be upon the whole. And by this proposál, all profits that have arisen already by the sale of stock, and all future advantages to be granted by the publick, are reserved for the 20 millions of South Sea stock. And as every proprietor is to have his just proportion in each part of the distribution, he partakes in the advantages reserved for the South Sea company in as full a manner as if his whole had remained there. Besides the profits arising in the South Sea company, he likewise receives bank stock at 120 per cent. computed at 160 per cent. and India stock at 120 per cent. computed at 200 per cent.; and for the interest of his money, he will in all probability receive 8 per cent. per annum from the bank, and 10 per cent. per annum from the East India company, in lieu of the exchequer annuity of 5 per cent. per annum upon each, which are now to be transfer'd to the bank and India company.

And altho' every proprietor gives 120 per cent. for the bank stock, which he is to have in his own right, the 20 per cent. which upon the 9 millions to be ingrafted into the bank, makes in the whole one million and half, is reserved for the common benefit of the whole bank, in which every proprietor is to have his just share, and this reduces the price given for bank stock to 111*l.* 5*s.* or thereabouts; so that every South Sea proprietor gains of one fourth of his South Sea stock about 40 per cent. in the advanced price of bank stock, and upon one fourth about 80 per cent. in the advanced price of India stock; or in another view, for the 20 per cent. which he pays for bank stock above par, he will receive an additional dividend of 3 per cent. per annum, and for the 20 per cent. paid for India stock above par, 5 per cent. per annum; and this is most evidently an addition of so much to every man's property in the South Sea stock.

Besides these private advantages, this distribution of this great capital, with regard to the government and the public, was almost necessary, and being now divided betwixt the three great bodies and companies of the city, establishes such a ballance of power among them, as may make them all usefull to the publick. The capital of the South Sea company will be now 20 millions, the capital of the bank 14 millions and half, the capital of the East India company 12,200,000*l.*; and as the publick has been, and frequently must be obliged to apply to these corporate bodies, for the support of publick credit,

credit, the public will not be under a necessity to accept the hard terms which one single powerfull body might be inclinable to impose, when all three are in a condition to aid and assist upon any emergency, and this has been verified by constant experience.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

King's speech read at the Secretary of State's office.—Proceedings in the house of commons on moving and reporting the address.—Rumours of a dissolution.—Directors ordered to attend.

(December 10, 1720.) UPON Wenesday night, about a hundred members mett att the secretary's office, when (according to custom) the king's speech was read, and a resolution was propos'd for an addresse of thanks. One of the company sayd, hee thought the directors of the South Sea company ought by name to bee represented, as the persons to whom the losse of creditt ought to be imputed, butt condemning persons unheard (however obnoxious) was nott reasonable; butt that the end might bee attained by generall words, to witt, *to enquire into the causes of these misfortunes*. This was very vigorously opposed by some few, and a great man sayd itt would, instead of retrieving, occasion (probably) an utter losse of itt, for that the directors would run away; butt this did nott obtaine. For my own part, I thought the words fully agreed to, when on a suddaine 'twas whisper'd about, that they were omitted, which gave occasion to a friend of yours, to call to Mr. secretary, whoe was reading a subsequent paragrah, to know whither the amendment proposed were incerted, to which hee answered noe; for you know, says hee, I am to observe directions, and members calling out, read on, read on, I proceeded soe to doe, without incerting them. The other replied, I thought the words agreed to, and consequently incerted, for surely half a dozen near you are nott to thinke of determining for soe great a number: wee meet here as I apprehend to endeavour soe to understand each other, as to bee of one mind in another place; I think itt therefore incumbent on mee to speake plainly. This resolution is to bee proposed to the house, where the words you have thought fitt to omitt, may bee offered, and I doe promise you uppon my word they will bee soe, when they will bee fully debated, and if occasion bee, the question determined by a division. Mr. secretary then sayd, propose your words, which being done, they were without more a doe incerted.

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The motion being yesterday made, gentlemen lett themselves into the most bitter investives against the misexecution of the act of parliament, and indeed in great measure against the act, as vesting too large powers in a sett of men whoe are now call'd miscreants, the scum of the people, and worse names if possible. Thus are wee ashamed of what many of us contended for last yeare with the greatest eagerness, and that upon motives nott fitt to bee mentioned. The more moderate few (for that was what butt very few had a right to call themselves) lay'd the streffe upon misexecution; butt even upon this head, they went great lengths, particularly sir J. J.* whoe sayd, that hee could nott butt thinke, at least hope, that all the directors were nott equally culpable, butt sure hee was, that some were highly criminal whoe were not directors. Another sayd, the ministry with onely a frowne had been able to putt a stop to all the little bubbles, in order to deepen the water for the great one, whence profit was to arise. A third concluded thus: this parliament begun with a secret committee falling upon a precedent ministry; and why may itt nott conclude with doing soe to another? What your friend sayd Wenfday night, proves to have been well judged, for upon reporting the address yesterday, sir J. J. mov'd an amendment, by inserting what you see therein of punishing the authors, which went without opposition. Others tooke exception to itt as too tender; this nott being a party cause, arrowes in full volleys are lett fly from every quarter.

* Sir Joseph
Jekyll.

Thursday is appointed for considering the state of credit, when Mr. Walpole has promised us his thoughts, and tho' his friends doe nott love to hear of a scheme being call'd his, hee is certainly digesting one, which wee are then to have, the greater part of which, all the towne know already. Wee are to attend his majesty with our address this day att two, soe that I suppose little will bee done in the house. If any thing material happen, I'll adde itt, for writing this in the morning gives an oportunity of saying what will certainly bee more diverting then parliamentary accounts.

Woe bee to serjeant Birch and George Caswell, if they presume to stand candidates att Leomstar, att any future election; which however may nott bee soe near as some people thinke: for in case wee deserve itt, 'tis hoped by some, and fear'd by others, that wee may bee longer liv'd then this session, as well as that twenty-five Scots peers, in addition to the two disputed titles, may bee made hereditary, leaving out of the bill what relates to England; butt I thinke, if offered (which I cannott yett bring myself to believe) 'twill run the gantlett as the last did.

Wee

Wee have had a little flurry by an unexpected (undigested) motion made by governor Pitts, for ordering the directors to attend on Thursday, with their myrmodons the secretary and treasurer, and if they pleased, with their great scandirbag, whoe he meant by that, I know nott, butt the epithet denotes somebody of consideration. The time being come for attending his majesty with the addresse, itt was agreed by common consent, that this matter bee taken into farther consideration on Munday, without a question putt for adjourning the debate, att which time I apprehend the maine argument on one hand will bee, that unlesse credit shall bee more reestablished before you fall to finding faults, doing itt will grow more difficult afterwards. On the other side 'twill bee sayd (and I doubt too truly) that unlesse you probe the fore to the bottom before you enter on remedies, 'twill bee only skinning over, what from a corrupt bottom, will in a short time breake out againe, and that with more virulence from the expectation of impunity, which such a proceeding will give ground for: 'twill bee, I believe, a very smart debate, since uppon the success a great deale depends. I was told (and not by a very ill hand) that a great man had been heard to say 'twould bee necessary to adjourn in order to more temper: I thinke such a remedy will onely irritate; butt perhaps, the approaching hollidays may bee the avow'd reason.

South Sea.

1720.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Proceedings in the house of commons against the directors.

(December 13, 1720.) THE motion of Saturday (which I mentioned in my last) was yesterday putt into better forme, as you will see by the votes; the first question mov'd, was in very strong terms opposed by three or four; for as I remember, that was the number. On the other hand, numbers spoke with the freedom becoming a Brittish house of commons. The first whoe spoke on the side of the question, was my quondam colleague sir R. S.* he indeed set the matter in a clear light, by telling us, that a nation of more wealth and greater credit than any in Europe, within less than two years, was reduc't to what wee see, and too sensibly feel, by a few cyphering citts, a species of men of equal capacity in all respects (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted) with those animals who fav'd the capitol, who were now to be skreen'd by those of greater figure, for what reason they best know, others were att liberty to judge. Another (in answer to an argument against the question, that this vindicative justice so much contended for, would nott

Middleton
Papers.* Sir Richard
Steele.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} attain the end propos'd, for that you would nott be able to come att the
 1720. estates of the delinquents) say'd hee thought all the laws against bankrupts
 being enacted into one against the directors (for soe he would always call them,
 as what carry'd more of obloquy then any other word could expresse) would,
 in his opinion, attain the end propos'd. Abundance spoake with equall
 bitterneffe, and such was the general outcry, that the previous question which
 had been demanded, was nott thought fitt to be insisted upon, and they were
 too wise to discover their weakness by a division upon the main question.
 How far *ways and means* will goe towards warding the blow, I know nott;
 that they will be us'd, I am satisfy'd, butt I thinke there is a possibility of a
 disappoinment.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Walpole proposes his scheme in the house of commons.

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(December 22, 1720.) OUR scheme was yesterday opened by Mr. Walpole, whoe with the greatest skill imaginable intrencht himselfe, by telling us, that hee tooke for graunted things were, as they are lay'd before us: *Cujus contrarium*; and in speaking his thoughts, as he termed itt, att least six times desired it might be remembered, that he argued upon this supposition. The substance in short was this: that of the 38 millions now vested in the South Sea company, nine should by way of ingraftment, be vested in the banke, as many in the East India company, and the remaining 20 millions remaine to the South Sea. The mony account, he sayd, he did not care to meddle with; and he was in the right, for when that shall be discuffed (if ever itt be) 'twill not bear an examination. After many long speeches, to very little purpose, 'twas understood that the house would bee ready to receive proposalls from these 3 great bodyes, which we shall, I think, agree to, bee they what they will, for the same reasons (for they will be plentifully made use of) which induced us to passe the bill last session; I then told you, what I thought would bee the issue, which to my great grieve proves too rightly judg'd; I will now tell you my fears of this matter. That Mr. Walpole made the most of every thing, is very certaine; and supposing his postulata (to use his owne words) well grounded, his conclusions were right. Butt my opinion is, that skinning over the soare, without probing the wound to the bottom, will end in its breaking out againe, when possibly the malignity may bee too great to bee overcome: butt we are for putting off the evil day, and hee is a fool or knave whoe joins not therein. I am told (I believe by a very good hand) Gibraltar is
 after

after all to be given up to the Spaniard, a supposition which last year argued the utmost disaffection. When or where our misfortunes shall end, time alone can determine, though I am very inclinable to hope the best: that strong inclination cannot so far prevail as to leave me without fears.

South Sea.

1721.

 1721.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Bill against the directors reported.—Justifies the resolution of not allowing them to be heard by counsel.

(Jan. 19, 1720-1.) YOU see by the votes the bill against the directors reported and ordered to be engrosed, I believe 'twas this day read a third time, and carried to the lords. It prohibits their going out of the kingdom for a year, and to the end of the next session of parliament, requiring their entering into recognizance of a hundred thousand pounds, with two sureties in twenty-five thousand pounds each, for performance of the above condition; it requires the delivery of an inventory of their estates real and personal upon oath; and enacts, that if they shall falsifie therein (being convicted) shall suffer as felons, without benefit of clergy; there is a clause for encouragement of discoverers, and others, such as may make the bill more effectual. They had the assurance to petition to be heard by council against the bill, which was rejected with the utmost indignation, although supported by some of our great men (which by the way was very ill relisht) not only in favour of the directors, but on account of justice, for that no criminal (how great soever) ought to be condemned, unheard. To which 'twas answered, that this bill did not condemn, the chief end being only to secure their standing a tryall, and preventing alienation of their estates till such times as their tryall was over. 'Twas then sayd, even thus much would be inflicting a great punishment, unheard; to which 'twas reply'd, that surely gentlemen had not read over the papers and accounts delivered at the bar by themselves, for that by these the most notorious breach of trust (against the tenor and purport of the South Sea act, as well as against their owne by lawes) were confessed, that therefore the case was no more or other then committing or requiring bail from a criminal upon confession, according to the nature of the offence; that

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. that from the notoriety of the thing, as well as from the national prejudice
 1720 to 1727. sustained thereby, the legislature were now doing what in ordinary cases the
 1721. magistrate might and ought to doe. The house were, from a coolness of temper, wrought up to a great height, and that (in my opinion) by the earnestness of some gentlemen, who at last were forced quietly to give up the point. I have seen strange turns, but I think this matter incapable of one: what a considerable man began his first speech with (for he spoke with great vehemence a second time) is certainly true, that saying any thing which might be interpreted as favouring a South Sea director, would be very ill heard, and put the speaker under great disadvantage. I will not go abroad (being a good deal seavourish) till I think I can do it without great hazard, though I own I shall be very uneasy till I can attend my duty.

The bill is ordered to the lords. That house have had several brokers before them this day; a gentleman is just gone from me (the lords being sitting late as it is) to let me know that those sparks have confessed so much, that their lordships think they will scamper, unless taken into custody, with a declaration and message sent to the house of commons, acquainting them herewith; and that when and as often as the committee shall send for them, their officer shall attend with them; desiring to know my opinion, whether the house (whom they would avoid in any wise disobliging) may look upon this as the least obstruction to the enquiry. My answer was, that I could only speak as a private man, and as such, did freely own my thoughts, that this proceeding, thus circumstantiated, could not be thought in any sort an obstruction to our enquiry. That I knew the committee had, in several instances, avoided doing things which possibly might administer cause to people without doors to hope for disputes between the houses, nothing being more in their desire than avoiding such. That I verily believed, the house were of the same mind. For which reasons (though I desired it might be remembered, I took upon me to speak only as a private man) I was of opinion, no exception would be taken to this proceeding.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Proceedings of the house of commons on the expected report of the secret committee.—Substance of part of that report.

Middleton (February 4, 1720-1.) LAST Tuesday (when by order the mutiny bill
 Papers. was to be reported) four of us were sent from the South Sea house, to put it
 of

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South Se

1721.

of for some time; the first order of the day was the call of the house, which was adjourned till Thursday next, by common consent. The day mov'd for the mutiny bill, was next Tuesday fennight. Mr. Secretary, uppon that occasion, mov'd for this day fennight, to which wee readily agreed, in speaking to which, hee was pleas'd to say, that by the day fixt for the call in the solemn manner itt was (meaning the revoking all leaves of absence, and ordering circular letters) hee suppos'd that about that time the house might expect that *important* report, so much expected. I spoake after him, taking notice of the intricacy of accounts (affectedly made foe) and the length of time in examining witnesses, whom att present I would call by noe harder name then that of being very unwilling ones, and that when I was obliged to acquaint the house, that without intermission of a day (Sundays and the 30th of January excepted) the committee had satt from nine in the morning till eleven att night, I could nott butt hope the report *so much expected*, had been putt in the best forwardnesse the nature of the thing admitted; that as to the importance, itt must bee refer'd to the judgment of the house, when itt should come before them. But that thus much I would take uppon mee to assure the house, and the gent. in particular, that it would bee a fair and honest one, nott reporting any one fact which was not well supported, or omitting a tittle that was foe. I was well-heard, without a word of reply made.

We are in such forwardnesse as leaves little roome to doubt my having directions (before the house begins to be call'd) that the committee are ready to lay before the house an account of the progresse they have made in the matters refer'd to them, being by order to report from time to time, att such time as the house should please to receive the same, which I believe may bee the next day, or the Monday following att farthest, Saturday being appointed for taking the report of the mutiny bill. Bee it when it will, perhaps it may appear of more importance then Mr. secretary imagined att the time hee spoake, for though generally speaking, they have been pretty well apprised of what passes among us, from the information of the very persons examined, this insulting speech convinces mee, they do not receive accounts from any of our number: for wee had the day or two before made some discoveries, which I am sure by the way of speaking, hee was a stranger to, and these naturally lead us since that time into a more perfect and strict enquiry into some things then hee thought of, and which I must believe hee thought us strangers to. Your curiosity will in a
short

Period III. short time bee satisfiyed, and the nation convinc't that our enquiry has not
 1720 to 1727. been in vaine.

1721.

Five hundred and seventy thousand pound stock was sold by the company att under rates, whilst the bill was depending, att which time the company had noe more then twenty-five thousand reserved for taking in the annuities of 1710. Butt this stock was to bee created afterwards, and in fact was soe, and stands in the company's books as sold to — or fictitious names. Of this great summe, wee have hitherto been able to trace onely about two hundred thousand pounds, Mr. Knight having either destroy'd or secured from us all the secret bookes by which the whole scene of iniquity might have been discovered. I doe nott thinke itt impossible, butt wee may come att a good deal more, by crosse examining and putting things together, butt if wee should faile therein, enough God knows is come to light, to shew how the horse was curried, and by what methods that cursed scheme was carry'd through to the destruction of the nation. The stock was sold att different prices to different persons as they were favourites, and more or lesse usefull, butt to all att soe low rates, as that the difference between the prices delivered to them att, by the company, and the prices they sold out att exceeds a million; butt the truth is, noe stock was ever transfer'd to them, and consequently they sold none, for both the one and the other was fictitious. The method being to pay these good people the difference between the price when sayd to bee sold to them, and the time when they are to bee supposed to have sold out, which being, after passing the bill amounts (as I said before) to above a million.

I know nott whether our cant words and wicked actions will bee readily understood by you, butt I fancy I have made myselfe intelligible, if you revolve the thing in your mind. By these vile means was the bill carry'd, and the execution was of a peice with its formation; six months would nott suffice to descend into the particulars, butt probably a second report may point out some things that are most nottorious and obvious.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

[Endorsed in the hand-writing of lord Middleton.]

That the town is dissatisfied at Mr. Stanhope's acquittal.—Proceedings in the house of commons on the accusation of Charles Stanhope, who is acquitted.

Middleton
Papers.

(March 7, 1720-1.) THE paper (which came last night) was copyed by Charles, and your directions observed; you will in a little time hear from the

the person to whom it was delivered, who says he thought you would easily distinguish a letter of compliment (and intended for no more) from a designe of complying with an unreasonable request. You have heard of Mr. Stanhope's acquittal by a majority of three, which has put the town in a flame, to such a degree as you cannot easily imagine: what consequences it may have I cannot imagine; these I think will be more or less by what shall be done to-morrow, when Mr. Aisleby's case comes on. Lord Stanhope (sonne to lord Chesterfield) carried of a pretty many, by mentioning in the strongest termes the memory of the late lord of that name: between forty and fifty who could not bring themselves to give negatives, were however persuaded to withdraw before the question. On the other hand, a great many of the affirmatives are gone out of town in the utmost rage, many of them not really displeased at what happened, since it affords but too good a handle for fomenting greater discontent in the country. I own, I think it a very bad piece of policy, for the whole kingdom are enraged against the South Sea scheme, and not less so, against those who support their abettors. You'll soon see, by reading the advertisements, the reason of sending the inclosed paper; Mr. W.* lives opposite to B. Spars.† The two brothers were remarkably the most zealous advocates, and perhaps may prove so to-morrow,

South Sea.

1721.

* Walpole.
† The Swedish minister.

Quos Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius.

This behaviour (whatever may be thought) will not be forgot, things may for a time be carried with a high hand, but such violences cannot be long supported; a scall'd head is soon broken. You'll see by your abstract of the report, that the proof was full as strong as the nature of the thing (Knight being gone) would admit of, and supported by many concurrent circumstances. Sir J. Blunt's evidence was to be villified, for further reasons, which you'll easily guess at; every body sees through that. The hope of my sister's recovery is most welcome.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Aisleby expelled, and committed to the Tower.

(March 9, 1720-21.) YESTERDAY night past twelve, Mr. Aisleby's fate was determined, as you will see by the votes, almost the whole time being taken up in examining numbers of witnesses (late directors) call'd by him. The questions proposed was the same to them all, viz. Whether they knew or had heard of any fictitious stock taken in, or held for him, or of any stock bought for his use with the company's money,

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. to every of which they all answered roundly in the negative, from whence
 1720 to 1727. he argued the certainty, and as he expressed himself even to a demon-
 1721. stration of his innocence, for that 'twas not to be conceived, but they
 must have known the thing. As to the proceedings of the directors (to whom
 he gave all the hard names he could think of) his plea was ignorance. To the
 charge of having great dealings in stock (pending the bill) he sayd nothing,
 otherwise then by insinuation, that doing soe with his own money, he hop'd
 would nott bee criminall. His concerting with the directors taking in the
 1st subscription at 300 per cent. hee dropt, nott saying one word to the
 charge; but an incident happened which gave great disgust to the house.
 The second report takes notice of great dealings in stock, between him and
 Mr. Hawes (formerly his clerke as treasurer of the navy) whoe had informed
 the committee, that those accounts were finally adjusted in November last;
 when Mr. Aisleby insisted upon having Mr. Hawes's booke (of which he had
 a duplicate) delivered him, that noe one might see itt, which was done accord-
 ingly upon his giving Hawes a general release. On Tuesday, a motion was
 made for his laying that book before the house as yesterday, which, he opposed,
 as what the house could not demand, for that it related only to his own pri-
 vate account with Hawes, butt was over ruled by the house, and ordered to
 bring in the booke; wherewith nott complying, notice was taken of itt in the
 house. He then desired Mr. Hawes might be examined, whoe sayd att the
 bar, that when he delivered up the booke, both that and the duplicate (in Mr.
 Aislebye's hand) were burnt, of which Mr. Hawes made no mention when
 examined by the committee, nor did Mr. Aisleby on Tuesday; from whence
 'twas concluded that this was an after thought, and the books burnt (if att all) *ex
 post facto*. Hee had on Tuesday imprudently enough said, that if the com-
 mittee should have demanded those books, he, would have burnt them before
 their faces.

After his defence, the questions went without other opposition, than what
 was very slender, by Mr. Minshall and Mr. Fuller; fir Richard Steele sayd
 a little, nott very plaine in effect (as I understood him) that the examinations
 did nott sufficiently support the question proposed, butt itt did nott obtaine.
 Mr. Walpole's corner satt mute as fishes. Mr. Fuller, upon one question de-
 manded a division, which was very artfully turn'd of by the speaker, and ge-
 nerally understood with design to obviate the difficulty those in employment
 might lye under, on whatever side they should divide. Thus the matter ended,
 and in return for the fatigue the house underwent, we gott a play day, adjourn-

ing

ing till to-morrow, when I thinke fir George Caswell will have the same fate. South Sea.

I am told his grace* told a gentleman, that he had very earnestly prest your continuance; I am pretty sure (if soe) he might have sav'd that pains on your account, which I have very often broadly hinted, and indeed spoak itt in plaine terms. I thinke your writing to desire to be discharged very well deserves consideration, and I thinke should nott be long delay'd. I hear (and believe) Horace Walpole is to succeed Mr. Stanhope as one of the secretaries of the treasury; you may bee sure 'twill suit his brother's inclination, in case (which is nott doubted) his brother 'be chancellor of the exchequer, and that Mr. Hopkins (your commissioner) is to be lord lieutenant's secretary.

1721.
* Duke of
Grafton.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Parliamentary proceedings in the case of fir George Caswell.—Discontents on the acquittal of Stanhope.—Walpole speaks in favour of Aislabye.

(March 11, 1720-1.) YESTERDAY fir George Caswell had Mr. Aislebye's fate, with this further addition, of refunding 250,000*l.* as you'l see by the votes. The day was long enough, though nott soe bad as the other; for we rose just after eight o'clock. Our time was taken up by an insignificant defence, endeavouring to prove that company loosers by the South Sea. The onely materiall thing insisted uppon by him, was a pretence of having given sufficient security for the 50,000*l.* stock, taken in by Knight for them, in order to gett clean of a former resolution.

Middleton
Papers.

The case (as himself opened it, stood thus:) in January or February 1719, (for wee can never fix them to certain times in any instance) hee and company pawned 70,000*l.* stock to the South Sea company, borrowing 105,000*l.* uppon itt. The first of March following, Knight takes in the 50,000*l.* fictitious stock for them; uppon which, two questions arose. First, whether the pawned stock could (without agreement of parties) remaine a farther security for the 50,000*l.* stock taken in by Knight, even suppose itt would in value have answered both; secondly, whether itt would have been sufficient security. The master of the rolls differ'd from his brethren uppon the first; insisting that before they should have been lett into the redemption uppon payment of the 105,000*l.* they would have been obliged in equity to have payd for the 50,000*l.* stock taken in by Knight. I must here observe, that long after,

Period III. ^{720 to 1727.} and att the bar sayd to bee the 13th of May, (though noe witnesse upon oath before the committee would fix the time) a note under Caswell's hand was sent to Mr. Knight for 125,000*l.* the price of the 50,000*l.* stock at 250*l.* per cent. As to the second point, 'twas urged (and generally agreed to) that if the South Sea scheme had failed in our house, the 70,000*l.* stock would nott have been near a sufficient security for the 105,000*l.* lent thereon. The master's differing from us, was in my opinion, what lead the managers into the demand of a division upon the first question; butt they soon saw their error, the yeas being 228, the noes but 92. You'll easily believe the subsequent questions were given up upon seconding; if I mistake nott, the first question was battail'd to avoid the consequence of our last question, that of refunding. For 'tis generally thought, this stock was in trust for others, and this was in plaine termes spoake strongly to in the debate. Even the master of the rolls declared freely his being of that opinion; going yett farther, that he did nott see how any member could justify buying stock (pending the bill) although he should even have payd ready money for itt. 'Tis nott to bee conceived what satisfaction these two dayes work have given, and indeed 'tis well itt soe happens, for the rage was grown to such highth upon the acquittal of Stanhope, that noe man can tell when 'twould have ended. Bonfires were made in the city the day Mr. Aisleby went to the tower.

'Tis sayd, an attack upon the committee was talkt of in private, and intended, butt we have acted with such caution and candour as to bid defiance. Should any thing of that kind bee attempted, they must have a better posse than appears att present. Our creditt throughout the kingdom will sufficiently support us. Lett them looke to themselves, they stand on a sandy foundation. In debating the motion for a bill against Mr. Aisleby, Mr. Walpole said, impeaching (nott billing ministers) was the way of parliamentary proceeding in time of our ancestors; which was very smartly animadverted upon, particularly by the master. He observed (saying that gentleman very well knew) that the course of parliamentary proceedings was alter'd, quite inverted, by rendring all prosecutions by way of impeachments ineffectual; that noe greater instance need bee given then in the present case, wherein the lords had by way of anticipation entered into the examination of what properly belonged to the commons, in order to come to a resolution of the legality of that constitution, made by the treasury, appointing the directors judges, where they were beyond possibility of denyall, parties; by which means all the public creditors were imposed upon and defrauded, and which in
truth

truth, was the first and cheife source of the misfortunes, which have hap- South Sea.
pened.

Whether our session be drawing towards an end; or will procast into a very long one; is nott in my opinion certaine, though I rather incline to thinke the former, being thoroughly persuaded wee are nott to expect Knight's being brought over. I looke upon this as a two edged sword, which will give a gashe either way, those in whose power itt is, will doubtlesly determine upon what they thinke least dangerous, in which there can bee noe doubt as to the present; lett to morrow looke to it selfe.

1721.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Proceedings in the house of commons in the case of the earl of Sunderland.

(March 16, 1720-1.) THAT part of the report of the committee of secrecy, which related to lord Sunderland, and should have been taken into consideration on Tuesday, was att the pressing instances of Mr. Walpole, adjourn'd to yesterday, upon suggestion that itt would bee necessary, for the further information of the house, that the severall wittnessees whoe had been examined by the committee, might bee examined att the bar, since possibly they might nott come up, in every particular whereof they had informed the committee, or might so far explaine their meaning, as to give a very different turne from what the words of their examination might possibly import. Wee very well foresaw gaining a night was chiefly in viewe, and itt had (in my opinion, its effect) for when they came to be examined, upon crosse questions, every one of them strenghtned the report; among the rest ordered to attend, fir John Blunt was one, but his lordship's advocates did nott thinke fit to call him in. The abstract of the report which you have, will evince the strength of the case, which I own I thinke fuller proved (and soe I sayd) then any of the three cases which had been under consideration.

Middleton
Papers.

The defence made, was entirely different from what I expected, there being (as I apprehended) noe room left for denying the fact, wherefore I concluded the sufficiency of the security (his lordship's note, sworne to have been shew'd fir J. Blunt by Knight) would have been insisted upon, but that point was given up, and his lordship's denyall of any flock taken, or note given, was the subject of three hours debate, after all the papers read, and wittnessees examined; by way of negative prooffe, Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Walpole, inform'd the house, that his lordship had em-
powered.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. powered them to declare, that noe stock had ever been taken in for him by Knight, or note given, soe that the question in truth was neither more or lesse then whither wee should give credit to that assertion, or sir John Blunt's oath.

1721. A good deal of paines was taken to falsifie the oath, by asking the witneses at the bar, whither Knight had told them of this stock being taken in presence and hearing of sir John Blunt (as he had sworne) they own'd Knight's telling them of the stock soe taken in for lord Sunderland. One of them sayd he was alone with Knight when hee told him of itt; two others own'd sir John's being in the roome when hee told itt them, butt did nott believe him within hearing of what Knight sayd. Such trifling stuff never surely was insisted upon in any other case, and would in any other have been the strongest prooffe of the fact. 'Twas foreseen too well that such a defence was nott to be relyed upon, and therefore the sheet anchor was lord Oxford's play. If you come into this vote against lord Sunderland, the ministry are blowne up, and must, and necessarily will bee succeeded by a tory one. I really thinke I never heard any thing better debated on the one part, or more weakly on the other; but sir J. Walter's argument of monosyllable, was the best refuge. Yeas 172. Noes 233. I have funke nothing, but tell truly and in short the whole case. I take itt for graunted wee are over the materiall parts of both reports, if what I heard this day in the house prove true. One whoe came out of the citty, told mee, hee believ'd Mr. Craggs dying, if nott actually dead, and gave some circumstances in confirmation of a whisper of his having taken a dose, if soe, itt resembles in great measure lord Essex's case.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Walpole speaks against a bill for subjecting Aislaby's estates in like manner as the directors'.

Middleton
Papers.

(April 22, 1721.) WEE were told of a very great struggle and long debate which was to bee yesterday, upon the motion for consolidating Mr. Aislaby's bill with that of the directors, butt it prov'd far otherwise. That motion was lett goe easily, if I mistake nott upon a farmise, that thereby the lords would have a better handle for arguing itt to bee a trick, since that of the directors is for vesting and selling their estates, the other onely for rendering an account of vallue, for which a former bill has past in relation to the directors; butt in this they were well jockeyed by the next (unexpected) motion for providing by a clause, that his estate bee subjected in like manner as the

the directors are. I say unexpected, because Mr. Walpole could nott forbear owning it such; hee had nott spoake before, butt now did with great earnestness, calling itt a bill of attainder, or equivalent to such, butt the maine bent of his speech was to move the passions, by mentioning over and over againe wife, children, family, &c. You would have been surprized to have seen how little place this tooke, gentlemen satt like soe many statues, without being mov'd by all this oratory, I dare confidently affirme there were nott thirty noes, from whence you will easily conclude them discreet enough nott to divide. The onely persons beside, who spoake against the question, were sir Richard Steele, sir James Campbell, viscount Nevill, Mr. Vernon, brother-in-law to Mr. Aisleby, and Arthur Moore: I am satisfyed 'twill goe downe like chopt hay in the other house; they may perhaps send itt back with an amendment, by leaving out Mr. Aisleby, to which I thinke the commons will nott agree, even though ways and means should bee found to take some of, for the waters run low in the usuall place for effecting such designs. I conclude the bill will passe, from believing the lords will nott take the load of loosing itt upon their shoulders, or rather the ministry, whose influence is allwayes thoroughly understood, and att whose doore (principally) 'twill be layd by the whole nation.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

*Laments that sufficient punishment will not be inflicted on the directors.—
Accuses Walpole of being their skreen, and of acting in concert with Sunderland.*

(London, May 24, 1721.) I Have been so short a time in town, that your lordship will not expect much news from me, and what little I have heard, is far from being agreeable or indeed proper to be communicated by letter. A great man is determined to spend the summer at a country seat, he has at a very great distance from this place, notwithstanding the orders that were given to fit up a very fine house he has two miles below Kingston, and the declarations that were made of his resolutions to live there this summer. They say, when this matter was open'd to some of his friends, who were call'd together to *advise* with upon this occasion; there were very warm debates about it, and by much the greater part gave their opinions *very freely* against the journey, and the advisers of it; which however was resolv'd upon by the opinion of two or three, who seem to have a great influence over the gentleman.

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. man. This resolution is kept as a very great secret, for fear of applications
 1720 to 1727. against it from people, who fancy they have a right to intermeddle in the most
 1721. secret transactions of the family, and will in all probability, take upon them
 to do so in this. You may depend upon the truth of what I tell you, and I
 am sure would do so, if 'twere proper for me to name the person from whom
 I received the account of it. After all the pains that have been taken to de-
 tect the villanys of the directors and their friends, I am afraid they will at last
 flip thro' their fingers, and that nothing further will be done as to confiscation,
 hanging, &c. There certainly is a majority in the house of commons, that are
 willing to do themselves and the kingdom justice; but they act so little in con-
 cert together, that they are constantly baffled by a set of men whom guilt,
 money, &c. have link't in the closest bond. 'Tis impossible to tell you of
 what infinite consequence the absence of a friend* of your's is at this time,
 and how uneasy the generality of mankind is at it. He is, without compli-
 ment, the spring that gives motion to the whole body; and the only man that
 either can or will set matters in a true light, and expose and baffle the
 schemes of the *skreen*, &c.

The house were five hours in a committee last Friday upon the Direc-
 tor's bill, and were amus'd and banter'd the whole time by questions and
 amendments propos'd by the *skreen*, &c. so that they rose at last without
 coming to any resolution. They were to be upon the same business again
 this day, but as soon as the house sat, Mr. Lechmere brought in Mist's pa-
 per of this day (which is indeed a most infamous treasonable libel) descanted
 upon it for half an hour, and at last mov'd to censure it, &c. which was ac-
 cordingly order'd. The master of the rolls, Pengelly, Ross, and five or six
 others speecht for the motion, so that the time was so spun out by this means,
 tho' no body ventur'd to oppose the question, that when the order of the day
 was called for, people seem'd to be tir'd, and readily went into the adjourning
 it till Wednesday. In short, unless this affair takes some new turn, and fresh
 life by that time, you are to expect very little success from the late enquiry,
 for the session is spun out to that vast length, that nothing can keep the coun-
 trey members in town; and you may be assur'd, all proper arguments have
 been made use of by the directors to keep their friends together. I doubt the
 secret committee are not now so unanimous as they have been, and
 that there have been at least two false brethren always among them. His

* Thomas Brodrick, who was absent on account of indisposition.

grace of Lancaster, is promised, and expects mighty things; and you may easily imagine the world is come to a fine pass, and that the kingdom is like to be very happy, when the skreen, and the gentleman * with the bloody nose, act in perfect concert together.

South Sea.
1721.
* Lord Sunderland.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Parliament will soon rise.—Uncertain rumours concerning its supposed prolongation beyond the term of seven years.—Sunderland said to be against it.—Walpole for it.—Gains his election at Beralston by the assistance of Walpole, against lord Carteret.—Motion to remit two millions to the South Sea company lost.

MY LORD,

London, June 10, 1721.

I Have not had the favour of a line from you since I left Ireland, but hear from my uncle, that both lady Middleton and your lordship are very well. I am not out of hopes of being in Ireland, even before the end of this term; the parliament will hardly sit beyond that time, the ministry seeming as desirous of their rising as the country gentlemen. The bill of credit, and that for relief of the South Sea sufferers are both in such a forwardness, that I believe they will be sent to the lords by this day fennight at furthest, where they will probably meet with a good deal of dispatch, as you may be sure, that the malt bill will, which has been now twice read. If there ever were a design to attempt continuing the parliament towards the end of the session, 'tis laid aside, at least for the present; the great ones being too much divided to enter upon an affair, where I believe their united strength will not be sufficient. Lord S.* is said to be against the experiment, W.† and his friends for it, believing he will hardly be able to influence and conduct another as he has this parliament. 'Tis certain they are at present in great streights; there is hardly a probability of getting such another set of *honest* men together, as they have at present, and 'tis not certain, but even these may ride restiff in case their lease be renew'd, tho' this is what is least apprehended, their being a certain and tried way of quieting such unruly spirits.

Middleton
Papers.

* Sunder-
land.

† Walpole.

These divisions in the great ones, made my affair very easy. Lord Car—t was pleased to embark and sollicite personally against me, which made Mr. W. who at first was zealously against me, quit his countreyman, sir John Hobart, and engage all his friends for me, so that I really believe, had they been so hardy as to stand a division, their numbers would not have exceeded forty,

Period III. tho' both lords S——d and C——n,* said publicly at their levées, the morn-
 1720 to 1727. ing before my election came on, that I should loose it by more than two
 1721. to one.

* Carleton. There was a pretty extraordinary attempt made yesterday in the house. You remember that some time ago, there was a very warm debate, and a close division in a committee of the whole house, about remitting the remaining two of seven millions to the South Sea company, which was carried in the negative, by a small majority. This resolution, tho' agreed to above a month ago, was not reported till yesterday, and most people thought would have been unanimously agreed to; but as soon as the report was made, sir Ch. Wager, in a very short unintelligible speech, mov'd to disagree with the committee, and was seconded by Hor. Walpole. Mr. Freeman of Hertfordshire, got up and spoke to order, said, as this was a most unreasonable, so 'twas a very irregular motion, that there could be nothing more so, then giving money in the chair, which this in effect was; for if the two millions, which were now the money of the publick, were remitted, the house must think of another fund to make them good, or at least continue the dutys on candles, soap, &c. which this money was to pay off. The question was then put, for agreeing, &c. and carried only by a majority of 11, 166 against 155; when very few thought there were so many in the house would have appear'd on that side of the question. This extraordinary attempt was so far resent'd by the majority, that while the house was telling, I thought 'twas resolv'd to attempt to strike off two of the five million, in return to their friends favour, but upon reporting the division, the motion was dropt; which in the temper the house was, I really believe might have been carry'd, if attempted. I write this before I go to the house, if any thing worth your notice happen there to day, I will trouble you with it. I beg you will please to give lady Middleton my humble duty, and to believe me, my lord, &c.

8 in the evening. I am this minute come from the house, where we had a warm debate, about the time to which Aislaby's forfeiture should relate. W—e K—e and all the court were for carrying it only to December 1719; which would have produced little or nothing to the publick; others were for the time of his being chancellor of the exchequer, and carry'd 113 against 95. My uncle propos'd this time, and spoke for it. Sir Joseph Jekyll, was for going as high as when he was appointed treasurer of the navy, but this was generally dislike'd. The torys were against him to a man, and there was, as indeed there generally is, a pretty motley division; the torys, and what
 they

they call the old whigs against the court. These have generally gone together, since I came into the house, and are at present, indisputably the majority. So that I think, there will hardly be an attempt this session to continue the parliament; that great work must be reserv'd to another, by which time, gentlemen will have leisure to reflect, and consider the arguments that will certainly be applied to them. Be it when it will, I think 'twill hardly meet with success.

South Sea.

1722.

 1722.

MR. AISLABIE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Thanks him for his kindness, and acknowledges his own mistakes.

SIR,

Feb. 2, 1722.

I Am extremely sensible of your generosity, and am more ashamed of my own follies and mistakes, than any severe treatment I might deserve at your hands could make me. Since you have been so good to promise to forget what is past, I shall not put you in mind of it any further, than to return you my most hearty thanks. I have sent you an account of the king's stock, with all the dividends as they were received by Sir Charles Vernon, to whom the stock was transferred; I have accounted with him this morning, and he has bought the stock that was pawned to him, and paid me the balance; so that at last, I have raised as much as will pay the king, and shall have it ready against Monday night, if you please to let me know to whom I must pay it.

Orford
Papers.

I have likewise sent you a state of my own account before the judges, by which you will see my estate is not so great as is represented, since I must take all the bad debts to myself. The trustees are both very civil to me, and I am very sensible to whom I owe it. The judges meet on Wednesday next, to proceed on my account; when the chief justice Pratt will be there; if he and Judge Fortescue be well inclined, I hope to make an end of it. The doubt they make at present is, whether 29,000*l.* publick money, which was in Mr. Hawes's hands October 1718, be part of the effects I had in other people's hands at that time, and which I had invested in stocks some time after all the publick money was paid away. As this can scarce be a point, yet being matter of account, they do not take it readily. I beg that you will assist me

Period III. to make an end of this affair, in such manner as you think proper, that you
 1720 to 1727. may see, that by making me free, you have made me your creature, and most
 1722. obliged faithfull servant.

Hitherto the correspondence, with a few exceptions, has been published according to chronological order, but from this period, I am under the necessity of occasionally interrupting it, for the purpose of placing together such letters and papers as relate to one person, or to a particular event, as bishop Atterbury, Bolingbroke, Wood's patent, and other articles.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO ATTERBURY.

THIS ARTICLE COMPRISES,

1. *Letters to and from bishop Atterbury and Robert Walpole; and papers in the hand-writing of Atterbury, found in Morice's possession.*
2. *Deposition, and letters of Morice to his father-in-law.*

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Various intelligences concerning the schemes of the pretender and jacobites in Italy and Spain.—Kelly arrested.—Proofs of bishop Atterbury's treasonable correspondencies.—Incident of the dog Harlequin.

DEAR HORACE,

May 29, 1722. O. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have severall times been prevented from writing to you to give you an account how affairs stood here, and in particular in regard to the plott; which has been hitherto carried on in the same manner, and with a resolution to be executed in case the king goes abroad; but as his majesty is now come to a declaration, that he will not go this summer, I am of opinion, that this will putt an end to the whole enterprife. The state of our intelligence, as it stands now, is in the severall intercepted letters going and coming, the repeated advices from France from the same great canal,* confirmed by severall particulars and advices directly from Rome: these last have come to us by two different ways from Davenant,† who is now at Rome, with severall circumstances, and the emperour's minister residing there, communicated by way of France from Penterrider. There are allowances to be made in the accounts that

* Therigent.

† British envoy.

that come from Penterrider, who, I think, aggravates things to his own interest and purpose, to shew that the courts of France and Spain are concerned in this matter. The substance of these advices, as far as I think they really are to be credited is, that the pretender has of late been frequently absent from Rome at a country house taken for him, where he is gone now to reside altogether, the better to cover his absence, if his departure should be determin'd upon. He is to embark at Port Longone, where three Spanish men of war attend him, that came thither with stores and ammunition; but 'tis my opinion, they came thither on purpose. He is to go incognito to Spain, and be there in a readiness to embark upon notice that the king is gone. The duke of Ormond has likewise left Madrid, and is at a country house, 'tis supposed with the same view. But it is very plain that the whole scheme is concerted for the king's going abroad, and though I think it most probable, that we shall hear of the pretender's having left Italy; I can't believe but he will wait in Spain, 'till he hears from hence, what resolution the king has finally taken in regard to his journey; which being now wholly putt off, I think it will begett new considerations, and determine in laying the project aside.

All other of our advices are so very agreeable to this from Rome; that I think there is no room to doubt but the truth is much as I have stated and I confesse to you, that it appears to me so very difficult to believe enough with regard to Spain, without believing too much, that I am inclin'd to carry my apprehensions from that quarter a great deal further, than I think it proper for any of us as yett to own; or that either of the secretaries of state will agree with me in. All the intercepted letters and correspondences carried on in cant allegories, cyphers, and fictitious names, have hitherto confirm'd our other accounts; but of late 'tis plain they suppose wee see what they write, that every thing now is wrote on purpose to be read. These letters were directed to severall different addressees, and left at several coffee-houses; but we learnt that one Kelly, alias Johnson, call'd for them all, and distributed them properly; and when we found that we had no further use of seeing them, it was resolv'd to take up Kelly, which was done, and all his papers seifs'd, but by a most scandalous management, he was suffer'd to gett his sword, which had been taken from him, to drive the messengers out of the room, and burn his papers. You may easily imagine what a noise such a thing makes; and what makes it more material in these correspondences, that pass'd through Kelly's hand, it was very plain, that the names of *Ibbington* and *Jones*, were the bishop of Rochester, which has now been proved by an incident of a little dog, that

Period III. was sent from France to Mrs. Illington (before his lordship's lady died) and
 1720 to 1727. was mentioned in some of the most treasonable letters. Upon the examina-
 1722. tion, it has been confessed, that this dog * was sent to the bishop of Rochester,
 which

* The curious incident relating to the dog mentioned in this letter, as one among many proofs, that Atterbury had maintained a treasonable correspondence with the pretender's agents; is thus related in the report of the committee of secrecy, drawn up by Pulteney: "Some letters having been intercepted, which there is good reason to believe were from the bishop of Rochester; and one of these letters signed T. Jones, and another T. Illington, the committee lay before the house the evidence they found of the bishop's being designed by these two names, collected from circumstances, which being in themselves seemingly minute, and of little consequence, were for this reason more frankly confessed by those, who were obstinate in concealing stronger proofs; and yet at the same time, lead directly to the discovery of the person meant by those names. Mrs. Barnes, being examined before a committee of the council, obstinately refused to make the least discovery relating to George Kelly; but when she came to be asked what she knew about a dog, sent over by Kelly from France; not suspecting this could lead to any discovery, she readily owned, that a spotted little dog, called Harlequin, which was brought from France, and had a leg broken, was left with her to be cured: that the said dog was not for her, but for the bishop of Rochester; and that Kelly promised to get the dog of the bishop of Rochester for her, in case it did not recover of its lameness. This declaration, she signed in the presence of the committee of council: and Kelly himself made no difficulty to own the receiving such a dog from France. But it appears by letters intercepted between Kelly and his correspondents in France, that a dog so named and hurt, was sent over to Kelly from France, to be delivered as a present to the person denoted by the name of Jones or Illington."* This coincidence of circumstances, proved indisputably, that bishop Atterbury was designed under the names of Jones and Illington: the bishop himself, in his eloquent defence, does not condescend to take any notice of this circumstance; his advocates, aware of the impression which it had made against their client, endeavoured to refute it, but they could only oppose suppositions to positive fact. As ridicule has more weight than sophistry, however, Swift defended his friend Atterbury in some burlesque verses, "upon the horrid plot discovered by the bishop of Rochester's French dog." In a dialogue between a whig and a tory; in which the author humourously decries the evidence derived from the dog:

Now let me tell you plainly, sir,
 Our witness is a real *curr*,
 A dog of spirit for his years,
 Has twice two legs, two hanging ears;
 His name is *Harlequin* I wot,
 And that's a name in ev'ry plot:

* Report of the Secret Committee; see also Abstract of the Report in Political State of Great Britain, v. 25, p. 306.

which has at least serv'd to fix the certainty of the names. We are in trace of severall things very material, but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we crosse upon; but I doubt not but this matter will come out so as to shame all gainfayers. I know nothing else to trouble you with, but the prospect we have of the two companies agreeing, which I perswade myself is now past hazard, and stocks begin now to rise so fast, that I hope an immediate execution may attend the agreement, which has been the only cause of the late delay.

Atterbury.
1722.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Desires to know whether he shall audit the accounts of the money expended for the repairs of Westminster abbey.

SIR,

Deanery, August 4, 1722.

THE executor of your late receiver of abbey-money, has brought me an account of the said receipt and disbursements for sometime past, desiring me, as a commissioner, to peruse it in order to its being allowed. Upon casting my eye over it, I find it to be already audited, and sworn to by him, according to the course of the exchequer. But the sub-commissioners in the former commission, either being absent, or not caring upon some scruples they have entertained in relation to the legality of it, to act; your executor presses me for his discharge; he being bound to pass the late receiver's account in three months after his decease; which time is now near elapsed. Till this be done, none of the money lately allotted by you, sir, to the abbey, and now in the new receiver's hands, can be regularly paid the workmen, who stand in great need of it, having large demands on that head. However, sir, I am not willing to take any step, or to give myself any trouble in this case, 'till

Orford
Papers.

Resolv'd to save the *British* nation,
Though *French* by birth and education;
His correspondence plainly dated,
Was all *decypher'd* and *translated*:
His answers were exceeding pretty,
Before the secret wise committee:
Confest as plain as he could bark:
Then with his fore-foot set his *mark*.*

* Swift's Works, v. 7, p. 524

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. I know your pleasure: whether, in these circumstances, which will not per-
 1720 to 1727. haps again happen, you think it proper to have this account thus attested
 1722. and sworn, passed and signed by the commissioners themselves, as it certainly
 may be, upon the foot of the act. If you think so, I shall be ready, together
 with the new receiver, to inspect the vouchers carefully; and having done so,
 and found all right, either to sign the account myself, or to lay it before you
 in order to its being sign'd by the commissioners. I would have waited on
 you, in relation to this matter; but think this the less troublesome way of
 application.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Excuses himself for not passing the accounts in the manner desired by the bishop.

MY LORD,

Chelsea, August 15, 1722.

Orford
Papers.

I Had the honour of your lordship's letter, concerning the accounts of the
 late receiver of the money, given for the repairs of Westminster abbey,
 which I should have immediately consider'd, with a disposition to concur
 with your lordship, with the same readiness, that I have hitherto done in every
 thing that related to the affairs of the abbey, if I had not been informed of the
 great uneasiness, that our last proceedings had given to the prebendaries of
 the church, which they having now reduced into writing, I send your lordship
 a copy of their representation, as deliver'd to me; that you may be sensible of
 the reasons that have convinc'd me, not only not to proceed in the manner that
 I have hitherto done, but to endeavour to give them all the satisfaction that is
 in my power, in a case, where I think they have such just reason to complain.
 I think myself oblig'd to acquaint your lordship, that I have very freely own'd,
 that I was surpris'd into the steps that I have taken, having never had the least
 intimation of any former constitutions appointing sub-commissioners for the
 care and inspection of these works, which being so rightly placed in the
 prebendaries of the church, I cannot but be of opinion it ought to be con-
 tinued there, that I hope your lordship will excuse me, if I concur with my
 lord chief justice Pratt, in rectifying an error, which I was inadvertently led
 into. I am, &c. &c.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Atterbury.

1722.

Expresses his surprise at the resolution of Walpole, and the representations of the prebendaries.—Justifies his own conduct on this occasion.

SIR,

Bromley, August 18, 1722.

YOUR letter of August 15, has, this afternoon, reach'd me here from the deanery; where, I suppose, it may have layn for a day or two. The representation of the prebendarys, that you have been pleas'd to tranfmit with it, is news to me; not one of them having complain'd or spoken to me, on that head: tho' I should have thought that sort of application to have been most natural and regular. I lately indeed heard, they had doubts concerning their power to act under the former sub-commission; and I believe I mentioned them in the letter I had some time ago the honour of writing to you; and desired only to have the accounts of the late receiver (already audited and sworn) pass'd by the commissioners themselves (as his executor press'd they might be, and brought me the books for that purpose) that the money, which had so long been order'd, and is now in the present receiver's hands, might be paid to the poor workmen without farther delay. But I had no view towards making that the usual method of passing those accounts; nor, I dare say, is there a word in my letter tending that way.

Orford
Papers.

On the contrary, sir, you may be pleas'd to recollect, that I apply'd to you for a sub-commission; and propos'd onely a new receiver, in the room of him that is dead; and the dropping of a salary of 100*l.* per annum, which for many years, has been a mere honorary pension to an officer, who never has set foot within the walls of the church, nor contributed in the least towards carrying on the repairs, or inspecting the accounts. And I humbly thought, that money might be bestow'd on the fabric, better, and more agreeably to the intentions for which it was given. I own, sir, you express'd your doubts in that case, concerning the expedience of such an alteration; and I immediately comply'd with them.

After I had waited on you, and you had referred me to Mr. Trecher of the treasury, I set myself to procure a copy of the sub-commission for him, and desired the executor of the late receiver to furnish me with it: which he for some days declined. Upon which, I sent to the treasury, and to the exchequer; but found it was not enter'd at either of those places. At last, I litt upon an old copy of it, written in the hand of the late receiver, which I lodg'd

Period III.
 1720 to 1727.
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with Mr. Trecher; and with him it rested for three weeks and upwards, till the new appointment of the present receiver was drawn up and engross'd: in the forming of which, I had nothing to do; but sat still, and quietly expected the event. And that commission, sir, you know, expressly refers to the sub-commission, and obliges the present receiver to conform himself to it. Nor was I aware that a sub-commission, by which the late receiver had acted to the time of his death, was determined: especially, if you, sir, and my lord chief justice, should have been pleased to endorse it, as is usual, I am told, in like cases, at the treasury. The only difference, I did, or do apprehend between a new sub-commission, and an endorsement of the old one is, that the number of sub-commissioners would be fuller in the one case than the other; to which I have no manner of objection.

I shall not enter into farther particulars, at present, being at a distance from my papers. But I intend to be in town on Monday; and hope for that equity from you, sir, and from my lord chief justice, that neither of you will precipitate your decision in a matter where you have heard what is said on one side only. Whatever I otherwise am, yet as dean of Westminster, I have a right to be heard, on this occasion, in which I am most immediately concerned. If you, sir, judge otherwise, and shall think fit to take any step hinted at in the representation, without allowing me an opportunity of laying my thoughts of it before you; tho' I can never join in such a measure, yet I know how to submit in the manner that becomes, sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

The bishop wrote this letter on the 18th, and on the 24th was arrested.

The following papers written in the bishop's own hand, were found in Mr. Morice's possession, when he was arrested and examined in 1732.

Endeavours to prove, that sir Robert Walpole intended to bring in the pretender, after the death of George the First. It was probably written in 1726, or the beginning of 1727.*

THE

* It is not improbable, that this paper was written by Atterbury, and sent to England for the purpose of being employed in some political publication, according to a similar plan mentioned in a letter from Pozobueno, the Spanish minister to Ripperda.

London May 30, 1726. I was informed by the Imperial resident, that Pulteney, the oracle
 of

THE most able and penetrating heads in England, judge sir Robert Walpole's scheme to be, That king George should hold his throne during life; and that, upon his death, his son the prince electoral should not succeed, but the right line be restored, in the person of king James himself, or (rather) in that of his son the prince of Wales, if there be any hopes of his having a protestant education.

Atterbury
Draught

The proofs of this scheme are. 1. That sir Robert Walpole has all along liv'd in terms of defiance with the electoral prince of Hanover; so that he can expect no mercy from him, whenever he shall mount the throne, but is sure of being then ruin'd. He has but one method of preventing that blow; which is, by restoring the rightful king, or his issue; and he is under no tie of honour or conscience, with regard to his party or principles, which should hinder him from pursuing it.

2. That he aims at this point, appears, from his destroying the power of the German ministers, both at home and abroad, so as to hinder them from meddling in any thing, wherein the interests of England are concerned; which would be false policy in him, if he intended the succession should be established in a German family. From his management with respect to the debt of the nation, which he undertook to lessen: his talents peculiarly lye that way; but have been so little exerted, that the public debt, has swelled every year gradually during his ministry. The onely excuse that can be made for him is, that he hopes to cancel it at once, upon a new revolution; when a prince shall come in, whom that debt was contracted on purpose to keep out. This will certainly then prove the case; and either he has this in his brow, or his conduct is altogether unaccountable. For he loads the people with new taxes, fixes upon them a standing army, and augments it from time to time under various pretences; induces the parliament to take steps that violate all the English liberties, releases king George from all the engagements he was under, when he accepted the crown, and gives him such extraordinary powers as were unknown to the constitution under its most arbitrary princes;

of the opposition, told him, that he was preparing to publish before the meeting of parliament, proofs of the bad conduct of the government; in which he should accuse sir Robert Walpole of malversation in the public expenditure, give a statement of the national debt, delineate the overbearing spirit of lord Townshend, who has reduced the nation to such a state, and whose conduct seems to prove, that in conjunction with Walpole, he has an inclination to sacrifice the king, and to place the pretender upon the throne.

Period III. for what reason? but to render that family odious, and by making the burthen
 720 to 1727. so heavy, to prepare and dispose the people towards shaking it off, when the
 great opportunity happens, at the head of which he will certainly be, in hopes,
 by that means, of preserving himself from ruin.

With what reasonable view could he forward those insolent and bullying steps taken with respect to the emperor, Spain, and Muscovy, but in order to incense those powers to such a degree as should render them irreconcilable? and push them into measures for restoring the king, and by that means providing for their own honor, interest, and safety. This event, he thinks himself unable to effect, during the life of king George; but does every thing, that may facilitate it afterwards; and probably not without the privity and consent of his master; who is known for obvious reasons, to hate and despise the electoral prince, and to have mortify'd and counteracted him every way, so as never but once when he went abroad, to entrust him with any share in the administration, and the counsel given him then by Townshend and Walpole, was the occasion of their being disgraced soon afterwards, upon his return from Hanover: when it was particularly laid to their charge (and that charge was true) that they had endeavoured to render the prince independant of his father, by procuring a separate revenue to be settled upon him, in the first parliament after king George came over. They have made amends for this conduct since, and have by that means (among others) re-established their credit with king George, nor will they loose it by any scheme, which is not to take place till he is dead, and buried.

What other account can be given why the prince in possession does not suffer his grandson Frederick, the distant heir of the crown, to come into England, or even to learn the language of the country till lately? Must it not be supposed alone to imply, that he has no thoughts of his reigning there? If that be not actually the case, nothing can be more wonderful than king George's politics.

Add to this (what is extremely remarkable) that neither of the famous speeches from the throne, or in any of the addresses and votes of the two houses, during this session (in the wording of all which, sir Robert Walpole was chiefly concerned) any mention has been made of the succession in the illustrious House; a never failing topick upon former occasions; and most proper to be insisted on at a time, when the great complaint was, of an invasion design'd in behalf of the pretender. It seems the fault of that design
 was,

was, that it aim'd directly at dethroning king George; but no concern is express'd for those who are to come after him. Atterbury.

From these, and several other reflections, the thinking men in England conclude, that sir Robert Walpole's scheme, is certainly what it has been represented, at the beginning of this paper; since no other supposition, but that, can possibly solve all present appearances.

Bishop Atterbury endeavours to prove, that sir Robert Walpole is tottering; in order to induce him to break with England, and unite with the emperor.

THE cardinal's conduct in adhering so firmly to his engagements with England, is matter of surprize to men of reflection, in many respects; but there is one which ought to be of the greatest weight with him, yet seems not to be attended to, at least not so much as it ought to be. It is the slipperiness of the foundation, upon which the scheme of the cardinal's union with England was built; for it can hold no longer than Walpole's ministry subsists: and that seems to be very precarious at present.

Orford
Papers.

Draught.

Two things require to be explain'd on that head, 1. That Walpole is sinking. 2. That the strict union between England and France will sink with him. These two points being made out, the consequences are obvious, and need little explication. As to these points, were the cardinal duly informed of the true state of affairs in England, he would not want to have it prov'd, or at all explain'd to him: for nothing is more certain, than that Walpole's power and influence decline apace, and are in danger of being soon overturned. Foreigners do not so easily enter into these things till it be too late: but flatter themselves with some publick appearances on which they are chiefly intent, and rely; without knowing the secret causes, that do in England gradually, but certainly produce such changes. These the natives observe, and can form sure judgment from them, about the approaching fall of any minister.

What they lay to his charge is: That his whole administration is built on corruption and bribery; which he has carried to a greater height than any of his worst predecessors ever did; and has by that single means work'd all his ends, and obtained all his majorities in parliament, at the expence of the morals of a people, who were remarkable heretofore for their honor and probity, and who had some share of it left, till they came under his administration. This method of corruption has indeed proceeded so far as to
poison

Period III. 1720 to 1727. poison the greater part of those who make the chief figure of our constitution, the members of both houses. However, the bulk of the nation are still uninfected, detest the schemer for the sake of it; being certified if it continues much longer, as it must while he stands, there will scarce be any left to retrieve the ill consequences of it. The new load of taxes under which Great Britain now groans, the increase of the public debt, which he undertook to diminish considerably, if not to extinguish; the decay of public credit, by the fall of the stocks, and the loss or suspension of several chief branches of the English trade, are all imputed to him, as the effects of his councils and measures, particularly those which he entered into the last spring, with regard to the Emperor, Spain, and the Czarina.

He is thought to have formed the design of giving up Gibraltar to the Spaniards, a design so dishonourable and mischievous to the nation, as renders him odious to all sorts of people, and particularly to the trading part of it. And yet with this he is charg'd in the public prints; and is look'd upon as driven to it by the necessity under which England is brought by his management, of complying with the demands of France, who are supposed secretly to to favour this scheme.

Indeed the chief article of his accusation is (nor ought it to be dissembled) that he has by his unskilful measures put the ballance of power in the hands of France, which is, by his means, become the umpire of all the differences between the contending powers of Europe; and particularly, the absolute disposer of the fate of Great Britain. That he has contributed to the re-establishing of their marine by the very condition required of them in the Hanover treaty, and has favoured of late their reunion with Spain, which as an Englishman, he should rather have prevented. Those false, and (as it is thought) fatal steps in politics, both whigs and tories, equally resent; the former as the real and natural enemy of France (however they may disguise that enmity at present) the latter as made such by the opposition which France has given to the king's restoration. Both at length will join in crushing Mr. Walpole, as the author of such measures, as though they may end well at last, yet were in themselves

Illegible. of * * * * *

Add to this the personal aversion king George is known to have had for Mr. Walpole, tho' he may cover it, as long as he thinks him necessary for his service. The prince of Wales, his son, is more open in his resentments; and all that depend on him are ready to take the first opportunity of joining in

Mr.

Mr. Walpole's ruin, which must happen when a new parliament comes to be chosen, *i. e.* after another session, but will probably happen, as soon as the present session determines, and of this there are very evident signs, which I shall in the next place mention. Mr. Walpole, for a twelvemonth past, has been pelted with pamphlets and papers of all sorts, in verse and in prose, written by men of all parties, and particularly by some even of those, with whom he was formerly united, and who are very zealous at heart; at least they pretend so to be, for supporting the present government. This is a never failing mark of the approaching fall of any minister. Another is, the gradual increase of the minority in the house of commons, which voted against the court, since this session began. Every division wherein the public was concerned, added to their number; so that from 80, with which they set out, they came at last to 124: and Mr. Walpole, observing their growing strength, was forced to stop in a very extraordinary manner, by procuring a vote, while his majesty stood firm, to prevent all farther enquiries during this session of parliament. Nothing can shew a minister to be harder driven, than his resorting to this expedient, which can serve only a present turn: it betrays a fear of such enquiries, and that fear will bring them in at last with great weight and vehemence.

The immense fortune he has rais'd in a few years (whereas he was worth nothing, when he came last into power) has expos'd him to great envy: particularly on account of the manner of his raising it, which has been by taking the advantage of his post, to watch the rise and fall of stock, and (as his enemies say) to * * * on it: by which means he is become by far the richest commoner in the realm. The distribution of preferments has been chiefly to his relations and dependents, without a regard to any other merit, than that of an implicit resignation of themselves to his conduct and measures.

The constitution during his power, has suffer'd in divers other respects. The law has been alter'd as to the choice of new parliament men: before they were chosen for three years only; now they may be continued for seven, which has made it more easy for him to influence and corrupt the house of commons. The habeas corpus act, the chief bulwark of the English liberties, has been frequently suspended: a standing army has been fix'd upon the nation, augmented gradually on various pretences, and those additional forces

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Period III. never afterwards laid down. Every one of the conditions, upon which king George accepted the crown, has been relaxed and laid aside; particularly that, whereby it was stipulated, that England shou'd never be engag'd in any quarrel which related to his foreign dominions. These and other steps by which the constitution has been undermined and subverted, are laid at Mr. Walpole's door by the public voice of the people.

720 to 1727.

That he is falling, appears even from those addressees, which he has with so much industry procur'd in his own commendation. For no minister, that sits firm and is in credit, ever has recourse to such methods of supporting himself: those that totter only want and make use of them. Foreigners may think otherwise; but Englishmen know well the force of this reasoning. If Mr. Walpole were not embarrass'd and in danger, he would quicken this session of parliament, in order to give room to king George to make the early visit he intends to make to his Hanover territorys; whereas he manifestly protracts the expedition of business there depending: why? but in hopes of producing some plausible scheme of peace, when the assembly tir'd by attendance, is grown thin; and of closing it at last, by a general act of indemnity and pardon, necessary to screen him from danger.

In short, if he and his brother ministers were not diffident of their measures, why have they chang'd them of late so remarkably, and abated of their spirit, both in acting and treating? The first is notorious, particularly with regard to Spain: and as to the latter, the cardinal himself, may be appeal'd to, whether he does not find the English minister here, less imposing, and more docile and tractable, than formerly? If he does, he may satisfy himself that Mr. Walpole's approaching mortifications at home, are the cause of it. When he falls, his brother, lord Townshend, falls with him: for they two, are in effect the ministry, the rest are but their creatures and slaves. A new ministry will certainly pursue new measures; will run counter to those they succeed, and by laying of past misfortunes on them, establish their own power and popularity: and what then becomes of the Hanover treaty, when those who made it, are disgrac'd, and probably disgrac'd for making it? France will be stripp'd of its new ally, and left to shift for itself; and the cardinal will become the dupe of his own probity. He has but one way of surely avoiding this danger; and will he not take it? When he treats with the emperor; he treats with a fixed power, of which he is sure. When he treats with England, as it now stands, he treats with a minister, who influences the parliament,

ment, indeed, while he continues; but as he is in power to day, may be out to-morrow. This is known to be the true state of the case, by all that know the present circumstances of England. Atterbury.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. DICCONSON.

On the death of his daughter.—Laments the fatal consequences of the peace between England and Spain.

SIR,

Montpelier, Dec. 4, 1729.

I Have your letter of 15 November, and am much obliged to you for the friendly concern you express in it. As to the article of my poor daughter, of whom, 7 days before the date of it, God was pleas'd to deprive me, upon a melancholy, yet comfortable meeting I had with her at Toulouse; where she surviv'd her arrival 21 hours, and spent that little time that was left her, in such a manner, as will make her memory ever dear and valuable to me. I thought nothing could have added to the affection and esteem I had for her: but I found myself mistaken, in those last moments, when she took her leave of me. She is gone, and I must follow her. When I do, may my latter end be like hers! It was my business to have taught her to dye, instead of it she has taught me. I am not ashamed, and wish I may be able, to learn that lesson from her. What I feel upon her loss, is not to be express'd: but a reflection on the manner of it, makes me some amends. God has temper'd the severity of the one, by the circumstances of the other: and has dealt with me, as in the rest of his afflictions, so, as together with the great burthen he laid on me, to enable me at the same time, in some measure to bear it.

You will pardon me for entering into no other matter at present: not even that important one of the peace, which they write me word from Spain, is concluded; and by that means an end put to any hopes vainly conceived from those negotiations, and to all the ungrounded promises of the Spanish ministers at Paris. I have no inclination to enlarge on such matters now, or to trouble you or myself with reflections on what passes on the other side, either of the Pyrenees or the Alpes. The great master of events, has wise reasons in every case for what he does, in regard to the public, or private persons, and we must submit to them, even when we do not comprehend or relish them. I am with true respect, yours, &c.

Orford
Papers.

Copy.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. TAYLOR OF BRIDEWELL.

Complains of the injustice of his brother's will, and requests his opinion in what manner he shall proceed in obtaining his paternal estate.

SIR,

Paris, Dec. 14, 1731.

Orford
Papers.

YOU'LL be surpris'd, and perhaps a little frightened, to receive a letter from me, after almost nine years interruption of our correspondence. But the occasion, on my side, is as extraordinary as the attempt, and will, I hope, excuse it. You cannot help being written to by me; nor is there any crime in it, if you reveal to a minister of state, the very first step of our intercourse: as I desire you would, for my sake as well as your own, in order to your obtaining leave in form, to make an answer to what I now write, or shall hereafter write on the same subject. 'Tis of such consequence to me, to have your advice and assistance, in an affair of law now depending, that I shall willingly be at the charge of a sign manual towards procuring it.

Sir, my elder and only brother lately dead, has dealt more cruelly with me, than the act of parliament did. For that left me the small temporal fortune I then had, and might afterwards justly expect, in order to keep me abroad from contempt and starving. But my brother taking advantage from my circumstances, which, he knew, would render it difficult for me to question whatever he should do, has endeavour'd to withdraw what the act itself intended I should enjoy, and to strip me by an unjust will he has made, of the patrimony which by law belongs to me. A small estate in land which he possess'd, was, in default of issue male from him, entail'd on me by my father. My brother has left no other issue, but a daughter, who had a good portion assign'd her, and inherits beside a good estate from her mother. To all this he has added, by his will the bequest of all that land, which my father in such an event, gave to him only for life, and to me after his death: and to alleviate and cover this injustice, he has given me an hundred pounds, by a codicil lately added to his will, and has mention'd me there with esteem and dear-ness; after never having shew'd any instance of either, since I was abroad, or assist'd me with one shilling out of his fortune, at a time, when he did not know, but I might have stood in the utmost need of it. I am under no obligation therefore, to suffer the unrighteous disposition he has made of an estate given me by my father, to take place; if you shall find, that my title to it is good, and will allow me your assistance, in order to assert it. I am
per-

suaded you will find no obstruction towards procuring leave for this purpose; it being matter of common humanity and justice, and within the intention of the act. As soon as you have obtained such leave, I will hope to hear from you, and in the mean time have desired Mr. Morice to do what can be done by him at this distance, towards laying the proper evidences and instructions before you. He may be of more use, in furnishing these, upon his return, than he can be now. However, I am not willing to loose any time, when I have so little of it left, and my 70th year is (as you know it is) near approaching. Hasten in this case is requisite, if I hope to be the better for what my father designed me, and thought he had without wronging any body convey'd to me in due form of law. If he did so, and it really belongs to me, there is no man of worth and honour, who will think it unfit, that I should be put by your means, into a condition of recovering it. Be pleas'd to make the steps that are proper in this case, and to add this obligation to the others, you have formerly laid on, &c.

No. 2. Examination of William Morice, and letters from him and others.

*The examination of William
Morrice of Kensington in the county
of Middlesex, Esq.*

HE says he knows of no letters that were written to the late bishop of Rochester from hence during the time of his being in France; that all the late bishop's papers had been secured in France before this examinee's arrival there; that the late bishop before his death apply'd to the French court by Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Buckley, and one Mr. Sempill, who calls himself lord-Sempill, that his effects might be secured in case of his death for this examinee, but a difficulty being made of it, the late bishop wrote a letter to Mr. Buckley, desiring he would meddle in it no further; that when the late bishop dyed as the examinee was told by the said Sempill the papers were all carry'd to the Scots collidge, where they were sealed up with a publick seal of office; that when this examinee desired to have them, he was told that it was not known, that they belonged to him; that upon much solicitation he was allowed to have his family papers, and the seal was taken off in his presence and a commissary lookt over them and gave this examinee what he thought proper; that Mr. Lloyd was present and any letters of his that were met with were

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} returned to him: the like was done by Mr. Buckley and any others that were present; that he the examinee has not, nor ever had any other papers but those that were found with the baggage that came with his body, or were taken upon him the examinee and that he has not yet lookt into them. Being told that as he was present when the commissary opened the papers, he must know what they were, he answers there were many letters from lord Marishal, from the duke of Ormond, and other people that he knows nothing of. That there was a parcel of papers relating to the late bishop's tryal, but the commissary would not let this examinee have them. That the papers were in the custody of father Innes at the Scots colledge, and the persons present when they were opened, were the commissary, Innes, and Mr. Dickenfon, who were named in the garde des seaux's order, Mr. Lloyd at the examinee's desire, Mr. Sempill, alias lord Sempill who first had secured the papers and carry'd them to the Scots colledge, and others who accidently came in, and the examinee. That what papers were in French and in Latin were lookt into by the commissary so far as to see of what nature they were, those in English Mr. Dickenfon lookt into and told the commissary what they were, where any were directed to this examinee or endorsed with his name, or appeared to belong to him, they were delivered to him, the rest were all kept from him. Being askt whether among the late bishop's papers there were any letters from the pretender, the examinee answers, that he does not know that there were, that there were letters endorsed from Rome; but all those letters from Rome or Spain were all kept and never put into his power; that there were none that he knows of from England except from this examinee and his wife.

Capt. 1^o. die Maii 1702

coram nobis

WM. MORICE

HOLLES NEWCASTLE

HARRINGTON

* Under *Extracts of letters from Mr. Delafaye* to Earl Waldegrave about Atterbury's Papers.*
secretary of
state.

Waldegrave (Whitehall, March 3, 1731-2.) YOUR excellency's private letters to my
Papers. lord duke of Newcastle and to me, bring Mr. Pelham back to you sooner than
perhaps you expected; I believe you will not be sorry to have his assistance in

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an affair of this nature, which will be difficult to compass, but well worth the while, if it can be brought about. I remember that as cautious as he was, and careful to put every thing out of the way when he was seized here, I found among his loose papers a letter he had written to the pretender, but having, I suppose, mist the opportunity of sending it, he had laid it by, and forgot to destroy it. As he might not be under the same apprehensions now that he was then, and his death was sudden, probably there are some curiosities to be met with in his scrutore, if one knew how to come at them. I return you one, which shewes his spirit and ill nature held out till the last. What a pity it is that so good parts should have been in such bad hands. As to your excellency's having intermeddled in getting the *scellé* put to his effects, and his claiming your protection as an Englishman, the attorney general agreed with me in opinion, that he had no right to the privilege of a subject: however, if your excellency's own seal would have done, and that you could by that means have had the fingering of his papers, one would have done him that favour, This circumstance of his willingness that your excellency should have had this precious deposit, rather than they should have fallen into some other hands, might be made use of as an argument to my friend Morris, if he were talked with; but at the same time it is one with me, that he had been thinking of securing his papers, and had destroy'd the most considerable of them.

(Whitehall, May 11, 1732.) THE seizing of Mr. Morrice, and the searching of vessels from France for the late bishop of Rochester's corpse, has made some noise here; which may perhaps have reached your parts; but considering what part the deceased had acted, and how nearly related to, and how much intrusted by him the other was, it is not surprising that the government should have a curiosity to peep into the papers that came over by that opportunity, out of which some useful informations might be gathered; and that is all the use that one would make of them. My lord duke of Newcastle hopes your excellency will again excuse his not writing; and I beg you will always be persuaded of the zeal and respect with which I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's most humble, and most obedient servant.

We had last Tuesday a smart attack in the house of commons about Dunkirk, much to the same effect as that of which I lately gave your excellency an account in the house of lords; the debate was more than ordinary warm and bitter.

(Lon-

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

Letters and extracts of letters from William Morice to bishop Atterbury.

(London, 11 Jan. 1726-7.) I Lately sent you Gulliver's travels: the reputed author, dean Swift, made very kind enquiries after you, thro' our Twittenham friend, and was pleased to hear he had been mentioned by you in some of your letters. He came over hither publicly to see his friends, and divert himself, and was almost constantly with Mr. P.*

• Pope.

MY HONOUR'D LORD,

January 2, 1727-8.

THE inclosed letter to Mrs. Morice, and her answer to it, are both necessary, I think, for your lordship's perusal. You will loose no time in letting me have your thoughts on the subject; for I am impatient till I receive such an answer from you, as may be shewn the lady. I hope Mrs. Morice's answer, which she was forc'd to write in a sort of hurry, the messenger waiting for it, contains nothing improper. What is mention'd about Mr. Mead's being with me, related, I suppose to the payment for the coronation lace, but I never saw Mr. Mead on that occasion. He poor man, was taken ill, just as he must have receiv'd the orders to settle that affair, and is since dead. No doubt her grace will soon give fresh orders on that head. The fan you'll observe, was sent my wife, is the finest my eyes ever beheld, fit for a coronation, and probably worn that day. We have since had a haunch and side of venison, from Leighs, and frequently kind messages from thence. All these civilities came after Mrs. M. had delivered the little tokens, which it is plain were not unwelcome, but kindly taken.

I also send you the letter I received from Mr. Pope just after my arrival, that you may see his reason for not writing to me at Paris: he came soon after to see me, and was full of his kind enquiries after you.

The story of lord and lady Mar has been related to me, and by this time 'tis as well known here as abroad. As to that lor's scheme, which you hear has been printed in French and English, I have enquir'd after it, and at last find it is so. Whenever I am able to get any of them, you shall hear of them at Paris. I don't find they are in very many hands. Happening to have a little acquaintance with Mist the journalist, I ask'd him whether he had heard of any such scheme, and of its being in print. He told me he had one or two of the papers sent him from Holland, he can't guess from what hand, they came in a blank cover by the post, and not being willing, in his circumstances to meddle

die with affairs of such a nature, he gave the copy to one of the profession, Atterbury. who had formerly done him some little civilities, that he might reap some profit by the publication of it, and he might very well venture publishing it, since he was not ill look'd upon by the ministry. The man was much pleas'd with the thing, and very thankful to M^{ist} for putting him in the way of getting some money; but before he went so far as to publish it, he had the caution to wait on fir R. W. and consult him upon it; fir R. W. (as I am told) was struck very much at reading the paper, and wanted to know from whence the man had it, said it was of consequence, and must come from some great man. The printer desir'd to be excus'd from naming names, being under a promise not to do it. Sir R. bid him stop doing any thing about it till he saw him again, and appointed him a time to come to him again. At the 2d interview, fir R. insisted so strongly upon knowing from what hand the man had the paper (promising the person that gave it him shou'd come into no trouble about it) that he brought the fellow to own he had receiv'd it from Mr. M^{ist}, who acquainted him he receiv'd it by the post from Holland. Sir R. seem'd surpriz'd, bid the man go look for M^{ist}, and desire him to come to him, but M^{ist} has hitherto avoided going, as knowing nothing of the matter more than that such a paper came to him by the post. Sir R. has forbid the publication of it, and M^{ist} is under some apprehensions of being troubled, under some pretext or other, for the sake of this affair. This is all I can tell you of this matter.

As to public news, upon what footing our present set of ministers stand, people dont agree. 'Tis generally thought fir R.'s fate, as a minister, depends upon the success of foreign affairs: 'tis confidently said there are divisions and uneasinesses amongst those at the helm, and that the new created peer* and fir R. differ very much, which 'tis not unlikely may end in the removal of fir R. tho' they say he has ingratiated himself extremely with her majesty, being the only person who ventur'd to propose so large a dowry as 100,000*l.* and to promise the obtaining it in parliament; fir Sp. C. not naming above 70,000*l.* * Lord Wil-
mington.

The report of fir R.'s having deliver'd petitions from Kelly and Plunkett, was very true, but I dont find, as yet, the good effect of 'em. If an act of grace, which some people say is to be brought in next sessions, should come, 'tis believed those two petitioners will be included in it, at least discharg'd about that time; if so, why is somebody else kept abroad? You observe rightly, that all things dont run in one channel, as they did in the late reign, and that

Period III. that fir R.'s influence in ecclesiastical affairs is at an end. Nor has the arch-
 1720 to 1727. bishop of Canterbury any power in that matter. He imagin'd he shou'd have the first week or fortnight of the new reign, and people thought so too, but he found his recommendations are disregarded, and so he has chose to sit still at Lambeth, and tells every body he has no interest at court. The queen seems chiefly to manage that branch, tho' not absolutely, for she intended Dr. Hare for the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, and Dr. Sherlock for that of Norwich, but the whole ministry united in their representations against it, alledging 'twou'd disoblige the whole bench of bishops to have the new consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once; and to carry their point, they put Wynn upon taking Bath and Wells (for which it seems he made no application himself) and Baker upon taking Norwich to disappoint Sherlock.

Dr. Friend is a great man at court, and his reputation as a Physician greatly raised by lord Townshend's recovery, after the whig doctors, particularly Hulse, who attended in conjunction with Friend and Sloane, differ'd so greatly with Dr. Friend, as to quit his further attendance on my lord, and declare his lordship must die, if he followed the course Dr. Friend was for taking with him. But his lordship declared he would live or die by the hands of Friend, and so Hulse took his leave, and his lordship is, contrary to most people's expectations past all danger. Dr. Friend some time ago recovered lord Lynne, after the other physicians had given him over, and also soon after recover'd the second son, so that the Townshend family owe the doctor three lives. This intimacy of Dr. J. Friend at court has made way for the civilities, which the publick prints inform you, have been paid Westminster school by the young prince's honouring them with his presence, and seeing a play acted by the king's scholars at the college. Dr. Bob is to have a prebendary, the first vacancy is promised, so he is to fill the second; but if that dont happen soon, some people imagine he may be disappointed notwithstanding present appearances, and his early compliments to the present reign, for the Monday following the death of the old king: the theme he gave in school was a little out of the way, and I am at a loss to find out the wit of it, 'twas this:

Nunquam libertas gratior extat quam sub rege novo.

methinks *pio* might have stood as well, and been as good a compliment to a new king. Sometime after the young prince begg'd a play, and upon the occasion, the theme given for the boys to exert their talents upon was, *Celebrate ducem qui vobis otia fecit.* And I foresee the next anniversary meeting
 of

of Westminster scholars, on the 15th instant, will vary very much from the last, when great care was taken not to dip into flattery and party. There will be enough of both this year. In short, people seem generally to have changed their countenances (during my absence) at least they appear to me in a different light from what I us'd to view them in; they look at the same time a little filly, as if they were got between two stools, and afraid of dropping between. Some few indeed still keep their old faces. I had laid aside all thoughts of mentioning to L. what happened on your side in relation to him before your letter came to forbid me, as judging it not proper, according to what I find in his present way of thinking.

Atterbury.

(Feb. 9, 1727.) Sir R. W. seems to be better establish'd in his ministry every day, and is said to have publicly declared in the house of commons, that his present majesty is resolv'd to pursue the late king's measures, and to make use of the same set of men. The late speaker has lost his interest pretty much at court, and nobody has him in that esteem he might have expected, had he shewn a proper spirit and put himself forward at first. 'Tis now, I believe, out of his power, and he must content himself with the lowest seat in the upper house. If the court of Spain recedes, and comes into the terms proposed from hence, so that a congress ensue and peace be made, sir Robert is certainly prime minister for life. I hear nothing of any acts of grace.

Orford
Papers.

(May 8, 1728.) As to your affairs in my hands, your frugality will, I doubt not, leave sufficient to answer any extraordinary accidents which may happen, over and above your constant necessary expence: tho' they are not, in some respects, in so good a condition as when we parted; for (by the continuance of a certain great person at the head of affairs, in paying off several public debts, by coining paper instead of money, and drawing people in to be content therewith, or satisfy'd with a reduction of interest) all manner of interest is brought very low. Bonds, that us'd to bear 5, are now continued at 4 per cent. and at that rate of interest they bear a premium. Mortgages also are fallen in the interest; and Mr. Lynn, from whom I have a 1000*l.* mortgage, gave me notice the beginning of March last, that he wou'd pay me off at three months end, unless I was willing to take for the future 4 per cent. I stood out against it, but being sensible where he had just agreed to take up the money from another person, I thought it best to comply, and have agreed to let him have the money *a year longer* at 4 per cent.; for had it been paid

Period III. me in, I dont see how I could have disposed of it to better advantage. Alderman Barber has also given me notice that the mortgage he has, on an estate in Kent, for 8,000*l.* and upwards, wherein you know I am concerned 3,000*l.* for you, has been offer'd to be paid off, unless he consents to lower the interest, which he must be oblig'd to consent to, and then I must do the same as to the proportion of the 3,000*l.* Thus you see, your annual income will be somewhat less'n'd.

As to publick news, sir Robert is as absolute in parliament at present as ever; but Mr. P. pushes him hard, and how long he will stretch the bow, before it breaks, no body can tell; but the opinion of many knowing men is, that he drives too fast not to be thrown at last. There is a fresh talk of a new act of grace, whether it will do any good to any body but the present sett of ministers, I can't learn. Lord Marr's house is actually fitting up, and his family give out that he will be over very soon. I suppose he won't return home alone. Shall any of those memorials be sent about on this side? You desire to know the names of the present bishops (excepting such as you know and mention in your letter) you might have mentioned some others, whom you must very well remember. However, I add all that you make no mention of, in the inclosed list, and 'tis very certain that you judge right in thinking the bench to be under a great degree of contempt. That it might become so, was one reason why you were drove abroad, the court not desiring any figure should be made by any that belong to it, and now they are pretty safe on that head. I can't learn what expense the royal guest occasion'd at Hitcham; 'tis certain Dr. Friend made great preparations; whether he will compass the making his brother *Bob* a bishop, I much doubt, for sir R. W. has gained his point in relation to church preferments, and you will scarce hear of any more such promotions as Hare (who is now bishop of St. Asaphs) and Sherlock. Her majesty, they say, consults and does nothing without sir R.'s leave on that head.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO MRS. MORICE.

MADAM,

December 2, 1727.

I Beg to know from you, whether Mr. Mead has been with Mr. Morice about a little matter I bid him do, and I should be glad to know of Mr. Morice his opinion of the act of parliament concerning the bishop of R. I had it by me, but 'tis mislaid. In case my son should go to France to follow his exercises, better

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Atterbur

better than he can learn 'em here, whether he may not be seen and examined sometimes how Mr. Costa dos instruct him, without any hazard of forfeiture to a child. I know his mama could not have the advantage of hearing herself his opinions without a forfeiture, people would very willingly take. In short, the king has forbid me and my son the libertys we were permitted in his father's (and which confines my son from air and exercise in town) reign, and I was no favourite in it. But by the duchess of Kendal's means, I had a few common acts of breeding and humanity shewn me, that of the same priviledges of the king's park, which I was allowed in queen Anne's reign; and the promise not to pardon Ward, which I doubt if I should have obtained now, tho' I fancy'd myself a sort of favourite of the queen's, because I have about ten letters under her hand, which flatters me with it; and many personal assurances besides. I confess I am much tempted to breed my son abroad, if I could secure his religion well, and education better, tho' his affairs, and the odd agents I believe every body has, who has intricate matters to manage, makes it impracticable for me to settle, as I could wish, with him; yet I could visit him, when I was not otherways necessarily employ'd. And indeed betwixt the great easiness of his governour (tho' otherwise a valuable man) he is always visiting and following the calls of good for nothing courtiers, to the loss of the time he ought to bestow on his pupil. So that in the country only, or in another country, one can have him as much at home as is requisite. First, I have nothing passes in my family I would give three farthings to hide, yet I am sure the gossiping women, and such kind of men send and invite him to dinner and supper, in hopes to pick something from him of what passes in conversation, either from me or my company, makes 'em make the rout they do with him, who really is too good a sort of man to be a pleasure to them, tho' he has that fault of his country, too great an awe and respect for people in power, only because they are so. And I begin to fear, the people whom I must necessarily have at my table and house, as stewards and agents about business, will grow to make their court to my son, at the expence of flattery, and methods may come to spoil him at home, tho' yet I have prevented that hazard from servants, and such as make an home education dangerous. Could I carry my son to France, and leave him under what part of your papa's direction he would have the good nature to undertake, I should think I did the best I could now for him; and really as to what progress he makes in learning, I am entirely ignorant of. I know his governor is reckoned a great scholar, and is a man without any vices: yet I do believe my son will be a little too headstrong or too

cunning

Period III. ^{720 to 1727.} cunning for him in a short time. Tho' to me he is very tractable and very fond of me, yet his natural temper is pretty warin, very eager for what he fancies at all, and consequently should have his time much and well taken up, as he now is near twelve years of age: this thought of at all parting with him, is very hard to me, yet I begin to fear the ill effects of allways an home education, and I fear our schools at Westminster or Eaton for his health, and for the jumble it may now make between their manner of learning, and what he has had, and I wish I could any way get good advice in relation to it. Could I have an opinion safely asked, I should be glad; and by this servant, I send to town, should be glad to receive some answer. I am ever, madam, your faithfull servant.

MRS. MORICE TO THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MADAM,

Holland house, December 3, 1727.

MR. Morice has turn'd his thoughts upon that part of your grace's letter, in which you do him the honour of asking his opinion. The act of parliament, he says, is worded with so much malice, and wicked ill nature, that it is difficult to give any opinion upon it. 'Tis certain there is no exception for any body, but such as have the king's sign manual: and consequently any sett of ministers have it in their power to be troublesome or not, as their good or ill dispositions shall lead them. However, he thinks there may be a method found out of fulfilling in a great measure your grace's intentions about my lord duke, upon which head he will explain himself further when he has the honour of waiting on you next. At present he is willing to say no more, having a good opportunity (by a friend who sets out for Paris next week) of sending for a better opinion than his own, and, in a short time after, he may reasonably expect to receive an answer, by a very safe conveyance. Upon this occasion, madam, give me leave to say, that I am sure there is nothing in the world would please my papa more, than to become usefull in the education of my lord duke. He has told us more than once, when we were last with him, that were he restored to his own country again, he should turn his time and thoughts to nothing more zealously; and, as far as it can be brought about, he will, I know, be pleased at being usefull in the same way abroad. If your grace has any commands for Mr. Morice, he is allways glad and ready to receive them. He's never above an hours drive from London, and so not out of the way of doing any thing, wherein your grace judges him of use. He offers his humble respects; and I am, &c.

This

This letter from Mr. Morice to bishop Atterbury is particularly curious, as it contains, though couched in obscure, and not always intelligible terms, proofs of Atterbury's correspondence with the jacobites in England; the reports circulated upon his retiring from Paris, and the disadvantage that would result to the pretender from that event.

MY HONOUR'D LORD,

June 24, 1728.

MR. Elliot, whom for the future, I shall call Mr. Hereford,* has brought me all the papers, and the four pamphlets you sent by him. I shall take care to distribute them properly. I forwarded your two letters to father Courayer, who resides generally at lord Percival's country seat near Black Heath, but as to the packet you mention to have sent, addressed to Mr. Langby, no such parcel is yet come to my hands. Mr. Hereford declares he never received any other, than those already delivered to me, and it is not amongst them. I conclude therefore you must have sent it by some other hand. I wish it were arrived, that Pere Courayer might be at ease on that head. I cannot express to you the pleasure some of your late papers have given me, and in which Mrs. Morice also has taken her share. Your discourse on some verses in the 12 Æneid, and your version of Virgil's first Eclogue, are exceedingly beautiful; in both, you have set a pattern which no genius, that I know of, can pretend to come up to. I have communicated a copy of the discourse (for I am resolv'd to keep the original myself) to the physician. He was mightily pleas'd upon casting his eye over a small part of it; I have not seen him since he has had time to consider the whole. It cannot fail of giving him infinite pleasure, as your application of it, to him, does him vast honour: in a little time I suppose I shall have some sort of return to make you from him. The other piece, I shall put into the hands of our Twitnam friend, in a day or two, for which purpose I design him a visit. You have succeeded so well in the beginning and towards the end of Virgil's works, that I shall long to see some more pieces of the same kind, drawn from other parts of that excellent author, who can never have his works so finely illustrated by any other hand.

I design from henceforth to follow the rule you prescribe, and shall *de die in diem*, set down every thing that occurs worthy of your notice, in a paper to be

* This person is mentioned under the name of Hereford, in Atterbury's epistolary correspondence, published by Nichols.

Period III. afterwards transmitted to you. I agree 'twill be an easy method for me, and
 1720 to 1727. it becomes me to comply with it, as it is your desire. At present, there is very little employ for me that way. There is a sort of stagnation of news, for it can be none to tell you that sir R. W. gains ground, and governs more absolutely than in the latter reign. Mr. Pulteney's removal from the lieutenancy of one of the Yorkshire ridings, is one instance of sir R. W.'s power, and of his resolution to crush all opposition with an high hand, and to rule with an absolute sway. It is certain, there are powerful parties against him, but he seems to despise them all. The E. of Scarborough (as well as the late speaker) is, I hear, among the disgusted, but nothing will be able effectually to shock the great man, if affairs go on well at Soissons. All sides agree, his fate depends on the success of the negotiations there.

* Friend. Dr. I. F.* is a very assiduous courtier, and must grow so more and more every day, since his quondam friends and acquaintances shun and despise him, and whenever he happens to fall in the way of them, he looks, methinks, very fillily. He is in great hopes (as I have heard) of obtaining a bishoprick for his brother Bob, and not without expectation of placing him in the see of Rochester, and deanery of Westminster, if old Bradford would be so kind as to make way for him: in that case, he is (as 'tis said in the family) to be preceptor to prince William. But this scheme, I scarce believe will ever be compassed, for the great sir R. W. not only hates but despises the family of the Friends, and while his power lasts at the pitch it now is, they will never be able to obtain such extended views.

I am glad to find, from the tenour of all your late letters, and the way of spending your time, that you are so much at ease in body and mind, and that you have at last taken up the resolution of doing yourself justice by drawing up your case, which the world expects to see one day or other, and your friends and well-wishers are often questioning me about it. The noise of your having quitted the bank, reached me here, before it came over from your side the water. It gave occasion to various reports, and I have heard, was publicly talked of at St. James's. Some said you were discarded, upon a discovery that you were making your peace, and paying your return home again, at the expence of the person who had entrusted you with his affairs. Others would have it, that you found you were betray'd in every step you took, in relation to that person, by agents with whom you were oblig'd to act in concert, and therefore as you could do no good, you took the part to retire. Others reported, that you had enjoy'd a pension of 4000 *l.* per annum
 from

from this government ever since you were abroad; that it might now be a fit time to call you home again, and your leaving Paris was a step towards it. Many other idle reports were rais'd, and put into the mouths of proper tools to disperse them. Some people argu'd here in the same manner, as they did at Paris, that it look'd, as if matters went very ill in somebody's favour, when the only person abroad, capable of doing service to him or his cause, had not the management of it, but seem'd to give it up for lost. Others, who formerly had other sentiments than they have at present, said, 'twas no wonder if you had at last quitted the trouble of conducting a case (supposing you had the principal management of it) which was visibly expiring, and that you chose to get rid of a person, who will never do himself any good, but will (first or last) treat every one ill without regard to merit or sufferings.

These are the chief reports which I have met with, grounded upon your retirement into the country; at which some folks seem glad, and others sorry; but on all hands 'tis agreed, that the interest of a certain person must suffer very much by it: for the imagination (whether grounded or not) that you heartily espoused his cause, gave him a sort of credit, which he may find the want of hereafter. And nobody, as I can learn, lays any blame on you for quitting (supposing you ever were in that person's affairs) but on him for suffering you to retire, and having, as they suppose, given occasion for it. This is all I have at present to say, on this subject, more than that a certain great lord, and lawyer, was very inquisitive about the truth of the report, at a certain lady's* hôtel of our acquaintance, but the lady could not satisfy him any thing about it. You may be sure I miss no opportunity of acquainting my neighbour in the park, with your state in every respect, who loves to hear of you, and is sincerely affected with any thing that touches you. I was question'd there, in relation to your retirement, which seem'd to give some concern. It was immediately judg'd, that a certain great relation would suffer by it, and loose a good share of his interest, by not shewing you more regard.

Some of our late letters have been fill'd with the melancholy news of the death of friends. Last week we lost another. On Monday evening died poor Dr. Chamberlen, after a lingering illness. His death indeed was not so great a surprize, as that it did not happen sooner. He has been visibly decaying a long time. The young duke of Buckingham will have a loss in him, for 'tis to his tender care of him, that his grace, in a great measure owes his life. The duchess also will greatly miss him, and is sensibly concern'd at the loss. He died at Buckingham house, from whence her grace immediately retired, and

Atterbury.

* Duchess of Buckingham.

Period III. and is not to return till after the funeral is over. Three days before his ^{1720 to 1727.} death (when it was to be read in his face) Mrs. Morice and I were admitted to see him. He enquired very affectionately after you, and desir'd us not to forget his service to you.

I some time ago told you of an intention there was of sending the young duke to Paris. It was design'd in good earnest as you'll see by the inclos'd part of a letter to me, and that somebody's opinion to the contrary, hinder'd it. Your advice is of the greatest weight there, and whatever friends you may happen to loose (as some very good ones have gone off lately) there remains one who will, I dare say, make as much amends as is possible for the loss of others. I have reason to believe so, and that you in time will find so. My Welch friend is gone out of town, without discharging the annuity, but he did not go without seeing me, and assuring me that it shou'd be paid, when he return'd to town again. 'Twas not very genteely done, but I dare say, I shall get the money at last.

In a letter of yours, some considerable time ago, you seem'd not very earnest whether I push'd the matter (about changing bankers) with Mr. H. very strongly or not. I did, at my first coming over, just touch upon that string, but found that H. had a strong inclination in favour of Mr. A. and that it would not be an easy point to prevail over him to take the business, which he himself had put into A's hands, out of them again. I therefore have desist'd from maintaining and pressing the matter a second time, but can yet do it, if you insist upon it, tho' I believe it will scarce be worth while, for Mr. H. is declining apace. He had to'other day, a terrible shock, which had like to have carried him off, and if he should happen to drop, 'twill be an easy point for me to recommend such a banker, for the future, as you desire. Now I am mentioning Mr. H. 'tis not improper to acquaint you, that you are very high in his esteem. He visits me pretty often, purely to enquire after your health and prosperity. I am apt to think he has it in his head to do something, and shew his regard for you in his will; this conjecture, I draw from his just hinting his surprize to me, the other day, that nothing of that kind had happened since your exile, upon the death of those who were your known well wishers. Such a design, if he has it, should surely be a little encouraged, the example may have a very good effect. What if you took occasion, by some private hand, of kindly mentioning him, in such a manner as you judge proper forme to let him see; I think 'twould not be amiss. He often enquires touching your circumstances, and says people were not so generous as they ought

ought to have been, and believes one reason of your retirement may be to Atterbury save expences.

Mr. Hereford carries the two volumes of the bishop of Coventry's defence of his book against scripture prophecys.

I think I have now answer'd every paragraph of your letters except one, which is so full of fatherly tenderness, friendship and affection, that it cannot but make the deepest impressions on me as well as Mrs. Morice. We are both greatly affected by it, and in return, I can only assure you, that I have no greater pleasure in life, than being of some little use to you, and that were it not highly inconvenient for your affairs (to say nothing of my own) I should never desire to be absent from you, but should make it my choice to be always near you, in order to ease you as much as possible of the inconveniency, I am sensible you must be under for want of proper hands about you. Sure the tables will turn in time, and I am willing to think God has not restored you so great and unexpected a share of health, but for some good end, and that we shall at last see you return in honour and triumph to your own country again. That indeed would be the happiest day my wishes can frame to themselves, and 'till good providence brings it about, the best thing you can do for my wife and me, is to take care of your own health abroad. Our interest is wrapp'd up in your happiness, and you can never leave any thing behind you to compensate for the loss we shall sustain, if ever you happen to go before us. This is the dictate of Mrs. Morice's heart, as well as my own. No news as yet of my brother Obby. I have made several applications for the 150*l.* expected so long ago. That worthy gentleman is lately gone into the north, and has promis'd me faithfully to push the matter, so as a remittance may be speedily made.

Mr. Sh—n* sees me sometimes, he keeps his honesty at a time, when almost every body is wavering. He is gone to spend the recess of parliament, as usual, in Northumberland, and won't return till it meets again, when I dare say, you will hear of him approving himself the same man you left him. I am commision'd to send you a thousand services. I have now almost tir'd myself, as I fear I have you long before. But I am glad of such opportunities, as the bearer affords me, of writing to you. If he tarrys 'till to-morrow, Mrs. Morice threatens you with a letter.~ I am with the utmost gratitude and respect, my dear honoured lord, &c.

* Shippen;

Period III. (Sept. 26, 1728.) I don't much wonder to hear of Kelly's writing, and
 1720 to 1727 complaining he is supplanted. Hitherto he has had a plentiful allowance, ever since his confinement, ten guineas per month, thro' my hands, and what other benefactions he may have had, I can't tell; but I believe he has chosen to live well, and lay up little or nothing. And now there seems to be an end of the collection which has annually been made towards paying him 120 guineas yearly. Several of the benefactors are dead; several weary of such incumbrances; and the whole club (from whence greatest part of the bounty came) is in a manner dissolved. He has written teizing letters to me, and I think of pressing Mr. Cotton, our steward, whose note you know I have for the remainder of 300*l.* (of which 200*l.* is still unpaid) to pay off that balance, that I may apply it for Kelly's use. You never order'd me to pay him that sum in ready money (nor should he have it all at once, whilst he continues a prisoner) unless I could obtain the payment of Cotton's note, or some such other remnants, which are like to lay by a great while unpaid. However, if Kelly's necessities encrease, I must, I believe, supply him with a little ready money, whether I can get any from Cotton or not; and I shall expect to hear more from you on that head.

(April 14-25, 1729.) I told you in a former letter, that I apprehended I should be oblig'd to supply K. with money, whether Mr. Cotton paid the 200*l.* remaining due on his note, or not. I can't get that money yet of Cotton, but there is now a necessity of letting K. have money, on account of the promise he claims from you of 200*l.*; for all subscriptions, for his support, have been long at an end, and folks are grown weary of continuing that bounty. Wherefore I have found it necessary to assist K. and that the 200*l.* may not be squander'd away at once, and he left in want, I advance him six guineas per month. I hope you'll approve of what I've done. Some people of rank (formerly your benefactors) sent to me on this head, and there was no avoiding my compliance in it.

(Sept. 26, 1728.) All I can now tell you, as to reports relating to yourself is, that I was assur'd near two months ago, that sir R. W. had given out, that you had entirely shoo'd off the affairs of a certain person, were grown perfectly weary of that drooping cause, and had made some steps (by means of the ambassador at Paris) towards not being left out in the general act of grace, which,

it is every now and then talked, will pass the next session of parliament; and that you desir'd above all things to come home, and end your days in your own country. With what view this report has been spread by sir R. W. I can't tell, but I have it from undoubted intelligence, that he has caus'd it to be rumour'd. Atterbury.

(April 14-25, 1729.) As to public matters, they go on in the old channel; sir R. carries every thing as he pleases, tho' the opposition he meets with in the house of commons has, no doubt, sufficiently vex'd and teized him this session; and the pamphlets, which have been constantly publish'd without doors, must have given him no little uneasiness. The Craftsman, you see every week. That paper gives a pretty good insight into affairs; and many are still of opinion, that the great man will scarce be able to hold his power, a year longer; tho' I fancy, that depends upon the event of matters abroad; but the most judicious men with whom I happen sometimes to converse, think him so well rivetted in the king and queen's good graces, that they won't part with him.

1723.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT WALPOLE WITH LORD TOWNSHEND AND OTHERS.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHAUB.

Thanks him for his correspondence.—Expresses his satisfaction, that the conduct of the king's ministers at Hanover is approved by the French court.—Hopes that the duke of Orleans will be kept steady to his friendship with England.

SIR,

Whitehall, April 19, 1723.

I Have hitherto deferred acknowledging in a particular manner the several letters I have received from you, not knowing but an occasion might offer to make it proper to send a messenger to France, which however I was resolved now to delay no longer, altho' no particular business made it necessary. But I understand too, that you have no messengers on your side, which may

Hardwicke
Papers.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. make it of some use to have one with you. Your letter of the 22d instant, N. S. is just come to hand; and I am very glad that the conduct of his majesty's ministers at Hanover meets so much with the approbation of the duke of Orleans. This good correspondence is above all things to be cultivated; and I always have read with pleasure, the several accounts you have sent me of the good disposition of the duke of Orleans. It would be a great misfortune if his uncertain temper should expose him to the influence and directions of persons less disposed, less well affected to the king's interest, than the present ministers of France give us great reason to hope they are; and I know not what is certainly to be determined in that view in regard to Mr. Law. If the duke of Orleans is disposed to recal him, as Mr. Law's friends here are very sanguine in hoping, it is not our business to obstruct it. But it is not easy to judge, what is most to be wished for in that case, unless we knew the competition, and upon whom the favour and confidence of the duke of Orleans might probably fall. If Mr. Law does not return, there can be no doubt, but the power might fall into worse hands, and if any who are neither Englishmen by birth nor affection, should prevail, we should have a less chance, than by admitting one who has sundry ties to wish well to his native country. But perhaps Mr. Law's being thought agreeable or acceptable in England, would not at all forward his return to France; for nothing but his being thought not only an able but a good Frenchman can secure his being recalled.

As to the treaty between France and the Czar, I cannot but be very clearly of opinion, that 'tis the interest of the king, that no separate treaty should be made by them without England's being included. France will speak with a great deal less weight, when that treaty is concluded, which cannot be supposed to be so conditional, as to expect that France will afterwards break with the Czar, altho' he should be never so unreasonable with regard to us; but you will be a great deal better instructed upon this head from Hanover; and your own knowledge and experience will enable you to judge better of an affair of consequence, than I am able to advise you. But I was willing to take an opportunity of thanking you for your correspondence, which I desire you will continue, and be assured you shall have in me a faithful friend and servant.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHAUB.

Period III:
1720 to 1727.*Rejoices in the prosperous appearance of affairs in France.—Congratulates du Bois on his success.*

1723.

SIR,

Whitehall, July 18, 1723.

I Returned but yesterday out of the country, where I have been for some few days to settle my own private affairs, or I had sooner acknowledged the favor of yours of the 15th instant. I now return you my thanks for the long and particular account you gave me of the state of affairs with you. It is a double satisfaction, not only to know the true springs and sources of transactions of such importance, but to be satisfied, that they succeed according to our best wishes.

Hardwicke
Papers.

I heartily congratulate the cardinal in the success he has had over his enemies, and hope a perfect recovery from his illness, will enable him to enjoy with comfort, the satisfaction of a quiet and undisputed administration. I am too sensible of what consequence a perfect good understanding betwixt the two crowns, is to their mutual interest and tranquility, to be indifferent about the life and power of a minister, upon whom so much depends. I beg, sir, you will continue your correspondence with freedom to me, and give me full information of what passes amongst you, which you may be sure I shall make no use of but for the interest of his majesty; I shall be always ready to return you all the marks of friendship that are in my power; for I am very truly, sir, your most faithful, humble servant.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Military and naval preparations made by the czar, with a view probably to invade Sweden, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.—Ill consequences of such an event to England.—Necessity of obviating the danger.—The king requests that 200,000 l. may be ready to be employed, if necessary, on this occasion.

SIR,

Hanover, July 16, 1723.

I Am now to write to you by the king's command, upon a business of great secrecy as well as of importance. His majesty has received such advices as he can depend upon, that the czar has, or will, besides his strong squadron, embark a body of about twenty thousand men on board his galleys, to put in execution some secret design he has formed: the most probable, and what the king judges to be most feasible, is an attempt upon Sweden, in the distracted and

Hardwicke
Papers.

(very secret.)

Copy.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1723. and weak condition affairs are in there. If that is the project, as is most likely, it must certainly be concerted with the mal-contents, and the Holstein faction in that kingdom, and may happen to produce a total revolution there in favor of the duke of Holstein, should he happen to be set on the throne of Sweden, by means of the fleet and arms of Russia. He, especially, being reputed none of the wisest princes, would necessarily be a mere dependant of the czar's, and act according to his views, and under his directions; so that the Muscovites would soon come to have the disposal of the ports of Sweden, and we might in a little time see Swedish and Muscovite squadrons in conjunction at Gottenburgh, able to terrify and distress all the coasts of Great Britain.

These prospects seem to the king to be of such infinite concern and importance, that even upon the most uncertain appearance of them, the utmost care should be taken to obviate the dangers that may ensue. I had the honor to talk this morning pretty fully with his majesty upon this subject (only my lord Carteret being present) which if it should take the least air in England, might do great hurt to publick credit, and consequently to our other domestic affairs. The king, tho' mighty tender and unwilling to make any proposal that should seem to burthen his kingdoms, yet seeing in this exigency (when the blow seems just ready to be struck, and no other previous measures can possibly be taken) that nothing but a good sum of money of one or two hundred thousand pounds at command, to be employed if the case shall require it, can be of service to help us, he has ordered me with the utmost secrecy to open this affair to you, and to let you know how much he relies on your fidelity, skill, and prudent conduct. You will please, therefore, to cast about in your thoughts, how you may have at command, with the least noise possible, one or two hundred thousand pounds, if necessary, to be disposed of, to prevent the kingdom of Sweden falling under the disposal of the czar. What was discoursed of this day before his majesty was this: If the czar's scheme, as it seems to be formed, should entirely take effect, and the king of Sweden should be driven out of all his dominions, then we must be as well with the new monarch as we can, and take the best measures possible to secure the interest of Great Britain. But if the king of Sweden should not lose all at once; but be able to make a stand, and dispute his possession with his rival; then the only method to disappoint the czar's designs, and to support and reinstate the present king of Sweden, would be to have a sum of money ready to assist the king of Denmark and other princes, who would be exceeding jealous of

of such an exorbitant accession of power to the czar, to stand by his Swedish majesty, and to oppose the efforts of the Muscovites and the Swedish faction. The parliament will undoubtedly come into the giving a sanction to such a disposal of money, for the good of the kingdom; since the king is bound by his last treaty to aid and succour his Swedish majesty in such a case; and if that prince had not been negligent, ill served, or worse amused, he would some time ago, upon the first appearance of the Holstein plot, have summoned his majesty to be ready to make good his engagements. At this time of the year, and upon so sudden an emergency, it would be a folly to think of equipping a sufficient squadron to prevent the blow, or to save the king of Sweden; besides that, it would cost more money than what is proposed to be employed, if the case I mentioned should happen. I must therefore desire you from his majesty, to let me have your thoughts and advice upon this most important matter, and whether in case of necessity, you can provide such a sum for this service.

The king has an entire dependance on your zeal for his service, more particularly in an affair where the safety of England, the balance of power, and the preservation of all his majesty's dominions, are so nearly and inseparably concerned; and expects to hear from you as soon as possible. You see the niceness of this point, and the many hazards of having our secret apprehensions get abroad; and therefore I need not employ many words in desiring you to keep the secret entirely to yourself, and to make your dispositions for doing what shall be found necessary in the most private manner that may be. You know any hint of secrecy does not extend to his grace the duke of Newcastle. Yours most entirely.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Assures him that the reports of lord Carteret's superior influence with the king, are totally unfounded.—Mentions rumours of the czar's intentions to attack Sweden; and the necessity of finding means to obviate his attempts.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, July 28, 1723.

I Hope this will find you safe returned from Norfolk, with some advantage to your own health, and without any detriment to the public service, from your journey. I am sorry the false and vain accounts which our friend* thinks proper to send over, of his superior interest at this place, should make the least impression on any one, or have given you a moment's uneasiness.

Hardwicke's
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

* Lord Carteret.

How

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1723.

How greatly the facts on your side of the water, have been misrepresented, in order to support this appearance, you are sufficiently sensible; and I can assure you, that nothing has passed here that can, without the greatest falsehood, be wrested to give the least countenance to any such opinion. You know that the king had declared his resolution of having the guards encamp some weeks before we left England; and I neither know nor can hear of any orders on this subject, that have been dispatched from hence. I employed a friend of ours to enquire, whether the king had been surprized into the signing any such order; and his majesty's answer was, that he had never sign'd any paper relating to his English affairs since his being here, but in my presence; and I am sure no paper of that kind was ever offer'd to him, while I was by; except it might be some order of course from the secretary at war's office, which was signed with the other ordinary papers, without any particular application or distinction. But you may rest fully satisfied, that the king is determined to be on his guard against taking any step, which may carry the least appearance of turning the balance in favour of those who wish us ill; and they that flatter themselves with hopes of that kind, will soon find their error. But I think you have the satisfaction to see, that lord Lechmere and lord Kinnoul with their friends, whatever doubts they may pretend to have, do in reality judge better of the true state of affairs between my brother secretary and me.

Secretary
at war.

Lord Ca-
dogan.

The quickest and most effectual way for undeceiving people of all denominations in England, would be by obtaining some overt act in our favor, for which I can't but think a fair opportunity offered by the vacancy which has lately happened in the vice treasureship of Ireland, which I find the king would have consented should have gone to Treby;* I having founded his majesty on that head, upon a supposition it was agreeable to your own thoughts; and by this means a way might have been opened for bringing Mr. Pelham into the war office, which would have been a most sensible and indisputable mortification to your general.† But as I thought it proper to communicate your letter‡ to our friends here, all thoughts of that kind are now out of the question. However necessary it may be to hang out some banner of this kind in England, yet I can assure you, the distinction here is so visible, and so well understood by the foreign ministers and others, that it must in a very little while make its way into England. I have as strong

† Many letters from sir Robert Walpole, alluded to in this correspondence, are unfortunately lost.

proofs on this head of all kinds as I can desire; and while matters continue to go well in England, you need be under no uneasiness at the false accounts which some people here may find it necessary to oppose to facts in order to support the spirit of their friends on your side.

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1723.

I see reason from all quarters to be convinced, that the revival of public credit, and the good conduct of the king's affairs in last session, has acquired us such reputation in all parts, as will turn very much to the service of his majesty's affairs in general, and has made a suitable impression on the king. And I am satisfied that the surest way to continue things here on the present good foot, and to put our credit with the king past all danger of competition or accidents, will be to form a good scheme for the next session, by falling on some new expedient for the ease of the nation, and the benefit of trade and credit, which points, his majesty has so much at heart, that the succeeding in them will infallibly rivet us in his esteem, and give us a greater advantage over our adversaries, than can be hoped for from carrying any particular point against any of them. For this reason, I beg of you to turn your thoughts as early as you can towards bringing the supplies of the next year within two shillings in the pound, and the malt; and I submit it to your consideration, whether the uniting the South Sea and East India companys, and the easing our East India trade in some such manner as I hinted in my last, would not be very popular, and at the same time divert any ill humour which may be stirring in the parliament, if they have not some such useful points to employ themselves upon.

I think the manner in which you received lord Kinnoul's overtures was exactly right, since nothing can be more dangerous than to enter into negotiations with the Tories, or even to labor under the suspicion of it at this time. Our friends here are in perfect good health and good humour, and very much your humble servants.

Since writing thus far, we have been alarmed with the news of some secret expedition of the czar's, which storm, it is thought probable, will fall upon Sweden, as you will see by my private letter in Mr. Tilson's hand. I must beg of you to exert yourself, and to send us some comfortable news on this most important occasion, where the safety and interest of his majesty's British and German dominions are evidently connected and inseparable, which topic I hope you will not be afraid to enlarge upon in your answer. You will easily judge of what importance it is, that our apprehensions, and the provision of money necessary to be made in consequence of them (which you may depend

Period III. upon it, will not be touched, without the most pressing exigency) should re-
 1720 to 1727. main an entire secret to every body, except the duke of Newcastle, to whom,
 1723. I desire you would communicate my letters, and excuse me to his grace for not troubling him with a repetition of the same matters. I need not tell you how nearly the king has this affair at heart; and what satisfaction your entering heartily into it will give; and tho' it must occasion an additional expence, in case matters should come to bear, yet the engagements of our treaties, and the danger with which England would be threatened, from such an acquisition of the czar's, will certainly fully justify it to the parliament. Pray let the duke of Newcastle know, that I take great comfort in the advances made to him by lord Lechmere; and that I think care should be taken to cultivate the good disposition he appears to be in at present. The marshal writes at large to the duke of Newcastle, by the messenger.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Relates his successful contest with baron Sparre, Bernsdorf, and Carteret, about the affairs of Sweden.—Is treated by the king with superior confidence.—Unsuccessful cabals of Carteret with some of the Hanoverians.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I Have received the favour of your private letter of the 19th July, but before I come to answer the particulars contained in it, I must acquaint you with a struggle I have had here with M. Bernstorff and lord Carteret, which has ended as well as could be wished. Some days ago, baron Sparre desired a conference with me on the subject of the czar's intended expedition, and pressed me very much to assist him in obtaining for his master an immediate supply of 10,000*l*. I did not at first shew myself very averse to this proposal, being willing to learn from him, how far his court were alarmed with the czar's propositions, and what steps they intended to take towards opposing them: but upon farther conversation, I plainly discovered, that they were in no great fear in Sweden on this event, persuading themselves, that if the czar should espouse the duke of Holstein's interest with an armed force, or should even pretend to influence the diet by appearing on their coasts, such a violence and indignity would turn to the king of Sweden's advantage; and he made no difficulty to own to me, that the only use intended to be made of the 10,000*l*. was to enable the king of Sweden to carry some points in the diet. You will easily believe, that after such a confession, I could not think it for our master's service, to advise him to an expence, neither justifiable by our treaties, nor of
 any

any service towards averting the present danger, and which might have opened the way for repeated applications of the same nature.

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The next day after Sparre had been with me, I met Bernstorff and lord Carteret in the king's antichamber, and could easily perceive by their discourse, that Sparre's demand had been made in concert with them, since Mr. Bernstorff not only pressed my advising the king to grant that sum, but urged the necessity of sending to England for six or eight men of war to join the Danish fleet. I remonstrated to him, that the sending for so insignificant a squadron, might indeed help to inflame the present discontents in England, and to alarm and affect publick credit, but could not possibly be of the least service for opposing any attempt of the czar, since before any such ships could be fitted out for the Baltick, the stroke (if any were really intended) must be struck, and the advanced season of the year, as it must soon send home the czar's fleet, so it would probably oblige ours to return within a week or fortnight after its arrival; and even supposing our ships at present in the Baltick, yet the Danish fleet (which consists of no more than ten) joined to so inconsiderable a number of ours, would not be in a condition to make head against a force so much superior as the czar's (including his galleys) is represented to be; besides, that it is not yet certain on what side the storm would fall. Notwithstanding my arguments, he still persisted in the same sentiments; and went in to the king, full of the necessity of sending both for ships and money from England. In the mean time, I discoursed with lord Carteret, whom I found agreeing with Bernstorff, or at least for sending to lord Berkley to have the ships in readiness, which proposal appeared to me more absurd than Bernstorff's; since such a preparation would equally have alarmed the nation without any possibility of our reaping the least benefit from it.

As soon as Bernstorff came out, we went in to the king together, where the point was fairly battled, and I had the satisfaction to find the king entirely agree with me in opinion, and for the same reasons, to the no small mortification of my antagonist. His majesty is sensible, that Bernstorff and my colleague had been even assisting and instructing Sparre in the solicitation he should make, and for this reason, he does not doubt, but we shall soon have the same demand renewed from Stockholm, in a more artful and authentic manner, on the foot of the assistance stipulated by our treaty. But besides, that by that time all thoughts of a squadron from England must be over, his majesty is firmly resolved not to assist Sweden with a farthing of money, till the case of the treaty shall actually exist, and some method shall be proposed, that may be judged effectual for averting the common danger. And tho' his ma-

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} _{1723.} jesty desires above all things, that such a sum of money as I mentioned in my last, may be got ready against any sudden emergency (which will be so effectual a service, that I cannot sufficiently recommend it to your care) yet he has given me orders to assure you in the most express terms, that not a farthing of it shall be touched, except in the case of such evident and extensive danger as shall fully justify such an expence to a British parliament; and I have the strongest assurances from the manner in which Bernstorff was treated, and what the king said to me of him on this occasion, that neither he nor any of the ministers here will be able to prevail with his majesty to depart from these resolutions.

You will see by the copy of Mr. Finch's letter enclosed in my publick dispatch, that the alarm is not hitherto very great in Sweden, which his majesty is much pleased with, as favouring his intentions of refusing both the ships and money, and he has ordered me to take occasion from that letter to treat this expedition of the czar as of no great consequence; promising to do the same on his part. Tho' lord Carteret came to me late last night to let me know that Bernstorff had news of the czar's being seen at sea, holding his course towards Sweden, with Holstein and Swedish colours; yet if some advices, which I have seen this day from Petersburg are true, he has not embarked any of the forces intended, and the whole expedition is like to end in exercising his sailors.

I have the satisfaction to assure you, that as I never saw the king in right dispositions, even in relation to those interests towards which he may naturally be supposed somewhat partial, so I never at any time since I had the honour to serve him, was used with half the confidence, and visible marks of distinction, that I have met with since my being here, which as it cannot fail by degrees to undeceive people in England, so I hope it will make you and the rest of our friends less solicitous in pushing particular points against your adversaries.

I am sorry to find lord Bolingbroke's affair continues to make ill blood among our friends. I think you were entirely right in keeping clear of any further engagements with him; and since it will be absolutely necessary for us to rest on the whig bottom, I think this should make us double our diligence to keep well with the bishops, which I hope you will attempt by all opportunities that offer. I hear nothing of Bolingbroke's coming hither as yet, and wish for many reasons his visit may be prevented.

The king continues his resolution of signing no paper relating to his British affairs, but in my presence.

My brother Carteret set out with making his court to Bernstorff, countess Platen, and madame de Wendt, an old friend of lord Sunderland, who is supposed to govern the countess, and I suppose he hoped to make use of Schrader, Pleffen, and such little emissaries and intelligencers, brought up to lying and intrigue. I make it my chief business to pay my court to our master; and to preserve the confidence of our old friends, taking care at the same time to shew all the civilities I safely can, to the others. I see no reason hitherto to repent of the interest I have made choice of, tho' my brother secretary, I believe, does, if I may judge by the countenance of his friends, and by his behaviour to me, which grows more supple than it was at first. As for Bernstorff, his own creatures acknowledge that he has less credit with the king than ever. If there be a place in the world where faction and intrigue are natural and in fashion, it is here, which makes it no easy task for a stranger to behave himself inoffensively: however, I am very sure, I have lost no friend, and I think I have made no enemy; tho' it is not a very agreeable situation to be eternally upon one's guard from all quarters. I must again repeat to you, that all here goes on as well as could be wished; but I earnestly recommend to you, that my private letters, and particularly what I wrote in my last, may be imparted to no one living, but the duke of Newcastle. Things are often reported back hither unaccountably; and the freedom we use in writing to one another, might be of the last ill consequence, if it were even suspected.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723,

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

King warmly commends Walpole, and is inclined to follow his advice.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, August 11, 1723.

YOUR letter of the 23d of July, relating to the grand affair, was entirely to our master's satisfaction. I asked him yesterday, upon shewing him my answer to it, whether I had not made you too many compliments; he said, that was impossible; you never had your equal in business, with many more warm expressions of the same kind. You will see by my letter, in Mr. Tilson's hand, that our accounts of the czar's expedition vary, and there is good reason to hope his forces are not embarked, tho' Bernstorff labours to have the contrary believed, and to keep up the alarm, in which he is seconded by my colleague. But I have the satisfaction to find the king perfectly steady to the sentiments I mentioned in my last, so that you may depend upon it, without the most evident and immediate necessity, not a penny will be touched; but we

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. we shall save both our money and credit. I agree with you entirely in your
 1720 to 1727. reasonings on this affair: and you may be assured, I shall not advise the king
 1723. to take the lead, much less to enter the lists alone against the czar and his
 Swedish pretender, except some unforeseen accident should make it absolutely
 necessary for the common safety.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Rise of the stocks.—Flourishing state of public credit.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

(August 30, 1723.) YOU cannot but observe the late rise of our stocks. South Sea was actually sold on Monday at 110. But the bulls and bears have sunk it again to betwixt seven and eight. I had the good fortune to tell his majesty before he went, that I thought it would come to this price before Michaelmas. This rise was nothing imaginary, not at all the effect of art. The public credit is now in so flourishing a condition, that upon some difficulties the duchess of Marlborough had a mind to make in that loan, I could have had 200,000*l.* in land tallies, with the interest upon them, which was about 12*s.* 6*d.*; in all 3*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; and I think it is plain we shall have the whole supply of next year at 3 per cent. even without the Marlborough money; and I flatter myself, that the next session of parliament will bring no discredit to those that have the honour to serve the king in his revenue.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHAUB.

Condoles with him on the death of cardinal du Bois.

Whitehall, August 5, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

I Received yesterday the melancholy account of the death of the cardinal; and as the loss of a minister of his great abilities and good disposition cannot but sensibly affect every body that wished well to the common cause; I can assure you, I bear my just share of this publick misfortune. As to you in particular, the loss of so good and powerful a friend, must be an affliction almost insupportable. I condole with you upon your own account. 'Tis impossible to doubt, but your endeavours for the service of his majesty will, upon this occasion, not only be continued, but as it may be more necessary, doubly exerted, till matters are entirely settled, under this great and important change; and we must all promise ourselves great success from your application and great experience. You have upon all accounts my good wishes, and may command

command my best services. I thought it not improper, on this occasion, to give the duke of Orleans the trouble of a letter. I have likewise wrote to the count de Morville; and desire you will with my best compliments, deliver the letters to them.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Will provide the 200,000*l.* but trusts there will be no occasion to employ it.— Enforces the necessity of not being precipitate, and strongly recommends cautious measures.—Lord Bolingbroke betrays to him lord Carteret's intrigues with the tories, and proposes a coalition of the tories with Townshend and Walpole, who warmly objects to the measure.*

Whitenall, July 23—August 3, 1723.

I Hope the answer I have sent you, concerning this great affair, will be to the king's and your lordship's satisfaction. The 150,000*l.* may certainly be had; but it is out of that provision, I made upon a supposition, that the king might possibly stay later than Christmas; so that both services cannot possibly be answered; which I presume you will make his majesty sensible of. At the same time, I cannot but wish from my heart, that this money may not be demanded; and if it can be avoided, I hope your lordship will let it take that turn, nor do I see how it can be employed at all by way of prevention; for if the czar's fleet was ready to sail, my agreement for this subsidy will come too late, and the blow be struck before a force can be got ready to repel it. For my part, I enter much into that part of your lordship's reasoning, to be as well as we can with the new king, or at least to shew a disposition to be so. If we enter precipitately into any engagement upon this occasion, we shall not carry the nation, nor perhaps the parliament along with us; but if we wait, and are driven into it, it will be seen and be thought to be the interest of Great Britain alone, that made us engage; and I do not know, whether this attempt of the czar, coming upon us so much by surprise, may not be more fortunate, than, a more early intelligence. In a word, my politics are to keep free from all engagements, as long as we possibly can. You'll forgive my sudden, and possibly very improper thoughts upon a subject, that I am but little acquainted with; but I am mightily inclined to be cautious.

You may be sure, I shall not neglect turning my thoughts towards the business of next sessions, but if any such things as we are now talking of should happen, there is an end of all that at once.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I sub-

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1723. I submit it further to your lordship's consideration, whether it is not worth thinking of; what will be our condition, if we are the only power in all Europe that enters immediately into this quarrel? If the Swedish nation are ready for a revolution, as the ill humours now prevailing seem to portend, it will be impossible to prevent it; and we shall have made the new king our enemy, who might possibly pretend otherwise to take the part, that the jacobites have a long time flattered themselves he will, it will all be imputed to this provocation of ours. France has, I apprehend, been a long time in negociation with the czar: can France be ignorant of this measure; or what part will France act upon this occasion? In short, I wish to God, we may at least for a little time remain neuters, and look on, if all the rest of Europe does the same thing. But all this I submit to your better judgement.

Lord Bolingbroke was with me last week, and shewed me the two letters he received from your lordship and lord Carteret: the letters were as unlike to one another, as the authors, and I assure you your brother secretary said not one word of future services, but gave him a bare dry compliment. This is agreeable to the part they all act here to keep themselves entirely clear of all engagements. I spoke very plainly to lord B. in the same manner, I had talked before, and gave him no hopes, that we would hazard the king's affairs by rashly undertaking any thing in parliament. But what I had chiefly to acquaint you with, was what lord B. said upon another subject. He introduced the conversation, with excusing himself for entering into any negociation, which he would, or would not proceed upon, as I should approve. He told me, he had held several conversations with sir William Windham and lord Bathurst, who spoke to him in their own names, and in the name of lord Gower: they declared themselves weary of the situation they were in, and ready to enter into any measures with your lordship, and your humble servant. They said they were in measures with lord Carteret all last winter, and corresponded frequently with him by messages, that the concert was with those three, and lord Anglesea, and lord Carteret; that Carteret had frequently pressed them to attack me personally, and that Anglesea was always on that side of the question; that this correspondence was founded upon repeated assurances of an undoubted superior interest, sufficient to support them, and continued till his lordship's departure; that they now thought themselves deceived by him, and were desirous to rid themselves of the disagreeable situation they were in, by renouncing jacobitism, &c. I answered it was both impossible and unadvisable for me to enter into any such negociation, and told lord Bolingbroke, I thought
he

he was doing a most imprudent thing, who was to expect his salvation from a whig parliament, to be negotiating to bring in a sett of tories; that if this should be known, his case would be desperate in parliament; and desired and advised him to give this answer to his friends, as from his own farther recollection: and that he thought it not proper upon consideration to mention it to me, which he seemed to acquiesce in, and to be satisfied. I need not observe to you: here is a direct confession of Carteret's dealing with the tories throughout all last session, which they are very explicit in.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Mentions rumours of divisions among the king's ministers at Hanover.—From whence they originate.—Consequences of these rumours if not checked.—Extreme tranquillity in England.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 30, 1723.

I Avoid as much as I can, troubling your lordship with all the idle stories and reports that are spread about here, tho' they come all from your side, least when they return upon the rebound, they may be either magnified or represented in such colours, and made use of to such purposes as the authors of them first design'd they should. I think it proper just to mention them to you, with a general remark or two, which I think indeed applicable to them all. They are sent over either with a view to keep up divisions here among the king's friends and servants, and to countenance people in forming intrigues and opposition, as if a sufficient interest was form'd at Hanover to support them; or if they are of another sort, they are to be the matter of complaint, and the reports which arise and are invented by themselves, are made use of as arguments of designs carrying on against them. Of these sorts, are the several reports that have fill'd the town, of the great differences betwixt the two secretaries at Hanover, of lord Carteret's being soon expected back in England, represented by some as a design to form a new ministry in conjunction with himself, by others as returning in disgrace.

Townshend
Papers.

Another report that has obtained very much is, that lord Carterett had endeavour'd or procured the bringing over the countesse of Platen into England. 'Tis great pity, my lord, that some check cannot be given to these proceedings, which altho' they may seem trivial have their ill effects: all that I can say is, when I am sure, I know from what quarter they do not come, it seems not hard to guess from whence they have source. And I find these

Period III. reports are not confin'd to England; but my son, who return'd hither last
 1720 to 1727. night from Paris, tells me there they talk of nothing more, and talk as they
 1723. are variously affected; but the story of the lady's journey is received there
 as a settled point. These stories, and the different reasonings upon them,
 and the True Briton, are the only things that cause the least disturbance here:
 we are otherwise in a state of tranquillity and satisfaction beyond what I have
 ever known; but you may depend upon it, the prospect of changes will all-
 ways animate the discontented and disaffected.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Anxious to facilitate the acceptance of the overtures from the king of Prussia.—
 Ill effects of the projects for establishing an East India company at Ostend.—
 Unexpected arrival of Bothmar.*

Hanover, Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

YOU will see by the office letter, that I have got the king's leave to send
 over for a full power for myself, in which I have likewise got lord Car-
 teret inserted; with a design of making use of it at the court of Berlin, if there
 should be occasion. The king of Prussia has made all imaginable court to
 the king our master, and has used all possible endeavours to get him over to
 Berlin. His majesty has certainly very little inclination for this journey; and
 has not hitherto declared his resolution upon it, but I live in hopes that he
 will conquer his aversion, and not refuse so trifling a compliance, which may
 open the way to a better understanding between the two crowns. A neigh-
 bouring prince, so nearly related, so well affected to the protestant cause, who
 has a standing force of 80,000 men: and such an extent of dominions as the
 king of Prussia, is certainly worth gaining even upon much harder terms; and
 I am satisfied nothing would contribute more to bring the czar to reason, and
 to facilitate our treaty with him, than the renewing our ancient alliances with
 Prussia, which I shall therefore labour all I can.

I have had a letter from governor Harrison, in which he tells me, that the
 spirit of the East India company is so broken by the Ostend project, that they
 neither think of putting up any tea at the next sale, nor of making any ex-
 ports the next season. How far this will affect our customs, and damp credit,
 you cannot but be sensible; and I should be glad you would take an oppor-
 tunity to discourse with him, and try to put a little new life into the company.
 This makes it still more necessary for me to renew my request to you of get-
 ting

ting a scheme for the ensuing sessions, so far digested, that I may be able to communicate the heads of it to the king, about the time that it will be necessary for him to think of returning; and I must again repeat to you, that nothing will gain his heart more than the striking out some good plan for the benefit of trade and credit. Mr. Pestors begins now to hope that the States will come to more vigorous resolutions than they have hitherto taken in relation to the Ostend trade, which I shall be very glad to find confirmed.

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Count Lippe's story of the countess of Platen, is certainly a lye. I am informed from very good hands, that she has not the least thought of going for England. Neither do I find any thing that looks like it in her conversations; tho' I have often the honour of her company, and am well with some other ladies that are in her good graces, as you may perhaps soon find to your cost. I shall take care to bring you off as cheap as I can; but I must desire you to do honour to my demands, which will not be very extravagant.

It was a great surprize to me, to find count Bothmar just upon his arrival here, without any previous intelligence from you of the motives of his journey. The purchase of an estate in Meklenbourg, is the pretence given out, but I believe he is not very formidable, let his views be what they will. Some days ago, my old tormenter, monsieur Petkum, had the impertinence to make his personal appearance here, it cost me a hundred pounds to send him packing the next day, for which I must take the liberty to draw on Mr. Lowther, by the next messenger.

My colleague* is gone out a shooting for some days; he seems to be pretty much at the stand, what course to steer next, having no great reason hitherto to be satisfied with his negotiations. Our friends here, send their services to you and the duke of Newcastle, to whom I desire my best respects.

* Lord Carteret.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Motives for proposing to send Horace Walpole to Paris.—Secret objects of his mission.—His instructions.

Hanover, Sept. 21, 1723.

THE occasion of my dispatching this messenger to you, is an affair of great importance, which must be managed with the utmost secrecy, being known at present to no one but his majesty and myself. His majesty has received some advices from Paris, that the duke of Orleans since the death of cardinal du Bois, has recalled to court count Nocé, with whom the duke had always lived

Hardwicke Papers.

Copy.

Period III. lived in the greatest intimacy, but whom the cardinal forced him to part with;
 1720 to 1727. that Nocé, since his return, has resumed the great share he formerly had in the
 1723. duke's confidence, and is (as Homer, fir Luke Schaub's secretary, writes to Mr. Balaquier) particularly trusted and employed in the affairs relating to England; that Nocé has conceived an irreconcilable aversion against Schaub, as supposing him to have been instrumental with the cardinal in procuring his disgrace. You must be sensible that nothing can be of greater importance to the king, than to be rightly informed of the truth of the foregoing facts, since the maintaining the good understanding with France, which was so happily established by the cardinal's good offices, may in a great measure depend upon it; for the duke of Orleans, however well disposed and capable of judging for himself, is by a peculiar easiness of temper, the most liable of any man living to put himself under the direction of those who have his confidence, and thereby susceptible of any impressions they think fit to give him. This good understanding therefore cannot long be preserved, if one so near him as the count de Nocé is represented to be, should not only withdraw his confidence from the king's ministers at that court, but perhaps out of personal pique and resentment to that minister, should carry his aversion still farther to the affairs he is charged with from his majesty.

But as on one hand, it is of great importance to the king to be apprised, as soon as possible, of the real situation of affairs in France, so on the other hand, it will require great caution and address to come at the truth in such a manner, as may neither hurt fir Luke Schaub's credit with the duke of Orleans, nor create a jealousy in fir Luke, of the king's intending to withdraw his confidence from him. Upon these considerations, his majesty has thought it not adviseable to send any one directly to France from this place, which could not have been done without noise, and giving umbrage of one kind or other, but has rather chose to have somebody on whose fidelity and dexterity he can depend, set out from England, and take Paris in his way hither, under pretence of a curiosity to see that place, and without owing to any one living, the business he is employed in. And his majesty, having been pleased to turn his thoughts on my brother Horace Walpole for that service, as one who has acquitted himself well in former negotiations, and is acquainted with the general state of foreign affairs, and who having been expected here by every body all this summer, his leaving England at this time will occasion no new speculation; I am therefore to desire you to prevail with him to undertake the journey immediately; and it is his majesty's pleasure, that he should observe the following

following instructions. He is in the first place, to take care to avoid giving the least suspicion of his being sent by the king to Paris, and his coming thither, must appear to be nothing but the effects of his own curiosity to see the place. He is to use as much freedom and openness towards sir Luke Schaub, as is consistent with concealing the real intent of his journey, and is to learn from him, as much as he easily can, of the present situation of affairs in France, without betraying the least jealousy of any decay of sir Luke's credit, or pressing to know more than he is ready to impart to him. He is to wait on the duke of Orleans, or not, as it is thrown in his way, and is to see as many of the French ministers as he can, without creating suspicion, particularly M. de Morville and the count de Nocé; and in his general conversations, is to enlarge (as from himself and from his own knowledge only) on the firm desire which the king and those who have the honour to be employed by him, have to preserve a perfect good understanding with France, and to repair the loss which both nations have sustained in the death of the cardinal, by keeping up the same strict friendship with those who succeed him in the care of publick affairs. But the main drift of all his conversations must be to learn (without appearing to affect it) in what degree of confidence M. de Morville and the count de Nocé stand with the regent, and how each of them is affected towards the king our master, and towards keeping a good understanding with England, as also personally towards sir Luke Schaub and one another. For avoiding all suspicion Mr. Walpole must forbear writing to me by the post; but as soon as he has informed himself as thoroughly as he can, of the abovementioned particulars, and of the state of the French affairs in general, he must dispatch to me privately some trusty servant, whom he must take along with him for that purpose, with a full relation of what is come to his knowledge, and under pretence of visiting some of the neighbouring palaces, &c. &c. must take occasion to stay in France, till he receives his majesty's farther orders.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Obtains the mission of Horace Walpole to Paris, without the knowledge of lord Carteret.—Good effects to be derived from that event.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Sept. 25, 1723.

YOU will see by the enclosed, which the king has seen and approved of, that I have had the good fortune to bring about in a quiet way, and without our colleague's being consulted, what we of all things had the most reason to wish

Hardwicke
Papers.
Copy.

Period III. with for, which is the prevailing with the king to take such a step, as cannot
 1720 to 1727. fail to set our interest in a clearer light, and to put us on a better foot with
 1723. the court of France. For tho' my brother Horace Walpole's instructions, are not to own to any one living, his being employed by the king (which he must be sure strictly to comply with, that we may be irreproachable on that head) yet all the world will easily comprehend, that he does not take Paris in this way to Hanover, merely out of curiosity, or without the king's approbation. And if he executes his commission with his usual dexterity, the effect will either be, that he will make such discoveries, as must end in getting Schaub recalled; or at least that Schaub, finding we have credit enough to get so near a relation sent over to superintend him, will so far consider his own situation, as to act in a more open and sincere manner towards us, and think it necessary to make a merit to himself of appearing to throw that interest into our hands, which after such a tacit declaration in our favour, it may no longer be in his power to withhold from us. And as that interest has hitherto been the chief, and is at present in a manner the only hold and support of our antagonists, this affair, if managed with discretion, will wound them in the most vital and sensible part; and being therefore of such great consequence to us, I hope you will prevail with my brother Horace, to undertake the journey without any difficulty or delay.

I would advise him not to mention any thing to sir Luke Schaub, or the French ministers, of the match that is in agitation for the countess of Platen's daughter with M. de la Vrilliere, except they take notice of it to him first; in which case he is to express himself strongly for it; that we may steer clear of the imputation of designing to obstruct it; it being what our friends here are all well inclined to. I desire that your answer, to be enclosed, may be separate, and such as it may be proper to shew to the king.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Intrigues to obtain the appointment of marshal Hartenberg to be first minister.—Townshend carries his point.—Gains the confidence of the dukes of Kendal.—Procures the place of commissary for Walpole's friend, in opposition to the earnest recommendation of lords Cadogan and Carteret.—Lord Middleton's letter to his son on Wood's patent.

Hanover,

Hanover, Oct. 2, 1723.

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Hardwicke
Papers.*Very private.**Copy.*

I Am now able to send you an account of the whole progress and happy termination of an affair, which has given me the only solid uneasiness I have felt since my being here, and which looked so unpromising in some of its aspects, that I did not care to alarm you with any part of it, till all was over, and it had taken its turn one way or other.

While we were extremely intent on guarding against the attacks of our enemies, and had all the success that way which could be desired; it happened, that the indiscretion of some of our friends, had like to have ended in worse consequences than the utmost efforts of the former could have brought about. The marshal, ever since his being here, has been labouring in the most eager and impatient manner to get himself declared minister: and not being able to carry his point with that ease and expedition he wished for, he threatened, and certainly had thoughts of quitting the king's service altogether, and carried his indiscretion so far as to grow very negligent in his attendance, and even to withdraw himself from court for some weeks, under frivolous pretences. But this was not all; for tho' the duchess acted a very sincere part towards him in this affair, and strained her interest, perhaps farther than was adviseable, to gratify his eagerness and ambition; yet the marshal, partly thro' impatience, and partly thro' a falsehood and indirectness, too habitual to him (of which I shall be able to give you stronger proofs than I wish for, when we meet) could not forbear making his court privately to persons of the opposite faction, and looking out for assistance in that quarter, from whence accounts of all his practices were constantly brought round to the duchess.

This infidelity, in one whom the duchess honoured with her chief confidence, has, you may be sure, given her great uneasiness. However, it has had the immediate good effect, of making her more open and unreserved towards me, and I believe, I may venture to say, she reposes a more entire confidence in me at present, than in any other person about the king. I was very true to the marshal in his grand affair, and notwithstanding the discoveries that have been made, advised the duchess to press his being declared minister, in which situation it is very possible, he may signify less than he did before. At least he will serve to exclude some more dangerous person from being brought over to England, and will save us from the difficulties and uncertainties that always attend a change of hands. I neither did, nor could (after some things that are come to my knowledge) endeavour to re-establish the marshal's character of integrity with the duchess, and as I believe it morally

Period III. rally impossible, that he should ever regain her confidence entirely, the bringing him back to England must, I think, of course have the effect of throwing her into our hands, where I am sure neither the king nor she have, or shall discover any falsehood. The event has been, that the king has promised the mareschal to take him into the ministry; and I believe it will be done before the journey to Berlin, which was declared yesterday, tho' the time of his majesty's setting out, is not yet fixed. He is still to keep his mareschall's place, and his going back to England, is made an express condition of his nomination. This has set all right again, and the mareschal and I are as dear friends as ever, setting aside a little shyness and awkwardness on his part, which I verily believe is owing to the consciousness of his own wrong behaviour and insincerity, since I am very sure he can have nothing to object to me in this whole affair.

At the same time, the mareschal was playing these tricks, M. Hattorf had taken a positive resolution not to return any more to England. Tho' his motives were certainly only the want of health, and the inconveniences arising from his own private affairs, (his sincerity and integrity being above all suspicion), yet this added very much to my uneasiness, as it opened a way for taking some other German over. But upon the duchess and my assurances of such returns of friendship from you and me, as his most irreproachable conduct towards the king, and kind inclination towards us, very well deserve, he has altered his mind, and will certainly go over; so that upon the whole, I hope every thing will stand on the same good foot as formerly, with this only difference and advantage, that the mareschal by his great dexterity will have transferred the ascendant with the duchess from himself to us, and may for the future stand more in need of our assistance than we of his.

Lord Carteret told me a few nights ago, that he had seen a letter from the chancellor of Ireland to his son* (who I suppose is sent hither chiefly for the sake of carrying on a private correspondence with lord Carteret) taking notice that the coinage of farthings and halfpence for Ireland gave great offence in that kingdom; and would probably be inquired into by their parliament. I told his lordship, that I understood this affair of the coinage to have been set on foot in lord Sunderland's time, and to have been only perfected now: that it was thought not only agreeable, but necessary to that kingdom; and that even if it were otherwise, it ill becomes his majesty's chancellor to be forward in

* Alan Brodrick. This letter is printed among the letters on Wood's patent.

looking out for grievances to clog his majesty's service. He told me that a coinage had been desired by our plantations in America in lord Sunderland's time, but that he never heard of Ireland's having desired it; but he said he would write lord Middleton word, that as the coinage was an inherent prerogative of the crown, he did not see what either house of parliament could have to object to it. I give you this hint, that you may consider what objections that affair is liable to, and may give the duke of Grafton notice that this is likely to be one of the rubs that will be thrown in his way.

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The king will go directly from Berlin to the Goehrde, and our scheme will be to prevail with him to set out for England about the 20th of November, N. S. but this will depend so much on the weather, and the diversion he meets with in hunting, that no conjecture can be made, what success our solicitations are likely to meet with. If the affair of the supplies should make it absolutely necessary for his majesty to meet the parliament before Christmas, I desire you would let me know it, as soon as you can, and that you would in that case, about the latter end of this month, O. S. send me over such a letter as may be proper to be shewn to his majesty, setting forth the necessity of his return in strong, tho' respectful terms.

I received yesterday morning your letter of the 13th September, with an account of the vacancy likely to happen by sir William Strickland's death, and at noon lord Carteret and I had a fair battle before the king, he for Burroughs and I for Wescomb. His lordship begun by saying, that lord Cadogan had recommended Burroughs, and had formerly obtained a promise in his favor, that it was true Mr. Walpole, as he had heard, had proposed Wescomb, but that he was so much a creature of the duke of Argyle's, that his lordship supposed his majesty would not think it proper to trust a post of such consequence in relation to military affairs in Wescomb's hands. I told the king, that I apprehended the dispute not to be whether Burroughs or Wescomb should have this place (which was a matter in itself perfectly indifferent to you and me) but whether lord Cadogan had shewn himself so very abstemious in point of profit, that his majesty could think it for his service to have not only the army, but all posts relating to it, and even such as were intended for a check and controul on the indirect practices of officers, entirely subjected to lord Cadogan and his friends. That, as for Wescomb, all that I knew of him was, that lord Carteret himself had formerly brought him to me, and recommended him as a very honest man, and that he had the good fortune to do his majesty some service by his discoveries in Spain last year. That as for his being a

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creature of the duke of Argyle's, I thought it so far from an objection in the present case, that this circumstance might possibly make him a stricter check without at all interfering with lord Cadogan's command, which as his majesty knew, I had never endeavored to lessen or break in upon. The king's answer was, "*Vous avez raison je veux que Wescomb ait la charge;*" and then he rebuked lord Carteret for insinuating, that this would interfere with the command, since a commissary's only business was to see that his majesty and the public were not cheated. Perhaps you may have some curiosity to know what my good colleague's behavior was upon this victory. We came home very lovingly together, and he was lavish on his old topick, how well he intended to live with you and me. I beg that these particulars may not be mentioned to any body but the duke of Newcastle; since nothing would give his majesty greater offence, than our making any such affair a matter of triumph, and the less we boast, the more we shall certainly have to boast of.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Horace Walpole gone to Paris with proper instructions.—Opinion of Law concerning count Nocé.—Lord Peterborough informs him of the situation and sentiments of the duke of Orleans.—The removal of sir Luke Schaub necessary.—Rumour that lord Carteret is going ambassador to France.—Accuses lord Middleton and the Brodericks of fomenting the discontents in Ireland, on account of Wood's patent.—Defends the coinage.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Oct. 1—12, 1723.

Townshend
Papers.

MY brother Horace is gone this morning for France, and his instructions, and the part he is to act, are as well considered and settled betwixt us, as we are capable of doing. I have seen Mr. Law severall times since I had your directions how to behave to him, and have shewn all reasonable civilities, and am sure I have so ordered my brother's journey to Paris with him, that he thinks Horace goes by his advice, and has not the least suspicion of any such thing being ordered from Hanover; he was very pressing with me, that Horace should go that way, thought it would be of great use and satisfaction to the duke of Orleans, to talk with one so related. I tried in general conversation, to learn his opinion of count de Nocé. He thinks him capricious, and not to be depended upon, and tho' in other things, and in private life, he may have a great share of the duke of Orleans's favour and intimacy, he does not seem to apprehend that he will have much to do in business.

I have

I have likewise heard my lord Peterborough's account at full length of his last travels; he boasts much of the good offices he did us with the duke of Orleans, thinks what he says has great weight, and gives the same character of count de Nocé, as Mr. Law does. These were the only two persons, that I could apprehend, might be writing into France upon Horace's going that way; and as I was obliged, upon other occasions, to see and discourse them, I thought it was proper to learn what I could of them, and give them a right way of thinking upon this occasion. Lord Peterborough brought me personal compliments from the duke of Orleans, by his order, which I know to be true, because both sir Luke and Mr. Crawford wrote me word it was so: but as you know his conversations are infinitely too long to bring within the compass of a letter, 'tis needful to think of giving you an account of them; but what concerns ourselves, immediately, and personally, I think you should know. He says, great pains have been, and are taken, to this day, to persuade the duke of Orleans, that a good understanding betwixt him and us, is impracticable; that we must be look'd upon as occasional, and temporary friends to France; that we have not the affection of the king our master, but are employ'd out of necessity only; that we are now lost too with the prince; and from these premises, I think the inference is plain. He says, the duke of Orleans found among the late cardinal's papers, severall papers and correspondencies with the cardinal, sir Luke Schaub, and lord Carterett, upon these subjects, that have given the duke a great aversion and contempt for sir Luke; and all these things, he relates from the duke's own mouth; and you may be sure, concludes with his answering and removing all these prejudices. But if he is a judge, or we are at all to believe what he says, the removing sir Luke Schaub would be an acceptable service to the duke of Orleans. I had almost forgott to tell you, that Bolingbroke is named in the correspondencies, found among the cardinal's papers; and he makes the design of his (B's) wife coming over last year, a deep plot.

I suppose you will have heard by this time, of the report of lord Carterett's going embassadour to France; this I take to be another of their own stories, raised by themselves to be complained of. But perhaps it may surprize you to hear, that in the last letters from Paris, it is said, a certain house is hired for lord Carterett; and this same account, in three letters that I knew of, one from lord to lady Lansdown, one from Henry Berkley to Mr. Pulteney, and one from a banker at Paris to Mr. Drummond.

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Sir William Strickland being again upon the mending hand, I hear Cadogan will try another pull for his friend Burroughs, their superiority is now talk'd up again as high as ever. I only tell you these things, just as they happen, but must from hence take occasion to observe to you, from that part of your last letter, where you tell me, the duchesse hopes I will take care to set matters right in England; that it will be impossible for me or any body else to do it, as long as things rest upon the foot they now are: they are form'd, cabal, and every where by their creatures declare openly against us. We keep the contrary appearances; whatever events would contribute to give us credit, in the eye of the world, we are silent upon, and must not triumph; they not only boast of the little advantages they do gain, but assume to themselves the credit of those very things that are over-ruled against them, that they are said to do every thing, and we do nothing. But indeed, my lord, if this contest is suffer'd to subsist, and the king will not be persuaded to make it very plain on one side or other, you'll see they'll begin the next session as they ended the last; and I am sure 'tis impossible to have lord chancellor, or lord Berkley, but by shewing them that we have the power. The first is out of town again; the latter, with whom I din'd last week, I thought again not altogether so warm and cordial as before, and these changes happen just as they are inform'd, and think the wind blows.

I suppose you make no doubt at all from what corner the attack in the Irish parliament, upon the copper coinage arises; lord Middleton indeed declaring against it, but his son taking the lead with several warm, virulent, and scurrilous invectives; with his son, join'd his secretary, his purse bearer, and three or four immediate dependants, who appear'd openly with violence. You observ'd, that previous notice was sent of this to Hanover; and surely in a proper time and manner the king may be convinced, with whom the Brodericks are link'd, and by whom influenced, which was too notorious last winter, to be at all doubted. Lord Carterett, in this attack, has different views; he flurs the duke of Grafton, he flings dirt upon me, who pass'd the patent, and makes somebody * uneasy, for whose sake it was done; and this is one of the instances, wherein these that think themselves in danger, begin to be upon the offensive. And as I think a good use may be made of this, if it is rightly turn'd, so it may not be improper to apprise your lordship a little of the matter. I was apprehensive, and had notice of this design before the parliament mett, and wrote accordingly twice to Ireland upon the subject; but it appears to me, that the thing took an unpopular turn, and those who should have stem'd the torrent, rather

* Probably the duchess of Kendal.

rather fell in with the popular cry, than satt about opposing it: the Brodericks brought it on with great precipitation, and without considering, or indeed understanding the case; the parliament has come to the resolutions, of which I send you a copy inclosed. And now I have seen the resolutions, and the severall objections that were made against the patent, which are likewise sent me over, I am astonished that an assembly should come into such resolutions, that are all false in fact: and indeed I was a good deal concerned till I saw what they did object, least by inadvertency or by being impos'd upon, we might out of a desire of doing the service have lett this slip through our fingers, liable to more objections, than I was aware of. But most certainly 'tis not so; and unlesse they do insist in Ireland, that the king shall pass no such patent for coining money in England, which is the only sense of the last resolution, there is nothing in all they say; and surely this will never be admitted or suffered to be a doctrine here, because it is a prerogative never disputed, and often exercised. 'Tis fitt you should know, that what is voted of the patentee's not complying with his contract, is all false; there is not the least foundation for saying, there were different impressions, and of different weights. The patentee, nor any body for him was never heard. And that resolution, that makes the losse 150 per cent. is founded upon a computation, that copper uncoined is worth but 12*d.* per lib. but a pound of copper halfpence and farthings are by the patent to passe for 2*s.* 6*d.* ergo the losse is 1*s.* 6*d.* But a pound of copper prepar'd for the mint at London, costs there 1*s.* 6*d.* the charge of coining a pound of copper, is at the mint 4*d.* and I think the duty of a pound of copper coin'd, imported into Ireland is $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per lb. besides the exchange, &c. which with all allowances, comes to 20*d.* per cent. and all this laid aside, and the copper money valued at the supposed value of the ruff Irish copper, which is much inferiour to English copper.

I have enter'd thus far into this affair to give you some satisfaction, that you may see, when the matter is considered, it may be supported; which truly is the case, by all that I can learn on both sides of the question; that there is a profit in all these things, there is no doubt, that these grants are always suppos'd beneficial, and in this case, the money is better than ever was in Ireland. There was a misfortune in the conducting this matter in Ireland, which I'll take another opportunity to explain to you; but among friends, you know the Irish secretary of state is all Balm of Gilead. But you'll be very much mistaken, if you think the spirit that was shewn in Ireland upon this occasion.

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Period III. 1720 to 1727. fion, was not wholly owing to the full perfuafion of the fuperiority that is thought to be againft us. Mr. Broderick did every thing but name me in his fpeeches; and in his reflections upon the minifters, did to the fenfè and apprehenfion of every hearer, diftinguifh betwixt minifters, that I make not the leaft doubt, but the whole was concerted. Since I wrote what is above, I have received two letters together from lord chancellor Middleton, full of his falfhood and little cunning, and the latter is to explain off the former; I fhall be very fhort in my anfwer.

I received an account laft night, that Jack Smith* was certainly dead, which, tho' 'tis not yet known in town, is certainly true. This may give an opportunity of difpofing of Treby,† and putting in Mr. Pellham, which I fuppofe will be done by the rule of keeping things open till the king's return. I beg you will gett immediately a promife from the king not to difpofe of it, nor to be ingaged to any body elfe; for I think by the things that are now vacant, we may fettle our affairs in parliament to our content. I cannot enough admire your conduct in the marechal's affair, it was as nice and difficult a task, as was ever upon the tapis, and it was impoffible for mortal man to manage it better.

As for the meeting of the parliament, I am very clearly of opinion, it fhould not meet before Christmas: you know from what I wrote upon the affair of the fubfidy, I cannot pretend not to be able to fubfift the army, which we have made provifion for 'till the latter end of February; and indeed I am of the dutcheffe's opinion, that 'tis better to make the king eafy by ftaying late this year, which may prevent another year's expedition, than to haften him over, when 'tis of no fervice. I always thought the adjournments at Christmas, tended more to cabals, than all other occafions. I have given the duke of Newcaftle the particulars relating to Monf. Hattorff's lodgings, and have given all other neceffary orders for the difpatch of what he is pleas'd to defire; and you may affure Monf. Hattorffe, I will take effectual care, that every thing fhall be done againft he comes, entirely to his fatisfaction: and pray my lord, take this occafion, of giving him my affurances of my moft fincere refpect, and beft fervices to him. The duke of Kent has been with me, and is willing rather to take the 2000 l. per annum, than be kept any longer in fufpenfe. I do not trouble you with my own indifpofitions, but I have been really worfe for a few days laft week, than I have often been, my ail lies wholly

* Teller of the exchequer.

† Secretary at war.

in my head, 'tis certainly something of a goutish humour, which not fixing in my limbs, flies about me, and often affects my head and stomach. I think you are entirely in the right, to fix St. Martin's for Claggett; for your brother now taking the part of Egerton, 'tis necessary to show them they cannot carry it; and Claggett must see, and say to whom he owes it. Manni is gone back: I have neither time nor patience to trouble you any farther now, but will explain that matter further to you next opportunity.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

On the disturbances in Ireland about Wood's patent.—Transmits the addresses of both houses, and a sketch of the king's answer.—Recommends a due mixture of moderation and firmness.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Oct. 11—23, 1723.

HAVING nothing to trouble your lordship with, that presses in point of time, but what concerns the addresses of the Irish parliament, I choose to defer sending a messenger till next week, and to trust this to the common post. I have transmitted to my lord Carteret the addresses of both houses to the king, to be laid before his majesty; and as I think the only present consideration is, what answer his majesty shall give to them, it seems to me a matter of great nicety and difficulty; for as they have made this the first business of the session, and every thing, that concerns the government, is still behind, if an answer distasteful to the Irish nation should be given, it may be of ill consequence, and create many new difficulties in Ireland, which perhaps was one of the chief designs in bringing this matter on. On the other hand, since 'tis most certain, that they have gone on so precipitately, as to be mistaken in all their facts, it must never be admitted, that the king in his answer should take those things for granted which are not true, or yield in that general point, wherein both houses so expressly declare against the coining any money in Great Britain for Ireland; which makes me of opinion, that the king's answer should be general, and somewhat to this effect: "That his majesty is very much concerned to see, that the granting this patent, agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors, had given so much uneasiness to his subjects of Ireland: and if there have been any abuses committed by the patentee, that his majesty is willing to give the necessary orders for inquiring into and punishing those abuses, and will do every thing that is in his power, for the satisfaction of his people."

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

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Period III. 1720 to 1727. Something of this kind, I should hope would answer the present purpose, at least, make all those who pretend to be zealous for the king's service, inexcusable, if upon this account they putt any stop to the king's business, and indeed it is impossible for the king to do any thing more; for that Wood has not transgressed against his patent, is most certain; that the profit upon the undertaking is so far from being 150 per cent. that 'tis demonstrable 'tis under 20 per cent.; that the patent being an absolute grant for 14 years, 'tis not in the power of the crown, to reverse or revoke it, but upon a due course of law by *scire facias*, or other writ; and that 'tis impossible to assign and prove any such breaches of the terms and conditions of the patent, as in any degree shall invalidate or make void the grant; that the granting such patents is an undoubted prerogative of the crown, exercis'd and practis'd by several of the king's predecessors; that the last coinage of copper money in Ireland, was by a grant from king William for 21 years to private persons; and the preceding coinage was by a like grant from king James the 2d; and that the money coin'd by virtue of those patents, was much inferiour to this, both in weight and goodness of copper. This being the state of the case, I cannot tell what better to advise, than not give such an answer as may provoke a sitting parliament, before the king's business is done, and yett not make such concessions as shall give up any part of the king's prerogative, or admitt a blame where there is really none. We have this day apprehended George Willson, I have just examined him very briefly. He hitherto denies roundly; but I believe by next post, I shall give a pretty good account of him. Yesterday died lord Cowper, after a few days illness of a strangury, attended with a fever.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Obtains letters credential for Horace Walpole.—Astonishment and chagrin of lord Carteret on that occasion.—Townshend's influence with the king—not apprehensive of any opposition.—Is surpris'd at the addresses of the two houses of parliament in Ireland against Wood's patent.

DEAR SIR,

Gohrde, Oct. 25, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

I Am heartily glad to find by yours of the 1st, that my brother Horace was set out for Paris; and that you had managed matters so dexterously, as to make Mr. Law believe his taking that route, was the effect of his advice. The king's agreeing to send my brother Horace over thither, was a great mark of his confidence towards us; but still, as he was under the strictest obligations

of

of concealing his commission, every body was at liberty to speculate and to doubt, if they could, whether his journey was undertaken by the king's direction or not. But I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that that affair is put past all dispute, by the king's making such a declaration in our favor, as must convince the most credulous, how low lord Carteret's interest is sunk. Upon my only suggesting to the king, that it might facilitate Horace's commission, if he had some credential from his majesty, during his stay at Paris; and telling him, that the admission of the king of Portugal into the quadruple alliance, furnished a handle for sending him a full power, his majesty immediately relished the proposal, and undertook to start it the next day to lord Carteret, as his own thought, which he accordingly did with great dexterity, and gave his lordship (who did not dare to make the least difficulty) positive orders, to send into England by this messenger, for the proper instruments for that purpose. This indisputable mark of confidence towards us, and neglect towards lord Carteret and Schaub, cannot fail to induce the duke of Orleans and the French minister to open themselves towards my brother Horace, and to court our friendship; and the king's putting so near a relation of our's, over Schaub's head, in a court, where the whole secret of affairs centers at present in lord Carteret's province, and in the strength and heart of his interest, will be such a publication to the world of the superiority of our credit, that I think a stronger neither can, nor ought to be desired at present. I make no doubt, but the accounts the king has received of the boasts of our adversaries, have contributed to the drawing down this mortifying stroke on their heads, which I can assure you, has so astonished lord Carteret, that I never observed in him on any occasion, such visible marks of despair; and I am as sure as I can be of any thing, that our not appearing desirous of having declarations made in our favor, will be the surest way of obtaining them, let the superiority of our adversaries be cried up as much as it will in England. I do assure you, that the contrary is known and felt, and owned here, even by lord Carteret himself; and I believe, if you will reflect on what has passed, as to the disposition of preferments, or the keeping them open; you yourself must be satisfied, that lord Carteret's friends cannot think in their hearts, that those matters have gone as he wished they should. His friend Bernsdorf, is now at his country seat, but two or three German miles from this place, waiting in vain for an invitation to come hither, and not daring to come without it.

The king is determined to remove lord Middleton, whenever you think it for the service; and tho' I take it for granted you would not wish to have it

Period III. done in the heat of the present stupid enquiry, it will only depend on you
 1720 to 1727. to send for the seals from him when you please. The teller's place, tho' lord
 1723. Sutherland has writ earnestly for it, will be kept open, 'till the king's return; and I make not the least doubt will then be disposed of in the manner you shall judge most for the public service. How affairs stand with the duchess, I have already fully informed you, as likewise how clear a course I have steered in relation to the other ladys; and what the king's daily civilities to me are, whoever will write truth from this place, is able to witness: so that upon the whole, our campaign upon this side of the water, has been much more successful than I dared to promise myself; and I think ought to support you under such idle rumours at London, as it would hardly be in our power to prevent, but by such unreasonable and importunate demands, as would check and starve the growth of our interest, and help to turn those rumours themselves into reality.

I have read over Wood's paper, and am amazed how any grave assembly could come to such rash and false assertions. I have writ my mind freely to the duke of Grafton on this subject, and desire you would let me have your thoughts, what answer should be returned to the monstrous addresses of the two houses. I should be glad to know, whether it be true in fact, that former patentees were obliged to exchange the copper coin for gold and silver, when required. I have not yet troubled the king on the disagreeable subject of the duke of Kent's 2000*l.* per annum, since my being here, and should be heartily glad that affair might rest till we come back. The goodness of the weather makes the diversions of this place highly agreeable to his majesty, and I can give no guess as yet, when we shall return to Hanover.

I beg of you, that the true motive of Horace's journey to France, may remain an entire secret to every mortal but the duke of Newcastle. I again repeat to you, that I know the ground I stand on, that I am sure I have better interest here than I ever had in my life; that I despise the short lived appearances raised to the contrary in England; and I earnestly desire of you, that the least of the secrets I write you, may not be divulged, in order to destroy them. I am most heartily concerned to hear of your late indisposition, and beg of you above all things to take care of your health. I return you captain Berney's commission signed; and am with the greatest truth and affection, &c.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

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Informs him that every proper method was taken to assay Wood's coinage.—Justifies the difference in the fineness between English and Irish half-pence.—Macky sent to Brussels as a spy.—Recommends Dr. Smallbrook to be bishop of St. David's.

1723.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 18—29, 1723.

I Have explained the affair of the Irish coinage so fully to your lordship, that I have little to add upon that subject; and by my letter of the 11th instant, when I sent the two addressees to my lord Carterett, I gave it as my opinion, that his majesty's answer should be very generall, expressing his concern at their uneasiness, that his majesty had done no more than what had been done by all his predecessors; and that he would do all *that is in his power* to give him satisfaction; which I think must satisfy those that are not determined not to be satisfied. What your lordship suggests about sir Isaac Newton, has in a great measure been done already; sir Isaac was consulted in every step in passing the patent; a controller was directed by the patent, that was to assay, try, and prove the fineness and goodness of the copper, and the weight of the coin; sir Isaac Newton was himself made the first controller; but at his request, Mr. Barton, his nephew, was made the controller in his room. Upon the first apprehension of this trouble, the controller was directed to try and prove the coin; and he has reported, that it answer'd in all respects; this report of the controller's was, by order of the treasury, transmitted to Ireland; and I understand, was laid before the parliament of Ireland, but not at all regarded. And as to what is said, that this coinage for Ireland, is not so good as the last coinage for England, it is admitted that the farthings and half-pence are less in weight, which at the time of passing the patent, was consider'd, and found to be necessary; for your lordship knows the exchange of money between England and Ireland, is about 12*l.* per cent. which is above 3*d.* per pound of copper; the duty of importation, is $\frac{1}{2}$ per pound; and the patentee then insisted, upon what he since found true by experience, that he should be obliged to make an allowance of about 10*l.* per cent. to such persons, as should take in traffick, quantities of this money at first, to issue and circulate in Ireland. These considerations sufficiently justify the difference in the weight of the two coins, when at the same time it is admitted on all hands, that the Irish coin in fineness of metall, exceeds the English.

Townshend
Papers.Private.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1723.

I think I have never yett given you an account of my sending Mr. Macky privately to reside at Bruffels, to learn, and give us what intelligence he could, of the late bishop's motions; he was to personate a jacobite, and has acted his part so well, that he has got admittance to the bishop, and into some degree of confidence with him, which he has satisfied me in, by sending me over an original letter from the bishop to him, all in the bishop's own hand writing; and the accounts he gives me, of their conversations, are very natural and probable. There are two pieces of news he has told me, the one is, lord George Drummond, has been with the bishop from the pretender directly, and staid with him a week incognito. The other is, the bishop to him, has expressed great satisfaction in general Dillon's being reconciled to the duke of Orleans, since the death of the cardinal, which the bishop says, was at the instance of the pretender. And this agrees so far with the accounts from France, that general Dillon has certainly been for some time at Versailles. But if I am not mistaken, Macky has undertaken, and brought about another business, which may be of great service to his majesty; he has sett on foot a correspondence betwixt me and Monf. Jaupain, the post master generall at Bruffels, who has engaged to open and send me copies of all letters, that come and go, to the bishop, from all parts of Europe, and whatever else, he may apprehend to be of consequence, and has already sent me over two letters, suppos'd to be to and from the bishop; they are very long, and ev'ry tittle in cypher; I gave them to Mr. Wills on Tuesday, and he has not been yett able to decypher them. I have made no absolute agreement with Mr. Jaupain, but thought I had better first see, how his service would answer; but with humble submission, if it proves of consequence, I cannot but be of opinion, your brother secretary is by no means to be trusted with it. Mr. Delafaye, I believe, gave you an account last post, of our apprehending George Willson: he and serjeant Slack seem now to be outvying each other, in confessing and confirming all the particulars, that they know, we know already, but are coy about all particulars, that they have met with in the printed reports and tryalls.

The bishop of St. David's being dead, Dr. Smallbrook is thought on by our bishops to succeed him, I shall write of this in form in my publick letter, but must lett you know, the bishops of London and Exeter are zealously for Smallbrook, but the bishop of Winchester is for Dr. Sydall, tho' on Tuesday morning, to me, he awkwardly consented to Dr. Smallbrook. Pray lett Smallbrook be immediately dispatched. I have forgott whether I told you, that the bishop of London has desired me, that the instruments for the clerk

of the clofett, and the almoner, may now be difpatch'd for Wincheſter and Exeter. He ſays, Wincheſter muſt have it at laſt, and they ſhall break, and thinks the ſooner 'tis done the better; and in order to make the doing it now more plaufible, by concert with the biſhop of London, when they were all three with me, the thing was ſtarted, and I am to propoſe it to the king in form, as their joynt opinions. The death of lord Cowper has made a vacancy among the governors of the charter houſe. I have told the biſhop of London, I thought it very proper that your lordſhip ſhould be elected, which I ſuppoſe will not be diſagreeable to you. I have given orders for accepting and paying the bills for 4,500*l.* whenever they come, but your lordſhip did not mention upon whom the bills were drawn. Bills for the 2*d* 500*l.* part of the 1000*l.* are come, and accepted. Since I began this letter, Mr. Wills has brought me the two letters from Bruffels decypher'd, which I ſend your lordſhip, and have not taken copies of them; they are at leaſt an earneſt of the good, we may poſſibly expect from this correſpondence. I am going this afternoon for Norfolk; the duke of Newcaſtle will conſtantly attend; I wiſh I had not quite ſo much occaſion to try what a little country air will do. Is it impoſſible, if you think it deſerves regard, to counterplott Alberoni's return into Spain? I mean by any thing to be done in France.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Congratulates him on his ſucceſs at Hanover.—Offers of ſubmiſſion from the duke of Leeds to the king.—Neceſſary to watch the late biſhop of Rocheſter at Bruffels.—Duke of Grafton angry.—Embarrasſments about Wood's patent.

MY LORD,

Houghton, October 26—Nov. 6, 1723.

I Have the pleaſure of your lordſhip's letter of the 25th inſtant, N. S. which gave me a great deal of ſatisfaction. I cannot enough admire your dexterity and good conduct, throughout the whole ſummer, and think the ſucceſſe you had, muſt and will convince every body, where the power and credit is; and when I ſent you word, of what is ſaid and given out here, I did it generally more for your information, rather than out of any apprehenſion, that reports are well founded, for 'tis fitt you ſhould know what they ſay.

Townſhend
Papers.

I agree with your lordſhip, that it may be better to have the duke of Leeds in cuſtody by his own conſent, than to ſend him to the Tower; and I fancy, if he does not come over deſignedly as a leading card to try the experiment
for

Period III. for others in the like case, he may be lead to ask and accept the king's pardon
 1720 to 1727. in form; and his writing to me, and inclosing his letter to the king open,
 1723. gives me a good pretence to talk to him in that manner, and I believe the rest
 of the regents will decline having much to do with him. Whilst I am writing,
 the post is come in, and brings me a letter from the duke of Leeds from Ply-
 mouth of the 17th instant. It is all submission, and begging me to interceed
 with the king for his pardon; but he says, not being able to travail, he must
 take his passage by sea to London, where when he arrives, he will come imme-
 diately to me. I think this may give me an opportunity of managing this
 matter pretty well, wherein I shall certainly take the opinion of the lords
 justices. The intercepted letter from Rome, that comes now, has nothing in
 it very material, but as I am persuaded all businesse will center at Bruffells,
 Atterbury. or at least, that no design of consequence will be kept from the bishop,* I
 cannot but think, if this affair be well managed, it may be of use.

I choose not to send your letter to the duke of Grafton, he is already
 sufficiently mortified; I wrote to him two or three letters with great freedom
 whilst the affair was depending, which he has taken so ill, that he has left off
 writing any thing to me but bare office letters; that with your leave, I would
 vex him no more, where 'tis of no further use. But betwixt you and I, I think
 our friend has shewn himself a fair weather pilott, that knew not what he had
 to doe, when the first storm arose, and his friend Conolly has been so very
 cunning, that he has acted a part, that almost excuses what the Brodericks have
 done, but their affair deserves consideration, for there can be no doubt by
 whom they were set on, and if some examples are not made, you will have more
 of it.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*The king proposes to make a present of 3000*l.* to the countess Platen.—The
 duchess of Kendal is not averse to the marriage, but jealous lest the countess
 of Platen should contrive to come to England.—Satisfactory dispatches from
 Horace Walpole.*

DEAR SIR,

Gohrde, Nov. 15, 1723.

Hardwicke
 Papers.

Copy.

THE occasion of my dispatching this messenger, is to acquaint you, that the
 duke of Orleans having at last consented to the making monsieur de la Vrill-
 liere a duke, and the match by that means going on, his majesty has been pleased,
 upon

upon this occasion, to think of making a present to the countess of Platen, towards the charges of fitting the young lady out, and of removing with her to Paris. As the countess is none of the best economists, and her family affairs are by that means in no very good situation, the king has thoughts of making her a present of three thousand pounds; and though he is sensible that the presents lately made with political views have come thick upon you, yet he desires you would, if possible, order matters so as to accept bills on Lowther for one half of this sum about a fortnight hence, and for the remainder about a fortnight after. The occasion is such, as is not likely to return. I have acquainted the duchess with my writing to you on this subject, who is perfectly easy in our helping this matter forward, but is very much disturbed at the prospect, she thinks there is of the countess's making use of the interest this match will give her at the court of France, towards removing into England, which may so much easier be compassed from thence, than from this country. I have satisfied her, that the only way to prevent this, is to have some minister in France whom we can confide in, and who may have influence enough with the French court, to make them divert the countess from any such thoughts. Which proposal, she relishes as well as can be desired, and I am fully satisfied, no endeavors of her's will be wanting, to put matters there on a better foot.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

I received an express from Horace at Paris, this morning, with dispatches that are very satisfactory, and much to his credit; they are at present before the king; but as we are to celebrate the festival of St. Hubert (the German Holyrood) this evening, I shall defer entering into the detail of them, till I can send you an account how they operate. I have received your letter of the 18th October, and am in hopes the Brussels correspondence may turn to good account.

There is some talk of our moving from this place the beginning of this week; but it is as yet uncertain, and if the sport should continue as good as it was this morning, nothing will induce the king to change this place for Hanover, till the frosts come in. Mr. Poyntz added the last paragraph by mistake; for I verily believe the king will leave this place the beginning of next week. I am yours most entirely.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

1723.

Marshal Hartenberg declared minister.—Cabals to delay the king's departure for England.

MY DEAR LORD,

Hanover, November 27, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I Received the honor of your grace's letter of the 5th instant, O. S. at the Gohrde, which place we left on Wednesday. The marefchal is at laft declared minifter, upon the king's return to this place; and we fhall foon fee, whether his being fe curely poffeffed of the dignity he has fo long been working at, will make him return to a more uniform behavior towards his old friends, and renounce his new alliances as no longer neceffary. I have fome reafon to believe, that he looks on lady Wafingham as his determined enemy; and that this joined to his natural falfehood, has driven him to tamper with the oppofite faction: but be the caufe what it will, the effect is fo certain, that your grace may depend upon it, this new acceffion of power will not help to reftore him to the dutcheffs's confidence; tho' I have moft earneftly defired her grace, and fhe has been pleafed to promife me, to keep fair with him, which I think it neceffary we fhould all endeavor to do, that if he fhould be mad enough to throw himfelf in other hands, we may not reproach ourfelves with having driven him to it, but may hold the door open for him to return to his only true intereft.

I have taken care, in a private manner, to prepare the king againft any furprize in relation to the primacy of Ireland; and I believe your grace may af-fure the bifhop of London, that whenever the vacancy happens, it will be filled up as he propofes.

Great cabals are carrying on here, in order to detain the king longer in this place than we wifh for. The next full moon happens on the eleventh of December, new fyle, and our endeavor muft be to prevail with him to make ufe of it, fince otherwife he will probably ftay 'till the 10th of January. He has as yet taken no refolution on that head, and I fhould be glad to have your grace's and Mr. Walpole's opinion, how far it may be neceffary to prefs this point, fuppoſing it ſhould prove difagreeable.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

Rejoices at the happy situation of affairs at Hanover.—His brother Horace does not believe the duke of Orleans is inclined to obtain a dukedom for M. de la Vrilliere.—Schaub's indiscretion.—Recommends at the suggestion of bishop Gibson, Dr. Sydal for the deanery of Rochester, in opposition to bishop Hoadley, who recommends Dr. Burscaugh.

1723.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, Nov. 19—30, 1723.

I Am infinitely pleased at the happy situation you find your affairs in, and am very glad you have so much satisfaction in your business, as to atone to you in some degree, for your long absence from home, and the great trouble and perplexities that you must have been engaged in. Although my country expedition may have flung my affairs into a little arrear, I do assure you, the benefit I have found, makes me ample amends, and I hope I shall now be able to make a winter's campaign, which I had more than a little reason to be apprehensive about, when I left this place.

Townshend
Papers.

I am very glad Horace's dispatches have given you such satisfaction; and I hope the letter I here send you from him to the duke of Newcastle will have the same good success. I cannot account for Horace's long reasoning about the affair of Mons. Vrilliere, and think he must surely be mistaken in his apprehensions, by what your lordship writes to me in your private letter of the 4-15th instant. For your lordship is pleas'd to say, the duke of Orleans has consented to make him a duke; but Horace not only in this letter, but in a letter I received yesterday of the 13 24th, has this expression: "*I am inclined to believe his majesty is deceived, as to the duke of Orleans's inclination to grant a dukedom to Vrilliere's son, and fear there will be great trouble about it.*" By this, Horace so very lately, was not at all sensible that this matter was adjusted, which your lordship must have had an account of ten days before. If it has been settled by sir Luke Schaub, and he has conceal'd it from Horace, there is no great matter in it, but his impertinence: if there should be a mistake, and he has represented the affair otherwise than as it really is, it would have an ill air, if the king should take any step upon a presumption, in which he may afterwards find himself deceived. I thought it was necessary you should know this, not doubting but Horace has given you the same account; and I dare say, he will act, and has acted in this affair agreeable to your sentiments, which he is fully apprised of.

Period III. I send your lordship four more intercepted letters from Brussells, which
 1720 to 1727. altho' this correspondence has hitherto contain'd nothing very material, I
 1723. cannot but think may be of great consequence, if the secrett is kept: for no-
 Atterbury. thing of moment will ever be resolv'd upon, without the knowledge of that
 person;* and by this means, I think the government may one time or other
 have early intimations; which may be of great use. We are yett come to no
 agreement upon the consideration for this service; but I apprehend the de-
 mand will not be low, and I have hints given me, as if this management might
 be further extended upon due encouragement. The bills you last mentioned,
 when they come shall be duely accepted and paid. The duke of Newcastle
 is at Claremont, and desires me to give you his thanks for all your letters,
 and begs you will not forgett Jervas the painter. He has it much at heart
 to be dispatch'd.

I wrote to you by the last post, and propos'd from the bishop of London to
 keep the deanery of Rochester vacant, but what has since happen'd, has alter'd
 his opinion. I shall now in my public letter, recommend Dr. Sydal to the king,
 to be made dean of Rochester, at the instance of the bishops of London, Exeter,
 and Rochester; and shall take notice, that the bishop of Winchester recom-
 mends Dr. Burseaugh. I send you the Bishop of London's own paper. The de-
 siring this vacancy to be immediately fill'd up, is occasioned by an apprehen-
 sion the bishop of London has, that the bishop of Winchester writes this night
 to your brother Carterett, to recommend Burseaugh, without consulting any
 of his brethren, or ever mentioning him to any of them upon this occasion.
 He came to the office on Saturday morning, and desir'd me to write in favour
 of Dr. Burseaugh. I asked him, whether he had talk'd with the bishop of Lon-
 don and the other bishops, which he said, he had not, and did not seem to
 think it at all necessary; and I understand has not vouchsaf'd to do it. This
 separate acting, the bishop of London thinks sufficiently justifies him, and
 having gott the concurrence of the bishop of the *diocese* and of Exeter, hopes
 he is strong enough, and I hope so too. I hope the first return will bring
 the king's letter in favour of Dr. Bland, in whom they all concurr. You
 know there has been a long management about the arch deacon of Oxford,
 which lord chancellor now desires may be filled up by Mr. Robert Cook.
 He is the person to whom it was first promised; and since a friend of his, to
 whom he would have quitted, cannot have it, wishes now to take it himself. I
 suppose you remember, if Cook had declined, a friend of the duke of Rutland's
 push'd

push'd hard for it. I congratulate you in your election to the Charter house, and must at the same time, beg you will lett a son of Charles Keen's have the first nomination. I have had this upon my hands a long time, and old Rolfe has now wrote to me in very pressing terms, to secure this favour of your lordship. The filling up the vacancy of the third regiment of guards, was a transaction during my absence. As a piece of secrett history, I should tell you, I am certainly inform'd, the prince sent for Cadogan, and spoke for John Montgomery, whereupon he alter'd a whole scheme of promotions that he had before settled, but I am glad it was done for Montgomery. Horace apprehends, that the king of Portugal's refusing to accede to the quadruple alliance, may give Schaub an occasion to triumph over him; and that he will write to the secretary his patron, that there is now no further occasion for Horace's continuing at Paris. This he already gives out at Paris, believing that Horace went thither by chance; but as we know the contrary, I hope he will find the contrary, till you can determine who to send thither, which I am glad you have a prospect of compassing.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

Bishop of London's paper relating to the deanery of Rochester, inclosed.

Rochester. The bishop is never there, and so the dean has the whole government of the place, and the chief conducting of all affairs. The chapter is one half tory. The city returns two members. The dean and chapter have a considerable patronage in Kent. For these reasons, the place requires a person of some figure and authority, and one who has a head for business, and for the managing of a body. It is also to be wish'd, that he may be a person of some fortune, and able to live hospitably for the country clergy; the bishop having no house there.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

States the reason for his return to England.—And the consequences of deferring it.

SIRE,

Hanover, November 30, 1723.

I Hope your majesty will be graciously pleased to pardon the liberty I take, in presuming to lay before you my unbiass'd thoughts, on the subject of your majesty's journey to England. I have chosen to reduce them into writing, for no other reason, but because I thought I could state them clearer

Townshend
Papers.
Draught.

Period III. that way, than by word of mouth. I beg leave to assure your majesty, that I
 1720 to 1727. have no other view in doing it, than to sett this matter in the clearest light for
 1723. your majesty's determination, submitting it entirely to your majesty, as I am
 in duty bound to help forward and facilitate whatever resolution your majesty
 in your great wisdom shall think proper to take upon this and upon all other
 occasions.

The parliament stands prorogued at present to the 19th of November, O. S. which is the 30th N. S. and your majesty has already given farther directions to have it prorogued to the 17th, O. S. which is the 28 December, N. S. The next full moon is on the last day of November, O. S. which is the 11 December, N. S. and as the moon rises but three quarters of an hour later one night than another, this moon will give light for seven or eight nights after, sufficient to prevent any danger of running on the coasts of England. Should your majesty therefore sett out from Hanover about the 14th or 15th of December, N. S. you may propose to embark about the 17th or 18th, which is the 6 or 7th, O. S. and, having the benefit of this moon, may hope to land in England a week or ten days before the time to which the parliament will then stand prorogued. By which means, before that prorogation expires, a proclamation may be publish'd for proroguing it farther to about the 10th of January, O. S. which is the 21st, N. S. giving notice that it shall meet to do business at that time, which will be at a proper and convenient distance after the Christmas holidays, and your servants will have full time enough to concert the measures necessary for the conduct of the sessions. The time of the parliament's meeting thus early, being once settled and known, will give almost the same satisfaction and spirit to the nation, as if it were actually assembled; and Mr. Walpole, having already assured your majesty, that he can find means for continuing the payments of the army and fleet till after the holidays, no inconvenience to the public service can possibly ensue.

But should your majesty lett slip this moon, and wait for the next of the 10th of January, N. S. which is the last of December, O. S. notice cannot be given at next prorogation, of the parliament being to meet the 10th, to do business; because, even supposing your majesty should have the quickest passage possible, your majesty cannot be in London till the 3d or 4th of January, which is the 14th or 15th, N. S. and the parliament being prorogued to the 10th, O. S. it will be impossible to open the parliament at the time appointed;
 but

but your majesty must inevitably prorogue it at least for a fortnight longer, which will delay the opening of the parliament to the latter end of January, or beginning of February. But yet the parliament, requiring three weeks notice at least, cannot be brought together till some time in February; and it not being certain, whether the payments abovementioned, can be continued thus long, there will be evident danger of involving the publick service in such difficultys, as may very much affect publick credit, and occasion the greatest uneasiness throughout the nation.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

But should it farther happen, that the frosts should sett in about that time in Holland, which may naturally be apprehended, no one is able to foresee how long your majesty's passage may be delay'd, nor what the consequence of such a delay may be. The publick supplies (which are granted only from Christmases to Christmases) being exhausted, every branch of the publick service must be at a stand: the parliament must meet late, and probably in ill temper, and the session must unavoidably be protracted to the middle of the summer months.

After having thus stated to your majesty, with the greatest deference and submission, the inconveniencies which it appears to me, may occur from possible accidents and delays, I once more beg leave to assure your majesty, that tho' I have taken the liberty to give my opinion, yet whatever resolution your majesty shall take, I shall most chearfully, and with the utmost readiness and submission, do all in my power towards rendering it practicable and easy; having no other view or desire than that of conducting your majesty's affairs on all occasions, in such manner as may be most to your own service and satisfaction.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Encloses the preceding letter to the king, which induced the king to give orders for his immediate return.—Dissatisfaction of the Germans.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Sunday, December 5, 1723.

I Believe you will be surprized at the king's having taken the resolution to set out for England on the 16th of this month, N. S. for which reason it will be proper for me to acquaint you in what manner that affair has passed. While the king was at the Gohrde, being unwilling to interrupt his good humour, with proposing any thing so disagreeable, as I apprehended a speedy return to England.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. England might be, I ventured no further, than to give him in a paper, stating
 1720 to 1727. the times on which the moon-light nights fell. But upon his coming back to
 1723. this place, I found the universal bent of the Germans strong for keeping him
 here, 'till the full moon of the 10th January, N. S. and fearing lest any accident of contrary winds or frosts might detain him so long in Holland, that the parliament (allowing the necessary time for summoning it, and for concerting the operations of the session) might not be able to meet before February; I thought it my duty to lay before his majesty, the possible inconvenience that might arise from his delaying his journey so long, which I chose to reduce to writing, in the form you will see in the enclosed. This letter, far from causing any uneasiness, as I apprehended, had so good an effect, that the king, without saying any thing to me, sent for the marechal the next day, and ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for his beginning the journey on the 16th instant, N. S.

I am sensible you will think the 10th of January, O. S. somewhat of the earliest for bringing the parliament together after the holydays; but it is his majesty's present intention, they should meet to do business on the 9th; and I beg you would suspend your judgment on this resolution, till I have an opportunity to acquaint you with the reasons, which made so early a day appear advisable. I hope this good may at least be expected from it, that the time of the parliament's meeting being known before Christmas, will give new life to the city, and animate publick credit. You will easily imagine, that the king's taking this resolution, has been highly disagreeable to the Germans, and the more so, from their having no notice or participation in it. But I never saw any one more overjoyed than the dutchess upon this occasion; and if I had had any other view besides the king's service, I could not have made my court more effectually with her, than by this step. The only objection and clamour which the most discontented on this side pretend to raise is, that we hazard his majesty's person too much, by proposing to undertake the voyage so long after the full moon, when the former part of the night is entirely dark. But besides, that his majesty did once before set out some days after the full moon, and that he is always liable to be detained by contrary winds, till part of the moon is spent, his majesty himself told me, when I gave him the paper on that subject at the Gohrde, that he had no regard to the moonlight nights.

His majesty desires you would take care, that there may be as little discourse of noisy attendants at his landing, or on the road to London as possible.

If he should pass through the city or the park, any thing of that kind would be more excusable, tho' it is what he desires entirely to avoid. I could not refuse signing a joint letter to you with lord Carteret for the allowance of 1000*l.* more apiece, for the charges of our journey and stay here, it being what we have really expended. Hoping to meet so soon, I shall defer all other news, only I will venture to assure the duke of Newcastle and you, that we have all reason to be satisfied with our Hanover expedition.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

1724.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Acquaints him with the king's resolution to remove lord Carteret from the office of secretary of state, to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to confer on his grace the post of lord chamberlain.

Whitehall, April 1, 1724.

YOUR grace is so perfectly acquainted with the factions and divisions that have been for some time past among his majesty's servants, and have so often lamented the mischiefs arising from such divisions, that you will not be surpriz'd to hear that the king is at last come to a resolution of doing every thing in his power to put an end to them. The first instance his majesty has given, is by removing Mr. Treby from the war office, which he has this day disposed of to Mr. Henry Pelham; and I believe the seals will be taken from my lord Carteret in a day or two, and given to the duke of Newcastle. In that case, the king intends the lord chamberlain's place for your grace, and Ireland for lord Carteret. As the post his majesty designs for your grace, is of great dignity, so you may depend, that your friends and humble servants will endeavour, to render it as advantageous and easy in all respects, as your grace can desire.

I send this by express, being desirous to give your grace the first notice of what is doing in these particulars, in which your grace is so much concern'd; but as I write this to yourself alone, must desire this may be an entire secret till the event is determined, of which your grace shall not fail to receive the earliest account possible. I am persuaded, that your grace is so well convinced of the necessity there was of removing lord Carteret from the employment he was in, and of the

Townshend
Papers.

Draught.

1724.

Period III. the impossibility there was of doing it without giving some considerable equivalent, that you are sensible his having the government of Ireland, was in a manner unavoidable. The care his majesty has taken in placing your grace so near his person, will sufficiently convince the world, that his taking away the government of Ireland from you at this time, does not proceed from any disapprobation of your conduct.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Informs the duke of the dismissal of lord Carteret, and apologises for not having previously consulted him.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 2, 1724.

Townshend
Papers.

Draught.

YOUR grace will find, by a letter which you will receive from the duke of Newcastle this post, that his majesty is come to a resolution some days sooner than I expected, in relation to the alterations I mentioned to you in mine of yesterday. As I have ever looked on my interest, and that of my friends as inseparable from your grace's, I flatter myself you will not take it ill, that your grace was not previously consulted upon the alterations, which some circumstances, that I shall hereafter have the honour to explain to you, made impracticable; and as I can with the utmost truth assure you, that there was not the least intention in taking this step, to lessen your grace in the eye of the world, so I hope the distinction his majesty has publicly declared towards your grace, on this occasion, will be an inducement to you to approve of the measures which have been judged absolutely necessary by those who have, and ever had your grace's honour and interest so far at heart, as to look upon it as inseparable from their own.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Without a date, but evidently written in 1724, not long before the prorogation of the second session of the second septennial parliament, which took place on the 24th of April.

Represents strongly the disadvantages which the king's frequent visits to Hanover occasion, and the advantages which would result from his continuance in England.

SIRE,

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

Weston
Papers.Draught.

BEING induced to think, from some words which fell from your majesty, when I had the honour to lay before you a draught of the speech, that your majesty may have it in your thoughts to spend the summer at Hanover; I most humbly beg leave, in discharge of the duty I owe to your majesty, to lay before you, with the greatest deference and submission, some short and impartial observations on the present state of your majesty's affairs, in the doing which, if it should be my misfortune to suggest any thing in the least contrary to your majesty's inclinations, I hope from the experience I have long had of your indulgence towards me, that you will not impute it to the want of a due concern for every thing that may promote your majesty's satisfaction (which no one living can wish more passionately than I do) but will believe it to proceed from a sincere zeal for your service, and the future ease and honour of your government; and I beg leave to assure your majesty, that after I have humbly laid before you my thoughts upon this subject, I shall heartily endeavour to facilitate whatever resolutions your majesty shall finally take.

The great spirit and majority with which the bills for punishing the conspirators,* were carried through both houses in the first session of this parliament, the quietness and unanimity with which the publick service has been dispatched in this,† the several good laws that have been passed for the ease and advantage of commerce, and in favour of the publick revenue, the universal and uninterrupted state of tranquillity abroad, and flourishing condition of trade and publick credit at home, have all concurr'd to restore a far more general calm and security throughout the nation, than has been known at any time since your majesty's happy accession to the throne. A very great change has been wrought in favour of your majesty, in the city of London, whose influence and example is of so great consequence to the whole nation, as has appeared in two successive elections, in opposition to the utmost efforts and most indirect practices of the united party of jacobites. The universities have behaved themselves at least inoffensively; and some steps have been taken by your majesty to make it no less their interest than duty to cherish and propagate principles of loyalty and affection to your person and government. So that upon the whole, no doubt can be made, but that if these happy beginnings are thoroughly pursued, and the present good disposition of the

* Namely, Atterbury, Laver, Plunket.

† This paragraph sufficiently ascertains the date of this letter.

Period III. nation improved and strengthen'd by proper methods and measures which may
 1720 to 1727. be still taken, they will grow so settled and confirmed, as to make your ma-
 1724. jesty's reign for the future no less easy than glorious and successful.

But however promising these appearances are, yet your majesty must be sensible, that the jacobite party is still very strong, and their views only suspended in expectation of a favourable opportunity. Of this, your majesty has the strongest proofs, and surest intelligence. Those of the foreign ministers, who are best acquainted with this country, and who, upon account of their religion, may be supposed to be so far admitted into the general designs and consultations of the disaffected, as to be no incompetent judges of the heart and spirit that party is in, do, in their most secret and undisguised relations to their respective courts, where they may be supposed to open their minds with the greatest freedom and sincerity, constantly represent the present tranquillity of this nation, as owing more to the despair of giving your majesty any disturbance from abroad, than to any real change or submission wrought in the minds of the pretender's adherents; insinuating, that if the engagements which at present withhold France and Spain from espousing his cause, were once dissolved, and a bare connivance in his favour from either of those quarters, the spirit of disaffection would soon rally, and the sparks of resentment, which now lye smother'd, would break out into as fierce a flame as ever. However vain their reasonings may be, as to the success that would attend any such practices: yet this much is undeniable, that these notions lessen the weight and influence your majesty ought to have abroad, as to the affairs of Europe in general. And it is equally certain, that nothing will so soon give credit to these opinions and insinuations, as the seeing any handle given to the enemies of your majesty's government, for propagating discontents at home, and for alienating the affections of your majesty's subjects.

Among all the topicks for sowing sedition, there is none which the jacobites have managed with greater industry and success, than your majesty's inclinations frequently to visit your German dominions. But whatever artifice they have employed to this end, yet the necessity of your majesty's inspecting from time to time, the state of your affairs in those parts, and the prudence and caution your majesty has used as to the times and seasons of undertaking this journey, have in a great measure disappointed their endeavours to misrepresent this step: but when they may with some appearance at least insinuate, that this journey will become annual, the wisest man cannot foretell what mischiefs such an opinion, should it gain credit, may produce. Should your
 majesty

majesty, therefore, after so long a stay as your affairs required you to make at Hanover last year, think it proper and adviseable immediately after the ending of this short session, again to visit your foreign dominions, you would thereby give an opportunity to the disaffected to insinuate, that the same inclinations which call your majesty abroad this summer, being likely always to subsist, will always produce the same effect, and Britain thereby be reduced to the same state with Ireland (where the lord lieutenant never appears, but when the parliament is called to give money) and never enjoy the blessing of your majesty's presence any longer than while this service lasts.

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Having laid before your majesty, the inconveniences and dangers which in my opinion will arise from your going abroad this year; I most humbly beg leave to mention some of the many advantages that will in all probability be the consequences of your majesty's continuance here this summer. In the first place, the well affected party in general, being supported by your majesty's presence, and encouraged by being under your immediate influence, will be enabled to make the best advantage of the present good temper the nation is in. Your majesty's friends in the city, will not only carry every thing during the summer, but by the help and assistance of your servants, will be prepared to lay before the parliament, such bills as may for the future secure the government of that important place, entirely in the hands of those who are zealous in your majesty's interest.

The next points of consequence to the peace, ease, and security of your majesty's government, are the clergy and the two universities, and if a right use is made of their present disposition, I am persuaded, it will not be difficult to find out some farther encouragements, that will make the majority of those great bodies firm friends to your majesty; and as your majesty knows, that I have always had the gaining them over to your majesty very much at heart, so I have lately had frequent conversations on this head with the bishop London,* who is, with me, fully persuaded it would be very practicable to reduce them to a better sense of their duty; and we have already made a rough draught of some things proper to be done for this end. The last and most important consideration, is the preserving that zeal and affection towards your majesty, which has hitherto appeared so eminently in this parliament, and taking hold of the present situation of your affairs, for concerting, during the recess, such measures as may, with their concurrence, at their next meeting, secure your majesty and the nation, from those frequent convulsions, which have at all times been felt by your royal predecessors, ever since the revolution.

* Gibson.

Period III. I must before I conclude, beg leave to make one further observation of your
 1720 to 1727 majesty, that should you be pleased to defer going abroad this summer, your
 1724. majesty may, by calling the parliament in October next, have the session
 finished in February, and without the least inconvenience to your affairs, sett
 out from hence in the beginning of March next, and stay at Hanover, if you
 think fit, till January following. So that take two years together, you will at
 once pass almost as many months there as you could do, if you went this sum-
 mer and the next; with this only difference, that the one may occasion and
 bring inextricable difficulties upon your affairs here, and the other will not give
 rise even to the least murmur.

I presume to send your majesty my thoughts upon this matter in writing, that what I have to lay before your majesty may be done with greater exactness and privacy. I once more beg your majesty will believe, that what is here said upon a subject, which I fear will be disagreeable to you, flows from a heart full of duty and veneration for your sacred person, and from no other motives, but those of honour and conscience; and that after I have laid my thoughts with the greatest deference before your majesty, I shall not only obey, but cheerfully execute whatever your majesty shall think fit to determine; being with the warmest zeal and most unalterable attachment, fire, your majesty's most dutifull subject, and most devoted servant.

This firm but respectful representation had its due effect; the king did not remove from England, and his presence was highly instrumental in maintaining the domestic tranquillity.

LETTERS BETWEEN COUNT BROGLIO AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

These letters contain much curious intelligence, concerning the state of the court and ministry, though, in some respects, they cannot be implicitly relied on, as they occasionally relate the current rumours of the day.

COUNT BROGLIO TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Walpole
 Papers. (July 6, 1724.) AS the duchess of Kendal seemed to express a desire to
 Translation. see me often; I have been very attentive to her; being convinced that it is
 highly essential to the advantage of your majesty's service, to be on good terms
 with her, for she is closely united with the three ministers who now govern;
 and

and these ministers are in strict union together, and are as far as I can judge, well inclined. They visit me very frequently, both together and singly; and I behave to them in the same manner. Chavigny strongly assured me, that I might place an entire confidence in them. Their future conduct will enable me to judge better of their sentiments. The king of England, has made Chavigny a present of 1000*l.* which is double to what is usually given to envoys. Both the king and the ministers appear to be very well satisfied with him.

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Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole have been lately indisposed, but they are now quite recovered. It is much to be wished, that they should remain in power, for they appear anxious to maintain the good intelligence which subsists between the two crowns; they possess an unbounded influence over the king and the duchess of Kendal, they enjoy the whole power of government, and the entire confidence of the king.

The prince of Wales endeavours to obtain information of what passes, from persons who are attached to him; but he learns nothing either from the king, the duchess, or the ministers. The king goes every afternoon at five o'clock to the duchess, the ministers occasionally attend; and it is there that affairs which require secrecy are treated. M. Dillon has introduced me to his relations and friends, who, as he informs me, can supply me with good intelligence.

(July 10.) THE more I consider state affairs, the more I am convinced, that the government is entirely in the hands of Mr. Walpole, lord Townshend, and the duke of Newcastle, who are on the best terms with the duchess of Kendal. The king visits her every afternoon from five to eight; and it is there, that she endeavours to penetrate the sentiments of his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of consulting the three ministers, and pursuing the measures which may be thought necessary for accomplishing their designs. She sent me word, that she was desirous of my friendship, and that I would place confidence in her. I assured her, that I would do every thing in my power to merit her esteem and friendship. I am convinced that she may be advantageously employed in promoting your majesty's service, and that it will be necessary to employ her; though I will not trust her further than is absolutely necessary.

Staremborg hopes to go to France in a month, with the character of ambassador. He had written to the court of Vienna, that he had discovered a close

Period III. close union between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. He re-
 1720 to 1727. ceived for answer, that the imperial court was persuaded of the good-will of
 1724. several persons who composed the cabinet of Spain, but that if they were not
 Illegible. to be implicitly depended on, the government was so * * and their
 powers so weak, that there was nothing to fear. It must be of advantage to
 your majesty's service, that a quarrel has broken out between this embassador,
 and the king, and ministry of Great Britain. I shall not exert myself to adjust
 the difference.

(20th July.) LORD Townshend did not solicit the honour of a garter for himself, he had even requested it for another person; but the king, spontaneously, insisted on his accepting it, notwithstanding his remonstrating with great modesty, that there were many persons more deserving of it than himself. It is, however, generally believed, that the duchess of Kendal, at the instigation of lord Townshend, suggested to the king, that it would be proper to invest him with the garter; and there is a great appearance of probability in the conjecture. It is much to be wished, for the maintenance of the union between your majesty and the king of England, that no misfortune may happen to Mr. Walpole, he being absolutely the helm of government: the king cannot do without him, on account of his great influence in the house of commons, where he depends entirely upon him, in every respect. He is a man of great abilities, and very enterprising. The house place a most unreserved confidence in him, and he has the address to persuade them, that the national honour is dearer to him, than all the wealth in the world. He is very ably seconded by Townshend, who is a man of great capacity, and with whom he is in perfect harmony. The duke of Newcastle, who is indebted to him for his situation, submits to his judgment in every thing, so that the king experiences no contradiction to his wishes, but leaving the internal government entirely to Walpole, is more engaged with the German ministers in regulating the affairs of Hanover, than occupied with those of England. It is to be observed, that Mr. Walpole adjusted the quarrel between the king and prince of Wales. He entirely governed the prince at that period, but he has since left him, and attached himself to the king. For some years past, the king has not spoke a word to the prince, nor the prince to him: the princess of Wales, sometimes in public, attacks the king in conversation; he answers her; but some who are well apprized, that his majesty likes her no better than the prince, have assured me, that he only speaks to her on these occasions, for the sake of decorum.

rum. The king regularly receives a thousand pounds every week, which he keeps himself; the remainder of the revenue of the civil list, amounting to fix hundred thousand pounds sterling, per annum, is remitted every month to his treasurer. It is said, that the prince of Wales is a very good œconomist, not only of the one hundred thousand pounds a year allowed him by parliament, but of the revenues of the principality of Wales, which may amount to 20,000*l.* more.

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The king has no predilection for the English nation, and never receives in private any English of either sex; none even of his principal officers are admitted to his chamber in a morning to dress him, nor in the evening to undress him. These offices are performed by the Turks, who are his valets de chambre, and who give him every thing he wants in private. He rather considers England as a temporary possession,* to be made the most of while it lasts, than as a perpetual inheritance to himself and family. He will have no disputes with the parliament, but commits the entire transaction of that business to Walpole, chusing rather that the responsibility should fall on the minister's head than his own, and being well apprized that a king of Great Britain is obliged, when the parliament requires it, to give an account of his conduct, as well with respect to the liberty of the subject, as to the execution and formation of laws. I have even been assured, that the king has expressed himself to this effect.

* Aubaine.

I am persuaded, on the other hand, that Mr. Walpole, who is immensely rich, would wish to retire from business, and enjoy his wealth in quiet, but as he has excited a great share of enmity and envy, it would be dangerous for him to retire; he is under the necessity of retaining his situation to preserve to himself and family the wealth and honours of which they are possessed. I am even inclined to think, that he entertains hopes of a particular protection from the king, if he should happen to fall into disgrace; I labour daily, with all the dexterity I possess, to induce him to think so, that I may keep him in the favourable sentiments he now entertains towards your majesty. I am very much deceived, if affairs are not exactly as I represent them; and I think I may go so far as to claim your entire confidence in the statements I have the honour to make.

Carteret no longer goes to court, the prevailing party has intirely destroyed his influence with the king. He is no longer engaged in business; he is a man of great vivacity and intelligence, and very ambitious; he has already changed his

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1724. his party several times, from interested motives, a circumstance which has brought him into disgrace with all parties. There is a strict friendship and union between him and my lord Cadogan; and I think it very fortunate for your majesty's interest, that Carteret is out of power; having been assured by people who pretend to great information on the subject, that he was very much devoted to the interest of the emperor.

The ministry hold Cadogan very cheap, and as he receives 20,000*l.* sterling a year from the treasury, he is Walpole's humble servant, a circumstance not at all to his honour, as he is treated with much indignity, and there is no reason for him to expect a change of situation, or that he will obtain the patents, of which he is so desirous. He has no influence at court, or in parliament, nor is he beloved by the people at large. He keeps up his respectability only by the fortune he has amassed in the wars, and the revenues of his offices. He is a man of courage, and behaved well in his situation of quarter master general, and on other occasions. The immense wealth he has acquired, and his having, by means of the powerful influence of the duke of Marlborough, passed over the heads of many of his seniors in the army, have drawn on him a great many enemies. Every body speaks of him to me in those terms; and I am inclined to think, that the ministry would dismiss him, and give his place to some one else, but the duke of Argyle is next in rotation to take the command of the troops; and as he is a man of exalted rank, who has seen a great deal of service, is well versed in intrigue, and would not submit to their authority, as they would wish, they retain Cadogan, but humble him as much as possible, on every occasion.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO COUNT BROGLIO.

(July 18, 1724.) THERE is no room to doubt, that the duchess of Kendal, having a great ascendancy over the king of Great Britain, and maintaining a strict union with his ministers, must materially influence their principal resolutions. You will neglect nothing to acquire a share of her confidence, from a conviction that nothing can be more conducive to my interest. There is, however, a manner of giving additional value to the marks of confidence you bestow on her in private, by avoiding in public all appearances which might seem too pointed, by which means you will avoid falling into the inconvenience of being suspected by those who are not friendly to the duchess; at the same time, that a kind of mysteriousness in public, on the subject of
your

your confidence, will give rise to a firm belief of your having formed a friendship mutually sincere. I cannot be too particular in recommending to you to be very attentive in watching the conduct of Dillon's relation; and not only that you ought to be very cautious of giving credit to any intelligence you may receive through that channel, but you ought even to be convinced, that nothing will render you more an object of suspicion at the court where you are, than that officer's maintaining a too frequent intercourse with his relations and friends; for it would beget a suspicion, that you sanction, or at least connive at such an intimacy. For these reasons, as soon as you perceive a too frequent correspondence between that officer and any person whomsoever, which might be in the smallest degree suspicious to the English government, send him back to France, and enter into no explanations with him on the subject.

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You are informed, by one of the memorials subjoined to your instructions, as well as by the copies, you have received from Chauvigny, of the last letters written to him, of the present state of the negotiation set on foot to reconcile the king of Great Britain and the czar. You know the obstacles it has to encounter; that they arise principally from the reserve these princes maintain towards each other: it is very difficult to bring any affair to a conclusion, when extraneous difficulties are added to those which are naturally incident, as is the case in the present instance. We are informed, that the Danish minister, at the court of the czar, convinced that the reconciliation would be prejudicial to the interests of his master, endeavours to prevent it, and consequently exerts himself to augment the disinclination the ministers of the czar had long manifested to this reconciliation. You may communicate this intelligence to the British ministry, giving them to understand, that it ought to be an additional motive for their sovereign to dismiss his reserve towards the czar, and to terminate an affair, the conclusion of which, ought to appear more desirable to him, from the solicitude of other powers to prevent its taking effect.

Prince Eugene, after having testified some discontent, that the Imperial ministers at Cambray had made demands on some points foreign to the objects for which the congress was instituted, and particularly on the order of succession established by the emperor in his dominions, explained himself clearly enough on the subject of the garrisons to be established in Tuscany and Parma, and spoke of it as a point subject to discussion and explanation. But the stipulations of the fifth article of the treaty of London are so clear on this point, and the emperor is so far obliged to concur in the unqualified ex-

ecution

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} execution of them, that the arguments of prince Eugene can never be adopted by the mediating powers, nor maintained by the Imperial ministers. The conversation then turned on titles, and on the golden fleece. On the first subject, it may be supposed, by what has been said, that the emperor did not make many difficulties in giving up titles to which he had no longer any pretension, and that the sentiments of Spain were perfectly reciprocal. Prince Eugene was not so explicit on the subject of the golden fleece; but several circumstances lead to a belief, that the court of Vienna is desirous to exercise the functions of grand master of that order. However difficult it may be to form any decisive opinions from this conversation between prince Eugene and M. Dubourg, it may be fairly inferred from that, and several other things, which have been communicated at different periods, that the court of Vienna is really desirous to terminate the congress of Cambray; the duration of which keeps them in a state of suspense. Nothing can be more fortunate than this disposition, and advantage may be taken of it, in the course of the negotiation, to procure greater benefits to the court of Spain; I am sure, the ministers of the court where you are, will be of the same opinion, when you communicate to them, which you will easily find an opportunity of doing, the information I have given you, of the advices received a few days ago from Vienna.

COUNT BROGLIO TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

(July 24, 1724.) ONE of the two knights recently created, is my lord Scarborough, master of the horse to the prince of Wales, and very much attached to him. He has found means to manage so well, that the ministers persuaded the king to give him the ribband, in preference to many others, who had a better right to expect that honour. It is the policy of the ministers to procure places for those who are attached to, and in favour with the prince of Wales; fearing that a time may come when they will stand in need of their services. It is certain that the king has not done it out of affection for the prince of Wales, and that the prince did not speak a word to him on the subject. I assert this from the best authority.

(July 27, 1724.) I Shall obey your majesty's commands, in respect to Dillôn's relation, on the slightest appearance of a too great intimacy between him and his family, which might be disagreeable to government. As yet, however, he has had no opportunity of doing any thing contrary to your wishes,

wishes, his relations being almost all in the country, according to custom at this time of the year, so that he has only been able to see a very few of them. I will find means to give him a hint, as from myself, that being an Irishman, he should be more guarded both in conversation and behaviour, than the other officers in the French service, whom your majesty has permitted to come to this country.

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PAPERS AND LETTERS PRINCIPALLY RELATING TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Intelligence respecting lord Bolingbroke.

(De Paris le 10 May, 1715.) MILORD Bullingbrook part pour aller faire sa residence dans le Lionnois à portée de Geneve, muni d'une bonne lettre de credit sur le chevalier Richard Cantillon, Irlandois, banquier en cette ville et chevalier de la façon du pretendant. Il reconnoit à present le mauvais tour, que luy a joué le comte d'Oxford, en se cachant dans sa province, et faisant repandre le bruit, qu'il s'estoit sauvé, à dessein de faire peur à mi lord Bullingbrook, et luy faire prendre le parti qu'il a pris. Il reconnoit aussy, que le pretendant a rendu un grand service au roy George, en parlant dans son manifeste de l'intelligence qui estoit entre luy et la feuë reine Anne. Que par la mesme raison il avoit aussy ruiné tous ceux qui avoient dans ce pays été dans ses interets, assurant qu'il n'y en avoit plus un seul, qui désormais vouloit entendre parler de luy. Il a adjouté dit-on, sans que je sache, si ce n'est pas une charité qu'on luy prête, que cette seule demarche du pretendant suffisoit de convaincre tout le monde qu'il estoit vray fils de son Pere.

Townshend
Papers.

EARL OF STAIR TO HORACE WALPOLE.

All founded reports circulated at Paris, that lord Bolingbroke had betrayed the pretender.

(Paris, March 3, 1716.) THIS true jacobite project has been at last discovered, and they imagine nobody would tell it but Bolingbroke, who, they have now as they say, clearly discovered, has all along betrayed them; and so poor Harry is turned out from being secretary of state, and the seals are given to Mar; and they use poor Harry most unmercifully, and call him knave

Walpole
Papers.

Period III. and traytor, and God knows what not. I believe all poor Harry's fault was,
 1720 to 1727. that he could not play his part with a grave enough face: he could not help
 1724. laughing now and then at such kings and queens. He had a mistress here at Paris; and got drunk now and then, and he spent the money upon his mistress, that he should have bought powder with, and neglected buying and sending the powder and the arms, and never went near the queen; and in one word, told lord Stair all their designs, and was had out of England for that purpose. I would not have you laugh, Mr. Walpole, for all this is very serious. For the rest they begin now to apprehend, that their king is unlucky; and that the westerly winds and B's treason have defeated the finest project that ever was laid. The French are very angry with B. and speak very ill of him in every house in Paris; but for the rest of them, they say they are mad and dream, and that they never intended to help him at all. By this time you have reason to think my epistle long enough, and not wrote with that gravity which becomes a minister, but that is not altogether my fault; for I have told you nothing but sober and serious truths.

This is a private letter, not be given up to the house of commons.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Represents the ill conduct, weakness, and desperate situation of the pretender's affairs, as a warning, and dissuades his friend from entering into any engagements in that line.

Townshend
Papers.

(September 13, 1716.) HOWEVER this letter comes to your hands, you are not to be surpris'd, since it will not be sent, unless such measures are taken as may render the conveyance of it secure. A common friend of your's and mine, who arriv'd some time agoe in this country, gave me hopes of seeing you here. In the first heate, I flattered myself with so pleasing an expectation: but when I reflected upon your past and present circumstances, I began to despair; and yet dear Willey, it would be of the utmost importance to you, to our friends, and to our country too, if I could have an hour's conversation with you, and make you feel in discourse, what must be very imperfectly and very faintly represented in a letter. Depend upon what I say to you, my dearest friend, nothing can be so desperate as the circumstances of affairs, nothing so miserable as the characters, nothing so weak as the measures; and whoever represents things in another light, is guilty either of gross ignorance or of scandalous artifice. That ardent and sincere affection which

I bear

I bear you, and which I shall carry to the grave along with me, exacts this admonition from me; and the rather, because the knowledge I have of some part of what is doing; and the guess I make at the particulars, which I do not certainly know, incline me to think, that I should not neglect a moment in so material an affair.

Bolingbroke.

1724.

If other persons speak another language, they have one of these two motives; either the heat of their temper or their ignorance of facts, make them deceive themselves first, and their friends afterwards; or else having nothing left to loose, and by consequence nothing to hazard, they imagine it very lawful and very politic, to expose as many as they can to the same situation as they are already in. Let me therefore conjure you on no account whatever, to enter into any measure, till by some means or other, we have contrived to meet, which I hope will not prove impracticable. Keep yourself till then absolutely independant of all engagements, and remember that the time will come, when you will own this advice to be the truest instance of friendship which I can ever give you. I am not yet able to prescribe you a very secure way of writing to me; as soon as I am, you shall hear again from me. I send you no news from these parts, publick papers communicate publick occurrences; I will however mention two observations which I make, and which you will apply. The people who belong to St. Germain and Avignon, were never more sanguine in appearance; and yet the king of Sweden is oppress'd, and the regent will undoubtedly throw himself *à corps perdu* into the king of England's interest.

Adieu, you shall soon receive either a more particular letter, or see a messenger of your acquaintance from me. I embrace you, my dear Willey, and am for ever much more your's than my own. I answered your last letters: the same person that brought me your's, took care of my answer. What I write is only for you, and one or two of our bosome friends. The inference to be drawn from it, and the use to be made of it, ought to be as general, as your concern for persons reaches. I give you this caution, the rather because some things, which I writ over, and which were by no means proper to rebound back hither, did however do so. You will easily guess this not to be very proper, perhaps not very safe for me.

September the 17th, this letter comes to you sealed with an head, and will go under our friend Jemmy's cover.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Encloses the preceding letter.]

1724.

Information concerning the designs of the pretender, collected from lord Bolingbroke's private letter to sir William Wyndham, which was sent unsealed to the postmaster general.

SIR,

Hampton Court, September 15, 1716.

Townshend
Papers.

Private.

Draught.

THREE posts being due from your side, I have none of your letters to acknowledge; but the occasion of my writing is to communicate to you, by his royal highness's command, some papers and advices relating to the designs of the pretender, in order to your laying them before the king. One of them is a letter from the person employed by his majesty to get intelligence at Paris, whose hand I make no doubt both the king and you will remember. It appears by what he writes, that the pretender is shortly to make some new attempt either on Scotland or England. But this advice is more fully confirmed by a letter from the late lord Bolingbroke to sir William Wyndham, which came to my hands yesterday morning, in a pretty extraordinary manner. He gave it unsealed to young Mr. Craggs at Paris, desiring him to send it open under cover to his father, the postmaster general, to whom it should be left to send it forward, or to suppress it, as he should think fitt. Old Mr. Craggs immediately brought it to me, to know what should be done with it; I desired he would give me a copy of it, to lay before his royal highness, who presently determined, that it ought by all means to be sent on as directed. Bolingbroke seems to have had two views in writing it; first to deter his friend from having any share in an attempt, of the success of which he had so ill an opinion; and in the next place to give the government some sort of proof of his aversion to the measures now taking by the party. What is most remarkable in it (as you will see by the inclosed copy) is, that the pretender's design (whatever it be) appears to him to be in such forwardness, that knowing sir William Wyndham's zeal for that service, he thought not a moment was to be lost in advertising him, in order to keep him clear from engaging in it; and then, that he looks upon the regent as determined to throw himself *à corps perdu* into his majesty's interest. He observes, that the jacobites both at St. Germain and Avignon, never appeared so sanguine as at present; and the same is true with respect to the party in England, who, according to concurrent and unquestionable accounts from all parts of the kingdom, are strangely elated

elated with the expectation of some sudden attempt in their favour, in which Bolingbroke.
they are confident of being supported *by a body of foreign forces.*

1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Expresses his gratitude for past favours—and makes strong professions of attachment, if his restitution is completed.

MY LORD,

June 28, 1723.

YOU have laid the highest obligation upon me, in the handsomest and most generous manner, and I desire your lordship to be persuaded, you never laid any which made a deeper or more lasting impression. I shall do my best on this side of the water to lessen the force of any objections against what the king has done, and intends to do in my favour; and if my restitution can be completed, your lordship may have more useful friends and servants; a more faithful one you cannot have, than I shall endeavour to approve myself. Mr. Walpole tells me, that I may give your lordship the trouble of delivering the two inclosed, which I beg of you to present to the king, and to the duchess of Kendal. I am, my lord, with all possible esteem and gratitude, &c.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Delivers his letters to the king and duchess of Kendal.—Declares the king's intentions in his favour, to complete his restitution, if it can be carried in parliament.

MY LORD,

Plymouth, July 9—20, 1723.

BY last post, I desired my brother Walpole to let your lordship know, that I had received the honour of your's of the 28th June, and had delivered the two inclosed to the king and the duchess of Kendall. But that as his majesty avoids reading as much as he can, during the time of drinking the waters, none of the letters were then returned to me. I have since received them from the king, and have his majesty's command to acquaint your lordship, that he was very glad to find you were returned safe into England. The king received very graciously the assurances your lordship gave in your letter, and as his majesty questions not in the least, but that your behaviour will every way answer his expectation, so your lordship may be satisfied of his majesty's good intentions to have what remains to be done in your favour perfectly finished according to your desire, which being a parliamentary affair, your lordship knows,

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

that

Period III. that it does not entirely depend on the king; and that it must be managed with
 1720 to 1727. circumspection. I am likewise desired by the dutchess of Kendall, to return
 1724. your lordship very many thanks for your letter to her, with assurances of her
 grace's particular regard for your lordship, and the success of your affairs. It
 was an extreme pleasure to me to see that your lordship was satisfied with the
 share I had in moving the king in your favour; I shall be always ready to
 contribute my utmost towards compleating what your lordship further expects;
 and I shall in all things that are in my power continue to shew your lordship
 with how much sincerity, and with how true an esteem, I am, &c.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Returns thanks, and renews his professions of attachment.—Flatters himself that
 the obstructions to his restitution will be removed.*

MY LORD,

Aix la Chapelle, Sept. 17, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I Chose rather to let your lordship know, by Mr. Walpole, how sensibly I
 was affected by the letter you did me the honour to write me, while I was at
 London, than to give you immediately the trouble of another; but since my
 brother is going to Hanover, let the opportunity be my excuse, if I return
 you my thanks under my own hand, and write to you again, tho' I have no-
 thing now to say. Mr. Walpole will have told your lordship, what his opin-
 ion concerning my situation was. I have conducted myself agreeably to it,
 and shall continue to do so.

There may be some, I think there will not be many, who will be angry not-
 withstanding all the precautions which can be taken; but surely their anger
 must have a very ill grace, when all other pretences being taken away, they
 can have no reason to assign against an act of mercy, which his majesty thinks
 fit to do, and the minister to advise, but their own private humour. After
 about a months stay at this place, I shall go back to Paris, and continue there
 or remove from thence, according to what lord Harcourt writes to me in con-
 cert with your lordship and Mr. Walpole. If the king's stay in Germany this
 year be as long as was apprehended when I left England, I must expect no
 decision in my affairs for several months, but whenever the parliament does
 meet, this decision will, I think, happen; whatever it will be, I shall prefer it
 to suspense. My brother will have the honor to present this letter to your
 lordship. Since he is related to me, he must be * * to you; and I hope
 your

Illegible.

your lordship will look upon him as a servant on whom you may always depend. I have writ by him to my lady duchess of Kendall, from whom I have upon all occasions received the greatest civilities possible; and my lord Carteret having done me the honour of a letter some time ago, I thought it proper likewise to write to his lordship by him. Give me leave to depend on you, my lord, for making my most humble duty acceptable to the king. Whatever obstructions the spirit of party may still raise to my return home, his majesty shall have no where a subject more faithfully devoted to him than myself, nor your lordship a more obedient and more humble servant, &c.

Bolingbroke.

1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARCOURT.

Character and disposition of the duke of Bourbon favourable to the English court.—Offers his own assistance to preserve that good disposition.—His solicitude to assist the ministry.

MY LORD,

Paris, December 17, 1723.

I Received on Sunday the 12th instant, the honour of your lordship's letter of the 27th of November, which our friend Brinsden brought me, and what came recommended by your lordship and Mr. Walpole, has been already executed, as far as is either necessary or proper at this time. You may depend upon it, that the duke of Bourbon is disposed just as you could wish that he should be. He has taken all the methods which the conjuncture required of expressing these dispositions; and, as he says himself, that degree of confidence, which words cannot create, must be left to time, and will be wrought up by a steady conduct. He has always past for a man of truth, and if my opinion can be of any weight, you will always find him so. There are, however, many things to be taken into consideration with respect to this court, which in my opinion, will require a more than ordinary attention, and this attention will, if I am not deceived, be much more necessary some time hence, than it is actually. I have spoken so freely and so fully upon all these heads to Mr. Walpole, that I may refer myself to what he has writ, and will, I suppose, in a few days say to you.

Townshend
Papers.Decyphered by
Brinsden.

As to my part, my lord, I shall be extremely glad on any occasion to contribute my mite to the king's service, and to help to cement a close correspondence between the two courts, whose true interest it is to be perfectly united.

Period III. But I must observe two things to your lordship, with my usual frankness.
 1720 to 1727. One is, that to cultivate and improve this good disposition in general, which I
 1724. promise you not to neglect, as far as my power goes, and as opportunities present themselves, is not a very important service, unless at the same time I am able to awaken it, and to help to apply it in particular cases, as they occur; for, my lord, you are not to apprehend, that this disposition will be directly combated by any one, but I would not answer that there may not be in time some endeavours to lull it asleep, or to divert it. Another thing, which I would observe to your lordship, and which Mr. Walpole did yesterday very kindly observe to me, is this, that as long as I remain in the uncertain state in which I still am, it is impossible I should exert myself as I could wish to do in your service, without running too great a risk; I mean that of rendering my style less agreeable, and less secure, when I cannot depend upon having an home. This is all which seems necessary to be said at present upon the subject. Brinsden will return, to you very soon, and by him I shall not fail to write again. Let me desire your lordship to assure Mr. Walpole of my humble services. I will trouble neither him nor you at this time about my private affairs, but conclude with assuring you, that I am, my dear lord, most faithfully, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARCOURT.

Acknowledges his inclination to use his interest with the duke of Bourbon in promoting the harmony between France and England.—Views of the Spanish faction on the crown of France.—Duke of Bourbon inclined to oppose the attempts of the pretender.—States the delicacy of his own situation; and expresses a desire that he may be soon relieved from suspense.

MY LORD,

Paris, Dec. 28, 1723.

Townshend I Have writ very largely to Mr. Walpole: that letter will no doubt be shewn
 Papers. to your lordship, and I shall avoid repeating in this any thing which is said
 Decyphered by there. Your lordship will have seen by the letter, which I sent you soon after
 Brinsden. Brinsden's arrival, that I lost no time in executing what you desired of me, and in putting myself into a condition of doing the best service in my power. It is not only the interest of my king and my country, which I pursue in acting conformably to your desires, but it is the true interest likewise of a prince, whose friendship, he authorises me to use that expression, by the treatment he gives

gives me, I have been honoured with these many years. You may depend ^{Bolingbroke.} on his present intentions, they are perfectly agreeable to his declarations; but still I should speak contrary to my own judgement; I go further, my lord, I should speak contrary to my own knowledge, if I told you that the same degree of attention to the affairs of this country, which was sufficient in the late duke of Orleans's time, was sufficient now. A long regency, great success in his undertakings, many of which were hazardous, and such as Lewis the 14th would not have ventured upon; a confirm'd power in the government, and a confirm'd interest in the king, had made that prince superior to all caballs, and absolute master of the kingdom. I hope that the duke of Bourbon will be so in time, but time is necessary to that purpose, and your court may contribute to it, as you did, perhaps more than you imagined yourselves, to establish the authority of his predecessor. In the mean while, I presume to tell you, that for his sake (and he is now the center of the publick interest in this country) great attention is necessary on your part as ministers, and all the shew of personal friendship on the part of the king towards him. He is first in authority, tho' there is another prince* of the blood nearer to the crown. It were to be wish'd, * The duke of Orleans. that there was a better harmony between them; for their interest is the same, and their interest is the common interest of Europe; but the duke of Bourbon sees the necessity of their union; and his endeavours, joyn'd to the experience which the other will daily acquire, may, it is to be hop'd, by degrees cement this union, which, I much doubt, there are many who would be glad to hinder. The notion of a Spanish faction, which would be glad to set the establishment of the succession aside, should the young king fail, and throw Europe into blood once more, is no imaginary, but a real and well grounded notion. The endeavours of this faction will be conceal'd with care, and disguised under various appearances; and as attention will be necessary to keep them from deceiving others, so must attention be had to keep them from deceiving likewise those against whose interest they are immediately directed. As it is reasonable that we should be watchful for the duke of Bourbon, so it is reasonable, that he should be watchful for us, lest the friends of the pretender take any advantage on this turn of affairs, or lest they take, as they are apt enough to do, encouragement to intrigue, tho' they have no advantage to act. I have said this very thing to him, and he was as explicate and as strong in his answers to me upon the subject, as I could desire. I will only add, that if there are, or should come into power, any persons favourable to that interest, the duke of

Period III. Bourbon is the only person capable of traversing the impressions they may be ready to give, and the designs they may carry on.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

Your lordship sees, that I obey your orders fully; they are agreeable to my inclinations, and have therefore a double weight. But I must own to you, that I shall be fearful to write by any other conveyance, as freely as I do by this; and I must suggest to you another consideration. Hitherto I have had but few friends, because I have liv'd in a very retir'd manner, and cultivated little besides my garden and my studys, but for the same reason I have had no enemys. The case will be soon alter'd, if I continue to keep in such a situation as may make me of real use to the publick interest. It is true indeed, that my endeavours will have no object but the general good of Europe, which in all these affairs is the particular interest of our king and of the duke of Bourbon; but, my lord, a proscrib'd man, who has no support besides his integrity, may be soon distress'd and caball'd out of his credit, perhaps with the very prince whom he endeavours to serve.

Is it not time that I should make a transition from my situation here to the state of my affairs in England? In a long conversation which I had the other day with Mr. Walpole, I think that the whole difficulty was reduc'd to this. In the present state of the court and of the party, should my restitution be attempted, there would be a small number of persons made angry in both houses. Others who appear'd for me, might underhand foment this anger, and excuse themselves, by urging that they were driven to comply, and lay the whole load upon Mr. Walpole, to the strengthening their own party credit, and to the weakening his. I have mention'd this, and I think answer'd it too in my letter to Mr. Walpole; and in truth, my lord, if there be no other reason against undertaking to finish my business, I should hope that this reason will not determine against me. Let me conjure you, my lord, one way or other, to draw me out of suspense this winter. It is grown quite unsupportable to me; and it is the more so at this moment, because, if I am not after all to go home, I can settle myself in such a manner as will agreeable to me abroad. I am about to marry the marquise's* daughter to a young man of great quality in this country: I flatter myself, that I shall have the duke of Bourbon's assistance, in making this settlement; and if I thought that I should not be restor'd this winter, I own to your lordship, that I would at the same time take my

* Madame de Villette, niece to madame de Maintenon, whom he married after his first wife's death.

measures to be myself a little better settled here, than I am att present. Once Bolingbroke.
1724. more, my lord, I intreat you, that this winter may not pass over as so many others have done. Let me be either restor'd, or told that it cannot be attempted; in which case, I doubt not, but you will find the facility of doing what is necessary to secure the estate I have, and that which would belong to me, if my father should drop.

I have writ to my lord Townshend as well as to Mr. Walpole, and I thought it proper to make a compliment in a few lines to Carteret, that he may take no pretence of complaint from my behaviour. Adieu, my lord, no man living is with greater truth or a warmer friendship your most obedient humble servant. If you judg proper that I should take the liberty of writing to his majesty att the opening of the parliament; and if you would have me write any other letters, give me your orders and instructions. The first courier shall carry my answer, and the execution of your lordship's commands.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Requests him to solicit his restitution.—Professes his devotion to the king and the ministers.

MY LORD,

Paris, December 29, 1723.

YOU will see so much of my writing on this occasion, that it is but reasonable I should save you the trouble of a long letter. Give me leave, therefore, to refer you to what I have said to my lord Harcourt and to Mr. Walpole. Your lordship has been pleas'd to express yourself with so much frankness and generosity concerning my restitution, that I make no doubt of your powerful assistance to bring it about att this conjuncture; and should it fail now, I am persuaded that your lordship will not blame me, if I give over all expectation of it. Since his majesty was first so good as to offer it me, I have endeavoured to make myself not unworthy of it, and I am actually giving you the best proofs in my power, that I have nothing more at heart than the king's service, and the particular advantage of your lordship, and those who are joyn'd with you. I am persuaded, that your lordship's brother-in-law, who is now here, will do me this justice. Since my letters to my lord Harcourt, and to Mr. Walpole were writ, here has happen'd one of those very things I was apprehensive of; it is of great moment, and gives great alarm to all those who mean well to the present establishment in England and in France.

Some

Townshend
Papers.Decyphered by
Brinsden.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} Some measures should be taken to prevent, if possible, more errors, for such
 1724. I will yet awhile believe them, from being committed. I think Mr. Walpole cannot be instructed to speak too strongly and too plainly on this occasion; and in saying thus much to your lordship, I mean a service to the prince who governs here, as well as to his majesty, and to the common interest of Europe. I am, my lord, with respect and truth, your lordship's most obedient humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Encloses a letter to lord Harcourt.]

Townshend Papers. (Tuesday evening.) I Have had company all day, and am a little out of order to night, so that I have not been able to write all the letters I intended. This to lord Harcourt, I desire you to send. I need not recommend to you, that it may go in your packet to lord Townshend. You know how much I ought to desire, that neither Schaub nor his patron may know any thing of my correspondence. Adieu, dear sir; I do assure you that I am, and that you shall always find me most faithfully your obedient humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

Communicates some intelligence.—Desires his correspondence may be kept secret from Carteret and Schaub.

December 30, 1723.

Townshend Papers. **P**RAY tell my lord Harcourt from lord Bolingbroke, that although the letter writt according to the first appearances, and according to the ancient character and present assurances of a certain person, yet in his letters to lord Harcourt and to Mr. Walpole, as well as in the close of that to lord Townshend, enough is said to put them on their guard, besides which, the minutes Brinsden took, are plain. However, lord Bolingbroke has seen, since Brinsden went, new reasons to be alarm'd, and will therefore once more write his thoughts on so nice a subject. The feud between the two princes encreases daily; they who help to encrease it, use it to drive the ministry into the king of Spain's interest; the duke du Maine, who is undoubtedly in this interest, tho' uncle to the duke of Orleans, is well with the duke of Bourbon, and takes measures with him.

Decyphered by Brinsden.

Lord Bolingbroke wishes and hopes that his friend will not abandon his own ^{Bolingbroke.} cause, because there is one whom he hates before him; but lord Bolingbroke will not answer for it. It is certain, that long before lord Bolingbroke, or any one else suspected it, and before the king of Spain could ask it, it was resolved on for Spain; and it was as certain, that the late king of France would not send him there ten years ago, because his character was too well known; in a word, things have an ill aspect, great art must be employed, and great pains taken to bring them right. Adieu. Brinsden will decypher this scrawl for you.

1724.

Lord Bolingbroke recommends one thing particularly to you, and to Mr. Walpole, and lord Townshend, that lord Carteret may not have the least wind of this correspondence. It would come soon to the ears of Schaub, who is the tool of the women here, a coxcomb, and dangerous.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without date or signature, but endorsed December 29, 1723, N. S. in Brinsden's hand-writing.

Prevalence of the Spanish faction in various instances:—Politick advice of lord Bolingbroke, with respect to Horace Walpole's interference in the affair of la Vrilliere's dukedom.—Lord Bolingbroke's restoration solicited.

IT is certain that the Spanish faction begins to be very busy, active, and sanguine. Frejus, beyond dispute, is in it, tho' not suspected by the duke of Bourbon. A strong proof of it, among others, is this, that when a certain person quoted the duke d'Angoulême's case, as a precedent for settling the family of the present duke of Orleans, he objected to the precedent as a bad one, because the duke of Angoulême was presumptive heir to the crown, and urged inadvertently enough, that to follow that precedent, would be to give umbrage to the court of Spain. This fact is fresh and true, it is unnecessary to make reflections upon it, his bigotry is very great, and his devotion to the court of Rome: hence the hopes which the jacobites have of good offices from him. The duke of Bourbon besides a confidence in his friendship, keeps measures with him, on account of his great influence over the young king. He is always present when the duke of Bourbon is with the king, and without the name of minister, has the power. Lord Bolingbroke spoke plainly

Townshend
Papers.Decyphered by
Brinsden.

on

Period III. on this man's character, and on the jealousy which it may occasion very justly.
 1720 to 1727. The duke of Bourbon promises, that he will be very watchfull to hinder him
 1724. from doing any mischief, and the duke of Bourbon, certainly means what he says; but still there is danger from that quarter. Lord Bolingbroke apprehends that Mr. Walpole is not enough aware of this. Marshall de Villars is not at all to be reckon'd upon, vain and light, newly reconcil'd to the duke of Bourbon, very capable of any new and rash measures: the duke of Bourbon, between these two, may without a miracle be misled. He has been so undoubtedly in the choice of Tessé to go to Spain. This man is so avowedly in the Spanish faction, that he own'd to the late duke of Orleans, that should the king dye, he look'd on the king of Spain to be the rightfull heir, notwithstanding the treaties, renunciations, &c. Monteleon, his bosom friend, going back to Spain at the same time. All this joyn'd to the marshall's intimate relation to the court of Turin, may furnish matter of very disagreeable speculation. Lord Bolingbroke has spoke plainly on this subject, likewise to Mr. Walpole, who depends on the marshall's friendship, but will, it is to be hoped, be however on his guard. The duke of Bourbon having opened his heart to lord Bolingbroke upon la Vrillier's affair, and confess'd himself under the greatest difficulty imaginable; the king being violently sett against the thing, and the nobility clamorous. Lord Bolingbroke thought that he threw a very favourable opportunity into Mr. Walpole's hands, when he acquainted him with it. Had Mr. Walpole took the negociation from Schaub, he would have undeceiv'd the king, by shewing him that this business which had been represented to him as easy, was of the utmost difficulty. If at last the king insisted upon it, and it succeeded, Mr. Walpole would have had the merit. If it spun into length, and fail'd with the king's consent, Mr. Walpole laid the duke of Bourbon under the utmost obligation, in no case he run any risque. He was of another opinion, and declin'd talking with the duke of Bourbon upon it; lord Bolingbroke, however, represented it so to the duke of Bourbon, as not to let him perceive that Mr. Walpole did decline helping him on this occasion. There are several caballs forming, on which an attentive eye must be had; it would be too long to enter into particulars; use may be made of some of them to counterwork Frejus and the Spanish faction. It should have been added above, the present duke of Orleans has declar'd publickly, that he thinks himself obliged to justify his father, and to assure the nobility, that his father would never have made M. de la Vrilliere a duke; this declaration puts
 the

the duke of Bourbon under still greater difficulties. Schaub by false representations, has made the king go so far, that he can hardly go back, and it is certain, that the duke of Bourbon dares not go forwards. Madam de Platen might have found in this country many people who would have been proud to marry her, and against whose promotion to the dukedom there would have been no objection; for instance, if madam de la Vrilliere's brother was the man, instead of the son, he is of so great quality that nobody could complain; but Schaub, upon pretence of serving madam de Platen, has been making use of the king his master to serve la Vrilliere.

Bolingbroke.
1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARCOURT.

Describes the situation of parties in France, in regard to the future succession of the crown.—Gives advice.

(January 12, 1724.) THIS is the second letter which I write to you, since Saunderfon's [Brinsden's] departure, and that is more by two than I intended. The subjects on which you desire help and information, are too nice for one in circumstances as precarious as mine are: but Fletchville [Bolingbroke] sees so evidently the whole system of affairs exposed to new embroilments, that stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] cannot forbear once more to send you an account of what he observes, and to state his opinion to you on the facts to be mentioned, and on a multitude of others, which would make too large a volume. You have thought perhaps that my former accounts have vary'd a little, and that Freeman [Bolingbroke] has fluctuated in his opinions, and you have thought right. Those who have seen things nearest, have seen the appearances vary almost every day, and have been ready to decide very differently, at different times. Those who are best informed, have often not known what to think. And those who are least inform'd, have continu'd to judge as their favourable or unfavourable opinion of the duke of Bourbon leads them. The duke of Bourbon has a plain interest, he says, he sees it; and no longer ago than Saturday, he express'd, talking with Frampton [Bolingbroke,] a good deal of resentment, that he should be suspected of views repugnant to it. The party for the succession, according to treatys, is con-

Townshend
Papers.
*In cypher.**

* This letter being mostly written in cypher, and there being no key, the meaning has been explained, partly by comparing it with the other decyphered letters, and partly from conjecture.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1724.

siderable, and the whole body of the people will fall in with this side, unless the princes give up or spoil their own cause; for Ellis [the king of Spain] is despis'd, and the Italian faction dreaded here. In this light, every thing appears well.

But turn the tables, F. [Frejus] has an influence over Dunch [the young king] which the duke of Bourbon is forc'd at present to submit to, and of which, perhaps, he did not at first see the consequence; but I hope, and believe he begins to be jealous of it. He has great confidence in V. [probably Villars] and T. [probably Tefse]. Now these persons are indisputably in with Epfom [king of Spain]. The first is timorous; the second ready to change as his interest turns; the third imprudent to the last degree, tho' form'd to all the little artifice of O1; and in Freeman's [Bolingbroke's] opinion, capable of going farther than the others, and faster too. There are several dependants of some, or all of these, who are deep in the same project. One club of the richest and ablest men in Clermont [France,] and who have at this time great authority in the revenue, are closely united to V. [Villars,] intimate with the duke of Bourbon's mistress, and extremely trusted by him. These have been a good while in correspondence with O2 [probably king of Spain] by Cadis and St. Malo. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] speaks positively, for the information comes to him thro' the same channel, thro' which the late duke of Orleans had his. The effects of which information would have been seen, with respect to this junto, if he had liv'd longer. Add to all this, that the duke of Bourbon's mistress is attached to him by no inclination, and is at once the most corrupt and ambitious jade alive. In this light, every thing appears ill; so ill, that several people do not hesitate to think the duke of Bourbon determin'd against his true interest. Franklyn's [Bolingbroke's] present opinion, is different from this. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] believes, that his proximity to the crown, makes a great impression on him; that he has been very sincere in most of the general professions to Franks [Bolingbroke]. But stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] thinks likewise, that the bitter hatred of the duke of Orleans, has made a mighty impression on his mind. I see his fear on this head, thro' all the care he takes to hide it. Suspicions, therefore, go thus far, that he hearkens to those who flatter him with hopes of great support and great advantage from Ewers [king of Spain]; that he goes some lengths with these people, but that he does not design to go all the lengths which he sees, nor sees all which the others intend to lead him; here is the

very

very point of danger. The first and principal means of warding it, is a reconciliation between the princes, which numbers are watchful to prevent; which is certainly difficult; but which is certainly not impracticable. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] has neglected nothing which he durst venture towards it. Freeman [Bolingbroke] came from Versailles on Saturday, fully persuaded that this point was secure. He gave Child's [Mr. Walpole's] brother notice of it in confidence. Since that time, he finds it grown uncertain, and will soon know from what cause this alteration proceeds. The duchess dowager of Orleans was yesterday in the same sentiments as last week, and answer'd for her son.

By this imperfect sketch, joyn'd to what has been said before, you will form some notion of the present state of things. And you will be my witness, that I am not backward to serve the king, my country, my friends, * * * minister, * The cypher and I may add those of Clermont [France] particularly; the duke of Bourbon, whose true interest I am heartily solicitous for, as well as the public peace and tranquillity. You must not expect, I doubt, to see things come to a clearer and more certain state very soon; and the only resolution you can take at present, and which admits of no delay, is this; to attend to all that passes with more than ordinary care; to be informed even of the most secret motions of *oi*; and of all which the several cabals do there, or at Paris; to have in some measure the direction of those which pursue the same end; to speak plainly, and kindly, and strongly to the duke of Bourbon; to endeavour, above all things, to fix him in his true interest; to shew him, that he can want no support, when he is firmly united to Dormer [king of England], and to the duke of Orleans; to keep a secret correspondence with the duchess dowager of Orleans, and those who act for the duke, for he himself is young and raw. In short, to negotiate perpetually, for give me leave to say, that if the union, Francis [Bolingbroke] lays so much weight upon, was made, and was never so cordial, yet you would be in the wrong to relax in your attention. You must look upon yourselves, in some measure, like careful tutors. The late duke of Orleans might be left alone to take care of himself, but the case is not in all respects the same now. Means there are enough, and every day will afford more; but it is impossible to descend into all those particulars. You will meet with much cunning, and little faith, but be assured, you have among the Clermont zacharies [French ministers] no great abilities to apprehend. Remember these lights are for you, communicate them to none but Chivers

Period III. [Walpole] and Harris. [Lord Townshend]. I have good reasons for giving
 1720 to 1727. you this caution. You will be sure to take your measures to watch T. [probably Tefé] as well as his friend, and my old acquaintance Monteleon. Nothing which Freeman [Bolingbroke] can do, has been or shall be neglected, but he thinks it will not be convenient to write any more in this manner. You are on your guard, that is enough. Adieu. Francis [Bolingbroke] will not doubt but he shall find on your side of the water, the same cordiality and the same zeal which he thinks he has evidently shewn.

1724. Since this letter was writ, I have recollected a thing, which may seem but a trifle, but which I judge important enough to be added. Talking with young Chivers [Horace Walpole] and giving him about persons and things, the best information Frederick [Bolingbroke] could, mention was made of Torcy, Flemming [Bolingbroke] told nakedly and truly the pro and the con, and his own opinion to boot: he perceiv'd that Chester [Horace Walpole] was immediately jealous. This I tell you freely, Flemming [Bolingbroke] took a little unkindly, because he has acted a part which deserves confidence, not suspicion. If this man's being employed came in question, you may assure yourself that Franks [Bolingbroke] would speak as he did in the case of T. [probably Tefé] but surely it is of some service in speaking to a friend, to tell all one observes, that he may judge the better. I will speak of this to Chester [Walpole] myself; but in the mean while, I thought it proper to mention it to you, least some mistake should be received, and pass current by my silence. Adieu, if my letters are of any use to you, your brethren, and the publick, I am sufficiently paid; but I must desire you to excuse me, if I venture no more, since I may perhaps do Fretchville [Bolingbroke] more hurt than I can do you good, by meddling in business, in which I have nothing to do, and to which I have no very proper call. I just now am inform'd again, that the reconciliation does not go so well forward, as I could wish. I am sorry for it, and will neglect nothing in my power.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Without signature or address. Probably to his confidential secretary Brinlden.

Expresses his resolution to be grateful to those who assist in obtaining his restitution.

I Received your letter of the 13th of January by the courier. You seem Bolingbroke.
 very sanguine, and I take it for granted, that you have some reasons to be
 so, which are not explain'd. In the letter I have received from Lord Har- 1724.
Townshend
Papers.
 court, I observe nothing positive, either for or against what we both wish. I
 do assure you, that you might very safely venture your life on the return
 which I shall make to such obligations as you mention. I have liv'd long
 enough to have worn out all engagements, except some few of private
 friendship, which I had contracted, and shall go back if I return to you,
 under none, but those of gratitude and friendship to the persons who
 bring me back. I am extremely glad that the trifle was so agreeably
 receiv'd. The person* who received it, has writ me the most obliging
 letter imaginable. As to S.† he is so insignificant a fellow, that it is a kind † Schaub.
 of mortification to imagine, that one must be on one's guard against him. I
 am so, perfectly; and he shall have no real occasion of complaint. What he
 may invent, I know not. I forgot to mention, that I believe Mr. Walpole is
 now convinc'd of what I hinted to him some time ago, as soon as the thing was
 done; which is, that the person‡ nam'd to be minister at the court of Eng- ‡ De Buy.
 land is nam'd by the duke of Bourbon's whore, and her cabal, of which a
 principal member is Mons. de la Vrilliere.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without address or signature. In his own hand-writing, partly in cypher.

*Complains of the opposition made to his restoration.—Hopes it will be obviated.
 —Acts in concert with Horace Walpole.—Speaks contemptibly of sir Luke
 Schaub.—Exculpates himself from the imputation of being friendly to the
 jacobite interest, and of having paid a visit to Atterbury.—Expresses his
 attachment to the king.*

MY LORD,

I Was out of town, when I received the honour of your lordship's letter of Townshend
Papers.
 the 14th of January, but am come back time enough to answer it by the
 courier, who goes away to-day. I am not naturally prone to suspicion; and I Decyphered by
Brinsden.
 should be extremely to blame, if I entertain'd any of those who have kept
 their words with me; who have us'd all the frankness possible in their pro-

* Probably means the duchess of Kendal, to whom he sent some trifling present, and who was highly instrumental in his restitution.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.}
 1724. ceeding towards me, and of whose friendship I have received the strongest proofs. I do assure you, that I have not the least. Upon what your lordship writes, I observe that the opposition which you lay any weight upon, is drawn into a very narrow compass. The torys will not, you think, declare against me, and I agree perfectly with your lordship, that if they take this resolution, it is for their own sake, not for mine. The whigs, who always oppose the court, and who will, for that reason, oppose my restitution, you seem to put likewise out of the case; and indeed since my restitution is not the cause of their opposition, this opposition ought not to be a reason, why your lordship does not make it one, against attempting my restitution. The only persons therefore, whose opposition deserves consideration, are those, who are friends to my friends, but have been hastily and unwarily drawn in by my enemys; or those, who apprehend I may be forming schemes against them, whenever I am restored. These persons, your lordship thinks, should be soften'd by the most gentle and prudent methods, in which opinion, I readily concur with you. These methods, your lordship hopes, will be attended with success, and it is inconceivable to my apprehension, that they should fail of it. Such of your friends as have been hastily and unwarily drawn off, will gradually, and upon reflection, come back to your sentiments; and for such of them as are only doubtful of the part I may act after my restitution, surely, my lord, they will be convinced, that my lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole are as much interested in that matter as themselves, and can judge better of it. Upon the whole matter, this affair is now brought to so short an issue in the most favourable conjuncture possible, that I cannot but flatter myself it will be consummated; and that if it should, by some unforeseen miracle, fail at this time, I shall be sufficiently justify'd to my family, and to my friends, for taking the resolution of expecting it at no other.

I am glad that my letters have been received, and that they are taken as I meant them. I have made my compliments to Mr. Walpole,* with great sincercity upon his nomination. He will, I am persuaded, receive them with the more satisfaction; because I am sure, that I have neglected no one thing in my power, which might be useful or agreeable to him. No part of my conduct shall give any man occasion to say, that I act in concert with Mr. Walpole, and by order from your court. But I cannot answer that in a place, where people are very alert, some jealousy of that sort may not be entertain'd, when they perceive me to live in intimacy with him. As to S. [Schaub] he is such a

* He means Horace Walpole; on being appointed envoy extraordinary.

whiffling mean fellow, that I own to your lordship, whatever importance he Bolingbro
may be thought to be of, he can inspire me with nothing but contempt. As
to the marriage, how far it may be practicable at present, to obtain the dutchy,
should the duke of Bourbon in earnest desire it, I know not; but this I know,
that I have acted no otherwise than in one of my former letters I explain'd,
and that I meddle neither directly nor indirectly in it, which I desire your
lordship on my word to affirm, if there be the least reason to do so.

1724.

There remains, I think, nothing but the postscript of your lordship's letter to be answer'd, in which you ask me, what you may most truly say, should you ever hear again so idle a charge as that which you mention. You may say, my lord, that it is a most impudent groundless lye, that he, whoever he is, that advances it, cannot be more averse to the jacobite interest than I am; and that there is not a man under the sun, whom I have less reason to trust, or more to complain of, than the late bishop of Rochester. I went last autumn to the waters of Aix by Namur, from Mons, but the road being excessively bad for a coach, I came at my return by Brussels. Was I to go again, I should take the same road, without supposing that I should be suspected, after all which has pass'd, on such a silly foundation; and any other foundation than this, no man living will, I am sure, be hardy enough to say that he has. Once for all, my lord, be pleas'd to depend on what I formerly told you. The hopes of returning home, or the fear of continuing abroad, have never had the least influence on my conduct, with respect to the part I have openly and avowedly taken these seven years; and in which I should continue, were it as much for my private interest to be attached to the pretender, as it is to be attached to the king. I am, my dear lord, your most faithful and most obedient servant.

(Feb. 3, 1724.) I Have concluded a marriage for the marchioness's* daughter, on which occasion, monsieur le Duc has been so good as to procure several very great advantages to the young couple. The marchioness has given up all her pensions in part of her daughter's portion. I thought this effect very proper to be dispos'd of, since it could be so with advantage. I believe your lordship will be of my opinion.

You have had, without doubt, a courier from Mr. Stanhope long ago, and your lordship has observ'd, that the whole junto are Spaniards, except Leide.

* He alludes to the daughter of lady Bolingbroke, by her former husband the marquis de la Villette.

Period III. There is not a man of common sense, except the inquisitor general, who has
 1720 to 1727. parts, and D. Miguel da Guerra, who, besides his parts, has great knowledge.
 1724. I have hesitated some time, whether I should mention to you a thing, which
 is in my opinion, of great moment; but which I have no call to meddle in,
 and may therefore seem officious by doing so. I will, however, mention it,
 for I had rather run the risque of a ridicule, than that of neglecting any thing
 useful to the king's service, and to the service of my friends who serve him.
 The present king* of Spain will be certainly as much an humble servant to his
 wife, as his predecessor was to his. Your lordship easily imagines, that this
 consideration has been entertained by the dutchess dowager of Orleans. A
 thousand reasons concur to make her desire, in the present conjuncture, to cul-
 tivate and improve the influence she has always had on her daughter's mind,
 and which she has so far neglected, by an indolence too natural to her, that she
 has at this moment no body about the queen of Spain, whom she can trust.
 Lord Bolingbroke has been consulted in this affair; and he took the occasion of
 insinuating, that since none fit for such a trust could be sent from France, without
 giving suspicion, the best expedient would be to give the management of this
 affair to the minister of England, whenever such a one should be sent, as might
 be instructed in his passage thro' France. Your lordship sees at one view
 twenty advantages, which would with good management result to the king's
 service by this means. The expedient was so far from being disliked, that
 lord Bolingbroke was desired to give notice, when any person was sent from
 England to Spain, and to inform them, whether his character was such as might
 render it prudent to trust him in so nice a matter. Adieu.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*On the refusal of sir Matthew Decker to pay the money belonging to lady
 Bolingbroke.*

Whitehall, April 2, 1724.

Walpole
 Papers.

YOU will receive inclosed, a letter to my lord Bolingbroke, which comes
 from my lord Harcourt, to give him an account of the very bad reasons,
 I think, sir Matthew Decker gives for not paying a great sum of money he has
 in his hands of madame de Villette's, on pretence, that it is my lord Boling-
 broke's, and that he may be made answerable for it by parliament. You will

* Louis by the abdication of his father Philip the Fifth.

please to give this letter to his lordship, and let him know I shall very readily do him all the service I am able in this affair; my lord Harcourt is of opinion, that madame de Villette should present a petition to Monf. le Duc,* and desire his interposition with his majesty in her behalf, and care should be taken that only madame de Villette's name should appear in this money matter, by which means the king may better insist on obliging sir Matthew to do justice, and to repay the money, which he now, as I said, declines to do. I think your way should be to let lord Bolingbroke and madame de Villette manage this matter themselves with the duke of Bourbon, without your appearing in it, or saying any thing of it at first; till the duke shall speak to you himself, and then you may undertake to use your best offices, and promise all the assistance you are able to give for procuring justice to madame de Villette, on her petition. And of this you may give all the assurances you may think fit to my lord Bolingbroke, that as soon as the duke of Bourbon shall have spoken to you upon it, you will recommend the affair in the strongest terms; and that you make no question but that I shall promote it here with the greatest earnestness.

Bolingbroke.
1724.
* The duke
Bourbon.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Thanks him for civilities shewn to lady Bolingbroke.—And declares that he will be satisfied with a partial restitution.

MY LORD,

October 24, 1724.

SINCE I have not only an opportunity, but a pretence of writing to your grace, you will, I am persuaded, give me your leave to do it, that I may at least return you my thanks for those marks of your friendship which you have given me, and for my share in the obligations which your civilities have laid on the person* who delivers this letter to you. I shall wait with a perfect confidence the effect of those promises which have been made me this summer, and shall receive it with a due sense of the king's goodness, and of the friendship of his ministers. If these promises are short of those offers which were made me several years ago, it will be however an entire satisfaction to me, that this difference must arise from the temper of party, and from the circumstances of affairs, since no man will, I am sure, affirm that it arises in any degree from my conduct. Do me the justice, my lord, to be persuaded,

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

* His wife, madame de Villette.

Period III. that I am with much truth, your grace's most humble and most obedient
 1720 to 1727. fervant.

1724.

LADY BOLINGBROKE, AS MADAME DE VILLETTE, TO LORD
 TOWNSHEND.

[Without date, but written in 1724.]

*Thanks him for his civilities, and expects the fulfilment of the promises for lord
 Bolingbroke's return.*

Townshend
 Papers.

LE jeudy. Les raisons qui me privent, my lord, de l'honneur de vous voir
 avant mon depart m'affligent et m'inquiennent. Je souhaite de tout mon
 cœur que vôtre indisposition n'ait point de fuite. Si vous jugés à propos de
 vous servir du remede que j'ai fait venir à Mr. de Walpole, et dont tant de
 gens se trouvent bien chez nous je vous en enverray. Je n'ai pu faire finir
 ma conignation qu'a midy. Je pars dans le moment comblée de vos po-
 liteffes et de celles de Mr. de Walpole; mais je compte sur quelque chose de
 plus solide qui font vos paroles et l'honneur de vôtre amitié dont je vous de-
 mande à l'un et à l'autre la continuation. Je vous supplie d'estre bien per-
 suadés de mon cincere attachement à vos interest et de celui de mon ami, et
 de me croire aussy parfaitement, que je le suis, milord, votre très humble et
 très obiffante servante.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

*Sends this letter by his wife, madame de Villette.—Expresses uneasiness at his
 own uncertain situation.*

May 22, 1724.

Egremont
 Papers.

THE marquise will acquaint you, my dear friend, with the particular rea-
 sons of her journey, but I cannot let her go without saying something my-
 self in general, both concerning her journey, and my present state. You
 know how many years I have been led on by promises, since the first offers
 of returning home, were made me in the king's name, and you must be sen-
 sible how insupportable long suspense must be to a man who is prepared for
 any thing certain, and determined. Among other inconveniencies, which
 have attended this strange situation, it has been none of the least that the small
 fortune which I had sav'd and acquir'd abroad, has been expos'd to abund-
 ance of dimunitions and losses, which were inevitable, and must continue so as
 long

Bolingbroke.
1724.

U U 2

feavour,

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} feavour, and the perpetual disorder which dwelt in my stomach, had worn me quite down, and exhausted all my spirits; but the marquise, who knows that I never disguise any thing to her, not even those things which may be disagreeable, ought to have moderated her own alarm, and yours, by what I writ at the end of the same letter as acquainted her with my illness. God be prais'd, I am very much better. Not only my feavour seems effectually cur'd, but my stomach begins to be re-establish'd, and I am in hopes that my life will become worth wearing some time longer. It is not necessary to live, but it is so necessary to live agreeably, that I do not well conceive how any one can resolve to live otherwise, unless he be chained down to life by the sentiments of his heart, and the force of friendship. For my own part, there is nothing else which makes existing desirable to me, and if the marquise and one or two friends did not attach me to life, I should soon grow tir'd of the world as one grows tir'd of bad company, and wish to be out of it. These are not the thoughts of a melancholy man, my dear friend, but of a reasonable man, of one who has been taught by time and reflection to see things as they are, and to rate them according to their true value. I wish with all my heart that the act which is to pass in my favour may be soon brought on, and I suppose that it will be so. But I know too well the necessity of timing things in parliament, to be surpriz'd or concern'd at some delay. The state you describe of people who expect they know not what, who are ready to be angry, they know not why, and eager to act, tho' they have neither plan nor concert, is a state which I have been several times a witness of. In a government like our's, not only the stronger passions, but every little humour, has force enough to ruffle the face of public affairs. All which an honest and sensible man can do, is to steer on with calmness, and to guide himself with the reason of things, whilst the herd of mankind are deliver'd over to their passions.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Egremont
Papers.

(Jan. 30, 1725.) IT is very true, my dear friend, that I do not desire health, more earnestly than I desire to be delivered from suspense, and enabled some where or other to enjoy that quiet, which is the only object I propose to myself for the rest of my life. The second part of your session is now begun; and I hear that your house is like to be very full; tho' I do not hear of any business you have which deserves much vivacity. That which relates to me, cannot surely create any.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Bolingbroke.

Entertained hopes of a complete restoration during the life of George I.—Relinquished those hopes on his death.—Is determined to retire from the world, and to live principally in France.—Motives for so doing.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Paris, Nov. 29, 1735.

YOU think too reasonably yourself, to be surprized, that a man who makes use of his reason, who is almost threescore, and who has passed ten such years as I have lately passed, should begin to consider how it becomes his character, his temper, his fortune, and his circumstances, to conduct the last act of his life, and to wind up the whole piece. I have thought very seriously, and very much at leisure, on this subject, since I left England; and I take the opportunity of Mr. Chetwynd's return thither, to communicate these thoughts, and the result of them, my resolutions, to you, with an entire assurance that you will approve the one, and assist me in executing the other. Whilst the late king lived, I had a just claim, and a fair prospect, grounded on his promises, and on the conjuncture, so that I might, and did expect to complete my restoration, and I settled accordingly amongst you. Since his death, I have entertained no such expectation, nor have, in truth any very warm desire of that kind. Give me leave to assume upon this particular occasion, since the fact is true, what I should not assume perhaps on another; tho' the fact were equally true; whether I have done well or ill, whether I have acted amongst you to any purpose or to none, I have acted with as little regard to personal interest as any man ever did. They who believe so will do me justice, and this justice is all I ask of them. The same public spirit, and private friendship would carry me still on, if your circumstances were still the same, or if any new means of being useful to you were in my power. You are grown to be a formidable minority within doors, and you have a great majority without. I am still the same proscribed man, surrounded with difficultys, exposed to mortifications, and unable to take any share in the service, but that which I have taken hitherto, and which, I think, you would not persuade me to continue to take in the present state of things. My part is over, and he who remains on the stage after his part is over, deserves to be hissed off.

Egremont
Papers.

These reflections have led me naturally to the resolution of retiring from the business of the world absolutely, and from the world itself much more than I have done hitherto. This resolution is the more easy for me to take, because

it

Period III.
1720 to 1727

What I mean by this is, that he who will judg rightly of the conduct of affairs, must not judg of this or that particular part alone, but must consider the general principle on which our conduct proceeds, and what the effects of it have been, and will be. But I stop here, and had rather leave my meaning a little obscure, than run into reasonings which I endeavour every day to forget. It is time I should forget them.

By the letter which Mr. Chetwynd has given you from me before this time, and by what he has said to you in consequence of the discourse he and I had att our parting, you are enough informed, my dear sir William, of the resolution I have taken concerning the scheme of my future life. I am confident you approve it. You would be sorry, I am sure, if I wanted the courage to say to myself, thy part in public life is over. Let me depend on you and Bathurst for enabling me to live like a cosmopolite the rest of my days. For this purpose, you must dispose of Dawley for me. Were my father likely to dye, this measure would be prudent, and since he is likely to live, it is necessary. To what purpose should I keep an expensive retreat, where in all probability I shall never retire? in one sence, and no improper one, it may be said, that I have no excuse for chusing to be att home, except two, an opportunity of being useful to my friends and my country, *or the means of compleating that restoration, by frequent, solemn, and unsolicited promises of which, the late king drew me into England.* The opportunity is over, the means are not in my power, and in the present state of things, the end is no longer desirable. Upon this head, I hope to have soon your answer. Chavigny will convey it safely to du Nocquet, and du Nocquet must be directed to send it under cover to the marquis of Matignon. In things of this kind, the canal of Chavigny is not improper, for he is a friendly man. Whilst I was att home, I served for an alarm to the whigs, and they were threatened with my coming into power. It is to be presumed, this cant is out of date. But if any thing of that kind is said, or any opportunity offered to you, or to any other of my friends, of making such an answer, I desire the answer may be, that I neither expect nor desire power, and as to my being restored, I am perfectly indifferent. That the service of my friends, and of my country, to whom I thought I was of some use, kept me in England from the time of the late king's death, that having done all I could do for both, I think myself att liberty to live where I amuse myself the most, and enjoy the greatest ease. Whilst I am abroad, it will be said, perhaps, either that I feared to continue att home, or that I am doing mischief

mischief here. If either of these two things are so much as insinuated, give Bolingbroke me leave to say, that I expect from your friendship, that you should treat them with the contempt they deserve, and answer from me, that I will be in London as fast as post horses can carry me, and the winds permit, after I receive notice, that any man has an accusation to lay to my charge. You mentioned to me, in one of your letters this summer, my lord Hardwicke. Let me desire you, whenever a fair and unaffected opportunity offers, to present my humble service to him; and to assure him that, wherever I live, I shall preserve for him as long as I live, a great esteem, and a most inviolable friendship. Adieu, my old and dear friend, I embrace you with the utmost tenderness.

It comes to my mind, to mention to you a thing, which you will take notice of or not, as you shall judge proper. I let fall to Pulteney more than once, that in several publick relations, and in others that I have seen, some parts of my late lord Marlborough's conduct in the operations of the war are censured, and I believe unjustly; the expedition to the Moselle in 1705, the inactivity of 1707, and others. In whatever I write that is historical, I will be neither apologist, panegyrist, nor satirist; and besides, I shall touch very lightly marches, battles, sieges, encampments, and that inferior detail of history, for such I think it. But yet I should be glad to do justice to my late lord Marlborough, where I can do it with truth on my side. If therefore, her grace, his widow, thinks fame of any concernment, I will make an honest use of any materials she may give me, for clearing up the truth in those parts, where it has been most disguised, or is least known. I leave her free liberty to do as she pleases, but she ought to take it well, if I give her the hint.

I say nothing to you of your winter campaign. I suppose it will pass in making compliments, and giving money. However it passes, I am sure that your share in it, will be that of an honest and a wise man, and that if you cannot do much good, you will prevent at least some evil. You have contributed signally to unmask the knave, and to expose the fool, in a country almost overrun by the two, and almost tainted to the vitals with corruption. You must proceed in the same honest cause: the good you have done, puts it into your power to do more and greater; and the reputation you have acquired, ought to be esteemed by you, a motive to future, as well as a reward to past merit. As to myself, for the transition from you to me, is made natural

Period III. by our union and intimacy; if I have not encreased the number, I suppose that
 1720 to 1727. I have exasperated the malice of my enemys during my stay in England, and
 by the part I acted there. As to my friends, I do not suppose that I have
 encreased their number, or warmed their affection. 'Tis a common case; our
 enemys look backwards, as well as forwards, and put both to account. Our
 friends seldom look backwards, always forwards; and what we call gratitude is
 generally expectation. But be this as it will, I fear nothing from those I have
 opposed; I ask nothing from those I have served. If you hinder the conse-
 quences of the revolution, from destroying that constitution, which the revolu-
 tion was meant to improve, and perpetuate; I shall end my days in the obscurity
 of retreat, with far greater satisfaction, than the splendour of the world ever
 gave me, as busy as I have appeared in it, and as fond as I have been of it.
 I grow every hour more indifferent to life, and to the common concerns of
 life. It is fit, that he who approaches the usual term of life, should do so.
 But this indifference will never affect my sentiments for the publick, nor
 those of private friendship. As long as my heart continues to beat, it will
 beat warmly for Great Britain, and for you. Once more, dear friend, adieu.
 My best respects to all yours.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

*Advises temperance.—Speaks of his own state of health.—Want of sleep, and
 occasional dejection of spirits.—Virulently abuses sir Robert Walpole.—Asserts
 that the sudden death of George the First prevented his disgrace.—Forms and
 supports the party in opposition.—Considers corruption as more dangerous than
 prerogative.—Condemns the Walpoles.—But approves the peace.—Conse-
 quences of the system established at the peace of Utrecht, and of introducing
 the Spaniards into Italy.*

Feb. 20, 1736.

Egremont
Papers.

I Thank you very kindly, sir William, for your's of the 23d of January; and
 rejoice to hear, what Charles has since confirmed to me, that your tedious
 fit of the gout is over. The disorders you complained of in the summer, were
 forerunners of it, or perhaps indications that you wanted it. Strange con-
 dition of humanity! our greatest evils, physical, as well as moral, are to be
 cured mostly by other evils; options are often continued to evils, and all that
 the wisest, nay the happiest man, has to do in many cases, is to change, if he
 can,

can, the greatest into the least, the longest into the shortest. I have no gout, Bolingbroke. but I have frequently interruptions of sleep, and great depressions of spirits. I relieve myself, when the first happen, by yielding to them, at whatever hour they take me; I rise, and read, or write, or walk about. I give full employment to this fluttering activity of the spirits. When I cannot have sleep as I would, I take it as I can; and like my brother animals, I recover by snatches in the day, what I lost in the night. They say, this method is unwholesome. But if it shortens life in one fence, it prolongs life in another, and a better. We lose time enough in sleep, but to lose any in endeavouring to sleep, is unnecessary profusion. As to the other evil you complained of, that lassitude and depression of spirits, temperance and even abstinence is the proper remedy, for our spirits flag by repletion. He who neglects this remedy, must purge often, or ride like the lord* of Cirencester. You and I use too little exercise; I will use more, and since I cannot go abroad to fetch a walk, I am resolved to turn poacher, and have desired Charles to apply to you and to lord Gower to assist in tempting me into the woods. I remember that Cheyne, with a gallon of milk coffee, and five pounds of biscuit before him, at breakfast, declaimed to Pope and me, against the immorality of using exercise to promote an appetite. But a much better casuist, and a much better physician too, than Cheyne, even the aforesaid lord of Cirencester, prescribes exercise to prevent indigestion by the trituration of aliments, to maintain a due fluidity in the blood, and to promote the most sensible benefit of insensible perspiration. I could not help saying thus much about health, and the subject is not improper to be treated by one, who has passed the period at which the ancients placed the commencement of old age, these nine years, in writing to one that approaches that period very nearly.

* Earl Bathurst.

You overrate by much, my friend, the merit of those sentiments you mention, and that have produced the resolution I communicated to you at Mr. Chetwynd's return into England. There is some courage of mind requisite, no doubt, to resolve to abandon one's friends and one's country, and a settlement just made. But you will give me leave to say, that there was at least as much necessary, to resolve to continue in my circumstances so long amongst you. Had the late king been pleased to leave me in my exile, instead of inviting me home, I had saved myself many years of trouble, and many articles of expence; I had enjoyed greater ease of life, and been a richer man. Had I stopped short even at his death, and taken the resolution I have now taken,

Period III. I had certainly consulted my personal interest more, and saved a great deal
 1720 to 1727. on both the heads of trouble and expence. But I know not whether I should have been so well satisfied with myself in either case. Tho' the late king durst not support me openly against his ministers, he would have plotted with me against them, and we should have served him, our country, and ourselves, by demolishing that power that is become tyranny in the paws of the greatest bear, and the greatest jackanapes upon earth. It is therefore a satisfaction to me, that I was not wanting to my friends, to my country, and to myself in a conjuncture, the advantages of which, were defeated by nothing but sudden death. When the present king came to the throne, I hesitated on the part I should act, I own it to you with sincerity, but I hesitated only for a moment. I saw the consequences of the event with respect to me. I saw that I should have many difficultys to encounter, more mortifications to bear, and among others, that of drudging in a lower form of business than it became me to do, and being the common butt of the most foul mouth'd calumny. But I was engaged, a party was formed, I had contributed to form it; and tho' I neither expected, nor desired (as many persons have heard me declare, whether they believed me or no) any favour, or benefit to myself, yet I thought it my duty not to decline the service of this party, in this cause, till the party itself either succeeded, or despaired of success. It is therefore a satisfaction to me, that I have fulfilled this duty, and I had my share in the last struggle that will be made, perhaps, to preserve a constitution which is almost destroyed, under pretence of mending or defending it. There are those that will laugh at the man, or deem him an hypocrite, who assigns such motives of conduct, could they have their reasons for such judgments. But you will not; and to you alone I will account for mine.

I know not whether you may judge as despondingly as I do, concerning the present state of our constitution. But be pleased to dwell in your thoughts one moment on these short and obvious reflexions. The corruption now employed, is at least as dangerous as the prerogative formerly employed. Against prerogative, the publick alarm, and the opposition of parliaments, were a real security. Against corruption, extended as it is, what real security remains? is the public alarm kept up? does the opposition in parliament prevail? but enough of this. I will trouble you no more with these melancholy reflexions on the state of our constitution; for our's it will be to me, under what government soever I live. In every other respect, be assured that I enjoy

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

enjoy my soul in great serenity, and that no one of those circumstances, in which my enemys, I suppose, triumph, takes away in the least from the quiet of my mind, or the happiness of my life. I am sure you wish this to be so, and therefore I assure you, upon my honour, that it is strictly true. Bolingbroke

Our ministers are certainly very lucky, and very privileged persons. When they intrigue themselves into distress, and negotiate public affairs into greater confusion, far from being censured, they are assisted, and the whole strength and wealth of the nation layed forth to redeem every blunder that Horace commits, and to repair every cross accident which his brother did not foresee, in foreign affairs. When they are drawn out of these difficultys, by the skill, or something else of other men, the merit is ascribed to them, and they receive the reward. In the present conjuncture, I rejoyce as much as it becomes me to do. I think the emperor luckily off, and in a better condition than he was. The publick tranquillity is restored. There is an appearance of preventing future quarrels by the guaranty of France to the pragmatick sanction. But the old quarrel is, in my apprehension, as likely to produce new disorders as ever. Consider. By the treaty of Utrecht, the emperor had all the States contended for, except Sicily. Sicily was given to a prince, who had ambition enough, but not force enough, to light a new fire in Italy, that might spread to the rest of Europe; and the emperor, on many accounts, was unable to light this fire of himself, by attacking Sicily. His rival for the Spanish succession, who had ambition and force enough, was barred by the neutrality of Italy. On this foot, things might have been kept quiet in the same state; and if in time any new disposition of feudal estates in Italy, had been thought expedient, as I believe it would have been, the emperor might have had Sicily at last, the duke of Savoy might have been indemnified, and aggrandized, and no power let in to disturb the publick tranquillity. The partition of the dominions of Italy, must be deemed pretty indifferent, after all the changes that have been made, and consented to on all sides. But the great point for securing publick peace, was to keep the Spaniard out, to hinder the two rivals from treading on the same continent; and that point was given up when the principle of the system of the Utrecht treaty was departed from, under pretence of consummating the peace, and of satisfying the unsatiable ambition of the queen of Spain. The emperor was dissatisfied formerly that he had not Sicily. Do you imagine Spain better satisfied now? The partition is varied, but the same seeds of discontent are sown, and there are now two rival powers established in the same.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} same country. Is this worth all the blood that has been spilt, and all the money that has been spent, and all the distraction that has been kept up, from the treaty of London of 1716, the triple and quadruple alliance inclusively?

To return to myself, and to private affairs. My resolution being taken, you see, that the sooner that part of it which you, and my other friends, are so kind as to execute, is executed, the better it will be for me, since I cannot be at my ease, till I am better settled abroad, and since I cannot be so settled, till I know what to reckon upon. I think it however of great consequence, that the matter should be proceeded in, with the caution and secret I first desired. You will see what I writ lately to Mr. Corry, and you will combine the whole in your thoughts. I chuse the first plan, for the reasons mentioned at large in former letters. I only propose the second as necessary in the second place. In all events, that house must not be a charge to me, nor the profits of the estate be consumed in management. I thank you for making my compliments to lord Hardwicke. You will renew them as opportunity serves. He acted an affectionate part to me, and I shall always preserve the memory of it. By the message which lord Carteret delivered to the dutchess of Marlborough, I have done what I judged right. If she is in earnest, in the answer she made, I shall hear from her. If she is not, I must do as well as I can, without her grace's assistance. Whenever Mr. Leveson comes into this country, he shall be sure of my best advice and assistance, and of this I desire you to assure my lord Gower, with my best compliments. All here salute you, and yours. My respects attend on my lady and Mrs. Wyndham. As this conveyance of letters thro' Mons. de Chavigny, and Mons. du Nocquet, is safe enough, you will let me hear from you at your leisure. Adieu, dear sir William, I am ever unalterably your's, whether in the world, or out of it. Pray be so good as to embrace Batt. for me; I wish I could have half his good fortune, that of selling dear. I shall buy land no more, no, not a burying place.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE.

Returns thanks for his good will and friendship.—Accuses sir Robert Walpole of having obstructed the king's inclinations in his favour.

(Argeville,

(Argeville, October 30, 1742.) YOU was pleased to renew in so kind a manner, when I was last in England, the marks of your friendship, that I think myself bound to take the first opportunity, I have had since my return to this country, to make my acknowledgements to your lordship. You shewed me good will and friendship, though I was a stranger to whom you owed nothing personally, whilst many, who owed me much, affected to shew me their dislike and their enmity, because there was a mean merit acquired by doing so; and even as far back, as when *the favour of the late king could not protect me against the malice of his minister, nor secure me the full effect of his promises.* These are obligations, my lord, and such as I shall remember always. The life I now lead, the place I inhabit, and the company I see in it, furnish nothing, that can be of information or entertainment to your lordship; a great scene, and one wherein the greatest talents may be, and indeed require to be exercised, is opened. God grant, it may be closed by barring effectually a family ambition, which I apprehend that we revived, or encouraged at least, by the quadruple alliance, and have favoured too much ever since. I see distinctly but one corner of this scene; and I believe your lordship will approve my silence ever about that.

Bolingbroke.

Hardwicke
Papers.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARDWICKE.

Accuses Sir Robert Walpole of meanness and treachery.

(Battersea, Nov. 12, 1744.) I Send you two volumes of the letters you desire to see, of which a few are printed by Pope's direction. The second may give your lordship possibly some satisfaction. The first, I fear, is fitter for a young man, who begins his studies, than for your perusal. With them your lordship will find some addressed to Pope, on metaphysical or rather antimetaphysical matters. The letter writ to Wyndham I found, and I send it; and with it two others: one was writ to lord Stair, on what he communicated to me from lord Sunderland. His lordship took so little care of it, notwithstanding the caution given him in it, that falling behind his scrupore, it was found by M. de Mezieres, in whose house he had lived, and printed as you see it, for reasons obvious enough. *There is likewise a draught of that which I sent to the late king, in 1725, soon after he had brought me into his country. What I pressed for then, and do not even desire now, your lordship may think perhaps, was not ill supported. At least you will see, how mean and*
treac-

Hardwicke
Papers.

Period III. *treacherous a part the minister in power acted under the mask of good will.* I
 1720 to 1727. trouble you no further. I only ask your indulgence, to which I have this
 claim, that I obey your commands, and that I shew myself naked, as it were,
 to you. I wish to hear, that a spirit of conciliation has operated, such as our
 present distress requires. I am, my lord, with true respect, &c.

It may be proper to say, by way of postscript, that tho' some things in the
 letters to Pope, may appear heterodox, they will be more so, relatively to
 theology, which I do not much esteem, than to evangelical religion, which I
 respect as I ought. Many inaccuracies must be excused, since they were
 never corrected, nor read by me, since the first heat in which they were
 writ.

ETOUGH'S *minutes of a conversation with sir Robert Walpole, on the attempt of*
lord Bolingbroke and the duchess of Kendal to obtain his dismissal in 1727.

Etough
Papers.

(September 13, 1737.) I Had an opportunity for full conversation with
 sir Robert Walpole. I mentioned then to him, Bolingbroke's reports, of his
 often attending the late king at supper, and of his interest being so prevailing,
 that it was with the utmost importunity and address, he persuaded the king to
 defer the making him prime minister, till he returned from Hanover. He
 condescended to give me this explanation. He said lying was so natural to
 St. John, that it was impossible for him to keep within the bounds of truth.
 He might truly boast of his prospects, for they were very great; tho' things
 were not so fixed and near as he pretended. He had the entire interest of the
 dutchess of Kendal, and having this, what consequences time would probably
 have produced, required no explanation. St. John, he averred, had only been
 once with the king, which was owing to his importunity.

The king had given sir Robert a memorial of St. John's, consisting of three
 sheets of paper. He observed the cover was not sealed, and therefore the
 deliverer of it must certainly know from whence it came, and perhaps the
 contents. On the two Turks disclaiming all knowledge of the affair, he
 went to the dutchess of Kendal, who owned the part she had acted, with the
 addition of false and frivolous excuses. He then observed, that her grace was
 of weak and low understanding. St. John, in this address, had desired an au-
 dience, and undertook, if admitted, to demonstrate the kingdom must shortly
 be ruined, if sir R. Walpole continued prime minister. Sir R. Walpole him-
 self, humbly and earnestly desired he might be admitted; he told the king, if
 this

this was not done, the clamour would be, that he kept him to himself, and Bolingbro would allow none to come near him, to tell the truth. This was repeated to the dutchess, who promised her interest with the king.

When sir Robert next attended her grace, she said the king was averse to seeing St. John, taking for granted, it must make you uneasy. He replied, he could not be easy till St. John was admitted. This was so much pressed, that he was soon after gratified with an audience. Lord Lechmere happened to come upon business at the same time, he enquired who was in the closet; he heard Walpole was also at court: he then imagined him to be sole director. Fully possessed with this conceit, he went in to the king. He began with reviling Walpole, as not being contented with doing mischief himself, but introducing one who was, if possible, much worse; and thus he departed, without offering the papers to be signed, which he brought as chancellor of the dutchy. This diverted the king extremely, who made it the subject of conversation, when sir Robert waited on him; he slightly mentioned St. John's demonstrations, and called them bagatelles.

I have been thus minute and exact, because St. John and his friends have made the thing surer and more immediate, than can be justified from reality. On the other side, some of the great man's nearest relations and friends have deemed it as groundless, and have thought fit to represent him as under no sort of apprehension from his rival. I will therefore repeat what he said several times, and particularly at the end of the conversation, which was nearly in these words. "As he had the dutchess entirely on his side, I need not add, what must or might in time have been the consequence. He informed me the same day, that the bill in favour of St. John, is wholly to be ascribed to the influence of the dutchess. Either the present viscount Chetwind, or his brother William, conveyed eleven thousand pounds from St. John's lady to lady Walsingham, the dutchess's niece.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1723—1725.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE DISTURBANCES
IN IRELAND, ON ACCOUNT OF WOOD'S PATENT, FOR
COINING COPPER MONEY.

CONTAINING

1. *Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, the duke of Grafton, and lord Carteret.*
2. *Between lord chancellor Middleton, and Thomas, and Saint John Brodrick.*

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1. *Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, the duke of Grafton, and lord Carteret.*

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

Complains of lord chancellor Middleton's disrespectful behaviour.

Draught.

Extract.

• His secre-
tary.

(January 24, 1723.) I Don't touch upon each head of your letters to Mr. Hopkins * relating to me, yet they make a due impresson, and I hope, I shall find my advantage in those hints, which, I am sensible, proceed from the truest friendship, as I am, that your grace's professions thereupon, are very sincere; in confidence of which, I will take the liberty to mention a treatment of the lord chancellor to me, which is not at all obliging, and which, I believe you will think very extraordinary. I must acquaint you, that whilst I was in the country, the king's letter appointing the lord chancellor to be in the government was return'd hither by the lords justices, upon the omission of a necessary clause; his lordship press'd my secretary very much to have it deliver'd to him, who desir'd to be excus'd, as neither consistent with respect to me, nor his duty, to deliver a letter to have any thing executed upon it, in my absence, which was directed to me. Thereupon my lord apply'd to the secretary's office, upon the private intimation he received from Ireland, and
before

before I arriv'd, obtain'd a new letter to be prepared and signed, and sent away by the last post, not favoring me with a visit, tho' I arriv'd on Sunday, till this morning (my public day) and then so far from any apology, that he made no mention of this proceeding. This usage, I have cause to take amiss, but another part of it more, viz; his procuring the king's letter to be directed contrary to the usual forms observ'd in all or most cases, as you will remark, when you see it, and which is a slight I have not deserved: I have mention'd this behaviour to the king, who does not at all approve of it, and I have prepared his majesty so, as that he will not be uneasy to have again the trouble of signing another letter, if the lords justices think proper to return that now upon the road, in order to pay the proper compliment to the lord lieutenant in the address. As I write to your grace as a particular friend, and one who has both my honor and interest at heart, I know you will in this point have regard to both, and treat this in the manner you think proper.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Dissatisfaction on account of Wood's patent.

SIR,

Dublin, August 22, 1723.

AFTER the ceremony and forms, upon first coming into the kingdom, were a little over, I took the first opportunity of discoursing with the principal persons here, and with those likewise in whom I had most confidence upon a matter which I found was in every body's mouth that I conversed with, and which I was inform'd was the subject of all conversations, both in town and country; I open'd it as a point I had much at heart, and us'd all the arguments I was furnished with, to induce them to come into my sentiments, in order to support the king's patent, I mean the new copper money. I am sorry to find it is so distastfull to the country; that even those who are most forward to enter into measures agreeable to our side of the water in all other instances dare not undertake the defense of this patent; they allow, that some objections made to it are frivolous, but yet, that there are some things in it so prejudicial to the kingdom, and so much more so, than in former grants of the like kind, that in their own opinion, they can't like it, but to support it, wou'd be to make them of little use to the king's service hereafter, so much they shou'd lose their credit with gentlemen, who are well affected to the government.

Draught.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1723.

They give me reason to hope, that other things which had rais'd some clamour before I came here, may be kept from giving disturbance to the session, in case people are not thrown into ill humour by an opposition to what shall be mov'd in parliament for their relief upon this head. In what shape this will be introduc'd, I can't yet learn; nor do I know whether it is yet settled, there being few members yet in town; but I plainly see, there will be no avoiding some disagreeable proceedings upon it, and fear we shall be very much embarrass'd, whatever turn it takes. I understand, that some time ago, a representation from the council here wou'd have been press'd to be sent over to England upon this subject, but was wav'd upon my being soon expected over. A paper has been printed here, call'd Ireland's consternation, wherein this grant is set out in the worst light; and is plainly calculated to stir up ill blood; but several of our friends seem to think, that some of the objections are unanswerable: a stop is put to the publication of it, but whether thro' the discretion of the printer, or for the author to amend it, I am not sure, but we expect to see something of the same kind abroad, when the parliament meets. I cou'd not forbear sending you in general the sense of this country upon this affair, and shall trouble you farther, when I have learnt any thing worth your notice; in the mean time, I beg you to be persuaded, that if this point ends in a manner disagreeable to us both, which I much fear, it shall not be owing to my want of labour and endeavours.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Suspects that the accounts of the discontents in Ireland are exaggerated.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 31, 1723.

I Am very much concerned at the account your grace gives me, of the disposition of people with regard to the copper money, and am truly very much surpris'd at it. 'Tis impossible to judge of the objections 'till we hear them; and I cannot but yet think, 'tis rather a popular run without consideration, than any real solid mischiefs that occasion this clamour. Those friends to your grace, and your very humble servants here, that are afraid, they shall so far lose their credit in this affair, as not to be able to do any other service to your government, I dare say, have well consider'd what will be the consequences of such a proceeding, and are very well satisfy'd, that yielding in this, is doing you the best service. If I thought so, I cou'd be easy in any trouble

trouble that is prepar'd for us, in order to make you easy there: I wish at least they wou'd vouchsafe to let us know these unanswerable and insuperable objections, and tell us, what they propose, that can be of service, and that can possibly be comply'd with. You know, my lord, all that I know of this matter, and I shall be heartily sorry for your sake, that the first trouble that is given of this kind, shou'd arise under your administration, and hope it will avail you to have conquer'd all other difficultys. I am afraid some people and I do not think alike of this matter; I think I foresee the consequences, and if I shou'd be the first, I believe I shall not be the only man, that will be made sensible of them. You know that I am most sincerely, &c.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Laments the disagreeableness of his situation.—Complains of lord Middleton's conduct.

MY DEAR LORD,

Dublin, September 24, 1723.

I Shall not take up much of your time, since I send you a copy of the letter

Townshend
Papers.

I write to Mr. Walpole, it is all that we can inform either your lordship or him of at present. I believe you may imagine how disagreeable this whole business has been to me, I think myself most unfortunate, that such an affaire happen'd in my time; however I beg that you will depend upon my truth in this case, that the whole earth could not have gott through this affaire, without its being laid before the king. You see how the chancellor acts. If he has liberty to go on in the way he does, it is every way possible, that something may happen that will be disagreeable in the progress of the king's business; yett I hope, with the help of the faithful servants of the king, to disappoint all endeavours to do hurt. I am, with the utmost truth, my lord, &c.

Private.

I write my public letter to lord Carteret, from whom I have not received one since he left London.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Observes that the duke of Grafton is irritated by Walpole's letters, and alarmed at the discontents in Ireland.—States the probable causes of those disturbances.—Hints that lord Middleton acts in concert with lord Carteret.—Supports the bishop of London, who recommends Dr. Boulton, bishop of Bristol for the primacy of Ireland.

Period III.

MY DEAR LORD,

November 1, 1723.

1720 to 1727.

1723.

Townshend
Papers.

I Send your lordship enclosed, Mr. Walpole's to your lordship, in answer to your's of the 25th October. I perceive Mr. Walpole did not think proper to send your lordship's letter to the duke of Grafton, and I must own, as an humble servant to you all, I am very glad he did not. The duke of Grafton has wrote a very long elaborate letter to Mr. Walpole, thoroughly hurt and wounded at Mr. Walpole's private letters, and taking them in a manner, I am very sure Mr. Walpole never design'd them. There were indeed several expressions, that I was sorry to see, but for the sake of our friend (who has always had a good heart, and I dare say will ever be sensible who were, and are his only friends) I will attribute the cause of them to the great distraction he finds himself and the public affairs in in that kingdom. The melancholy and public part of the letter describes the discontents in a very high degree, that our friends are cool, and our enemies outrageous, and that there was not one man of credit in the kingdom, that would openly take upon him the defence of this patent, which is certainly in every article defensible and just, and can have no real objections in it, even to the Irish, but what are the natural consequences of the dependency of that kingdom, which I fear too much both friends and foes in Ireland, are for shaking off; and something must be done, but God knows when or where, to prevent this growing evil. Your lordship will see, by Mr. Walpole's letter to lord Carteret, to what a height the commons are come by their last address; it is, my lord, very plain what they aim at, and I send your lordship a copy of what the duke of Grafton sent Mr. Walpole, and was what was first proposed, as you see, by Mr. Broderick. The duke of Grafton says, the best that could be obtained, was the address as it now stands.

Your lordship will see what was done in England (pensions and patent) is the object of the Irish resentment, and I believe, if there had been nothing but Irish politicks at the bottom of this attack, it would never have been brought to this height. Your lordship will recollect, who told you Ireland was not originally intended, but only the West Indies, who had the first information of the design'd attack, and to whom the supporters of it in Ireland are attached here, and what part of the English administration is reflected upon by them.

Lord Middleton has also wrote a fine (but I think an insolent) letter to Mr. Walpole, excusing entirely his own behaviour, laying the blame on others, and

and skreening himself by the behaviour of some, whom I suppose he would insinuate to be the lord lieutenant's friends. What he seems to wish for, is a favourable answer from the king; and by the letters I received this morning from Hanover, of the 22d of October, O. S. for Walpole, I perceive some folks designed them one, that I suppose would have been agreeable to them, if not already concerted with them. Your brother * in his to Walpole, takes great merit, in his not being tenacious of his own thoughts, in his having acquiesced under your answer, and has sent to Mr. Walpole the draughts of his own. I am apt to believe, he would not so readily have yielded, if it could have been avoided. Your lordship does undoubtedly see and feel from whence this whole affair may arise. In one of the intercepted letters from some of the foreign ministers, there is express mention of a great lady,* that was supposed to have an advantage from the patent.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

* Lord Carteret.

* Duchess of Kendal.

Tho' I have already troubled your lordship so long, that I ought really to be ashamed, I must send you a paper given me last Wednesday by the bishop of London, the affair of the primacy of Ireland. I think it is of great consequence, and upon the whole I do not see, what can be done better than what the bishop of London proposes. The bishop of London acts so thoroughly with us, and so sensibly, that I believe your lordship will be willing to take his opinion. I find by him, the bishop of Winchester is disposed to recommend Dr. Chandler, now bishop of Litchfield, to the primacy. He is by no means proper. He has parts, but a very odd understanding, will be governed by nobody, except the archbishop, and sure that is not for the king's service: the primate is not yett dead, and so your lordship has time to consider of it. I have not been wanting in my endeavours to convince the bishop of London, how truly your lordship and Mr. Walpole are friends to him, and how desirous you are in all ecclesiastical affairs, of being directed and advised by him. I think it has had its effect, and he both thinks of things and persons as we wish.

I begg my compliments to the *good dutchess*, lady Walsingham, and if *he deserves it*, my friend the mareschal, from whom I have not had one word these three months past. Forgive me this long, and I doubt you will think, impertinent letter, and believe me with the sincerest affection.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

1723.

Complains of lord Townshend's silence.—Obstructions given to Wood's patent.—Addresses of both houses.—General panic seizes even the king's friends.—Bitterly reproaches lord chancellor Midleton's conduct, and requests his removal.—Character and conduct of Dr. William King, archbishop of Dublin.

SIR,

Dublin, Dec. 19, 1723.

Orford
Papers.

I Have been very unwilling to trouble you with my private letters oftner than the necessity of affairs, or an explanation of my own conduct here absolutely requir'd; and tho' I have not hitherto particularly acknowledged the receipt of that private letter of the 26th of October (the only one of that kind I have been favour'd with for eight weeks past) yet beg leave to assure you that I have the most gratefull sence of the good offices both you and my lord Townshend have done me, in makeing a due impresson upon his majesty, with regard to the behaviour of a certain family here, to which is cheifly owing the great obstruction which has been given to the king's business this session, and my own continual disquietude, ever since the beginning of it. I must however confess, that I thinke myself very unhappy, that amidst all the difficultys I have had to struggle with, I have never been favour'd with one line from my lord Townshend, since my arrival in this kingdom, and my uneasiness upon this head, can't but be very great, as you may imagine; since the only letter his lordship intended me, imported a dislike of my conduct in so strong terms, that in goodness to me, you forbore to transmit it. Your sentiments being so much the same, on account of my conduct, I thought myself oblig'd to offer to his lordship the same reasons in my justification which I troubled you with, and that I might with the greater exactness inform you alike, I sent him the whole correspondence which has passed betwixt us. Whatever failings I am chargeable with, I flatter myself, you will both impute them to an error in judgement only; for I protest to you, I related facts with the strictest regard to truth.

The cheif business which has occasioned debates in each house of parliament since the recess, has been his majesty's answers to the respective addresses relating to Mr. Wood's patent. Altho' they were in the same terms to both houses, yet there was not the same respect paid in the house of commons, neither

neither in the debates, nor in the result, as in the upper house, which you will soon discern upon reading the papers inclosed. The first part of the resolution of the commons, as far as is scored, was settled at a meeting of the king's chief servants of that house in my closet; all that follows was offered by way of amendment by the peevish people in the house, which, tho' long debated and struggled, was at last receiv'd, the former infatuation of the country-gentlemen upon this subject, returning so strong upon them, there was no standing a division. Those who are more immediatly under my influence, however, strenuously debated, and protested against the amendment, as prescribing to his majesty in what manner he shou'd proceed, after he had in the most gracious and extensive words, assured them of his doing every thing within his power for their satisfaction, &c.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

Mr. Conolly, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney and solicitor general, and others of the best ability and intention, found the torrent too strong to venture a division, tho' they sufficiently testified their approbation of the answer, and in my conscience were very hearty in using all endeavours to avoid any thing in the address which might carry the least appearance of disrespect or distrust, which they urg'd both in public and private, as most agreeable to good policy as well as duty. Indeed, as to the patent, I must say, as I formerly hinted, there was no making any impression upon them in its favour, and yet 'tis certain, Mr. Conolly has lost some ground where he us'd to have influence, by being represented as too cool in the whole course of this enquiry. As it is visible that that gentleman has not so great an influence as formerly, so it is as sure, that no one person has a personal interest equal to his. Such has been the management of those who cover'd their true designs under the pretence of this grievance, that I have discover'd such a pannick in the king's best friends, that they even were apprehensive of popular commotions. Letters from the electors in the country to their members, many people in Dublin (some through weakness, others thro' malice) flocking to the bankers to call in their money, or to alter their notes, which now mostly are drawn with an express condition, to be paid in gold or silver: many other ridiculous extravagancys have prevailed not worth your notice.

A late instance in the house of commons has shewn, that upon all points, the faction is not equally strong. Before the recess, a pompous petition was presented, complaining of a great grievance to the subject, by a collector in distraining for an arrear of quitt rent: some strokes in it bore hard upon com-

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} missioners of the revenue, and 'twas no secret, that the complaint was levell'd at Mr. Conolly. Upon a full hearing and examination, the petition was voted scandalous and malicious, and the temper of the house did not appear to the disadvantage of the speaker, or to the satisfaction of the Brodericks, who expos'd pretty openly their malice. When the address in return to the king's answer, was resolv'd in the manner abovemention'd, Mr. Broderick affected to press the dispatch of the money bill, and had the assurance to say, that the world shou'd be convinc'd how some gentlemen had been misrepresented, as if they had a design to obstruct the passing that bill, but his mouth was stop'd by generall Wynn, who put him in mind of his talking in that style at different times in the house.

The lords had a division upon the motion for an address of thanks, against 7, in the last number, the only peevish lords worth your notice, who thought the answer not satisfactory, were the archbishop of Dublin, and lord Abercorn. I can't but observe to you, the very unaccountable behaviour of my lord chancellor upon this occasion. At a meeting of lords, before the parliament met, where I communicated his majesty's answer, his lordship was much upon the reserve as to the answer in general, and as to particular parts of it then discours'd of (for exceptions were taken by some to part of it) he still fended off, and declin'd giving a categorical. I afterwards sent for him to my closet, and there alone with him set forth the arts and industry which I knew were on foot to make ill impressions on members of each house, and the attempts design'd by parliamentary artifice to make the king's answer appear less gracious; that as we two were his majesty's chief servants here, I had warmly declar'd what I took to be my duty, and that the same was incumbent upon him. In fine, I insist'd upon his letting me know what part he defin'd to take in this affair. Not to trouble you with all his reasonings, who you know is not the least verbose in the world, he told me that he was of opinion, that the answer was not satisfactory, that if there shou'd be a division, he must vote agreeably to that opinion, but that in his station, he shou'd decline debating on that side of the question. How agreeably to this declaration he behav'd, give me leave to inform you; he shew'd the greatest partiality upon the wool sack, in stating and putting the question, treating my lord Kildare, who moved the thanks, and the other lords who supported him without common decency, and in such a manner, that I have heard it remarked by all sorts of people; yet when in the division, the lords came to take

his vote, with much unwillingness, after being press'd two or three times, he at length, with an ill grace, voted content, saying that he did not use to differ with such a majority, or to that effect. From many instances for some years past, it is manifest, this principle has govern'd his politicks. He throws himself amongst the majority, and then assumes to himself the honour of being cheif of that party. This finesse was very remarkable the last session, in the dispute about the Irish bank; at first, he warmly promoted it, but when he discover'd a flame rais'd against it, by the influence of the bankers, and other means, he turned short, and took the other side, his kindred in the house of commons had all voted for it, and his son vehement in the first debates on that side of the question in the beginning of the session; but before two months were past, the very contrary arguments were as violently supported.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

All resentment or prejudice apart, I may venture to affirm to you, for the truth of which I may appeal to the general voice of the country, that till the patent for the new coinage came upon the tapis, the chancellor had fewer personal freinds than any one man in the nation. Many are attach'd to him only thro' interest, whilst he is vested with power; some who hated him, return'd to him when he was sent back from England as one of the late justices. That mark of the king's favour, believe me, has no ways conduced to the good of his service, but has artfully been made use of to persuade this part of the world, that his lordship has very good support at court. On many different occasions, it has appear'd, that no regard has been had to those on either side of the water, to whom he really owed the obligation. Notwithstanding all the protestations made at that time by the chancellour, of a gratefull return, I confess, I was very apprehensive that the king's business here wou'd receive no benefitt from his being restor'd to power, but that he wou'd use it to distress my administration, knowing long that his character is to be false and insolent in power, when stript of it, the most abject submissive creature alive. The event has apparently justified that opinion. His lordship and his family have sometime been shakeing hands with the torys here. Great complaints of very improper persons being put into the commission of the peace, before he last went into England, reach'd me whilst I wast here; and I have been since assur'd, that amongst the severall new converts from popery made justices, some were so lately become such, that gentlemen of the country were strangers to their conversion, till they found them in the commission. Some passages, at a full committee of the commons this session, in a matter depending,

Period III. relating to a new convert justice, gave him great apprehensions least an en-
 1720 to 1727. quiry of that kind shou'd be sett on foot, which occasion'd him to desire
 1723. visit from a member of distinction, in which he gave such assurances, and made such excuses, as wou'd very ill become a minister, who had nothing to reproach himself with upon that head.

After haveing thus particularly and justly expos'd to your view the behaviour of this lord, I submit it to you, whether the continuance of him in employments can consist with the king's interest and service here. If better judgment shou'd determine it otherwise, it is my duty to offer this advice; if the chancellor is not changed, the rest of the king's chief servants must, or there will be a perpetual distraction in his affairs, there being scarce one of those at present in employment, who will freely open himself before him in any consultations, and this they have declared to me. His lordship will govern absolutely or he will either betray or disturb, of which every government here had experience since the king's accession. It is the opinion of some of the wisest and best affected in this country to the present establishment, that a chancellor shou'd always be sent from England; it has usually been the policy and the practice. Lord Sunderland carried the compliment to this country too far by choos'ing out of the natives all the chief, and most of the other judges and the bishops too; which has been attended with very mischeivous consequences to the English interest; for tho' I don't complain of being distress'd by others of the country in high stations, as I have reason to doe of the chancellor, yet I am little beholden to some of them for their assistance. I see too plainly that they use the power which the crown bestows, to serve their private views and interests, and each affects to have a party of his own to play off as occasion serves, in order to be esteem'd significant, and necessary to the government. If, sir, I am so happy as to have your concurrence as to the necessity of a new chancellor, I beseech you to make an early choice of a proper person. It may not possibly much import the king's service, whether this change be made some months sooner or later after the conclusion of the session; but when I assure you, that my honour, credit, and reputation depend upon its being done before I leave the kingdom, I am perswaded you will not be indifferent, of which you have been pleas'd to give me so kind an assurance in your letter of the 3d of October. It is the common topick of all companys here, that this event will shew who has the most credit at St. James's, my lord chancellor or my lord lieutenant. Whether it is most proper

per to put the great seal into the hands of a new chancellour, or keeper, or into commiffion, I fubmit to your judgment; but be it one way or other, if it is to be, it will avoid much difficulty to determine it before the appointment of the new lords juftices at my return.

I forbear to recommend to you any perfons for that truft, fince you are well able to judge who are moft deferving of it, from the accounts I have given you of the behaviour of the moft eminent people; only a few words may be neceffary to let you into the character of the archbifhop of Dublin, not remembering that I have made mention of him this feffion; and he is of as uncommon a mixture as moft people I know. He is very indiscreet in his actions and expreffions, pretty ungovernable, and has fome wild notions, which fometimes make him impracticable in bufinefs, and he is to a ridiculous extravagance, national. Upon fome points (of which the jurifdiction of the houfe of lords is a principal one) he loofes both his temper and his reafon. Before the opening of the feffion, at a meeting, where my fpeech was to be communicated, and confider'd, he ufed fome very indecent expreffions, objecting to the words, *a happy people*: he faid, thofe of this nation could not be esteem'd fuch, for that fince the king's acceffion, by an act of the legiflature of another kingdom, they were in fome refpect put under flavery, with other unguarded expreffions, and wild arguments to the fame effect. In the committee of lords to draw up the addrefs to his majesty, he debated and divided againft the word *happy*, ufeing the fame arguments, tho' I beleive in public not quite in fo harfh terms as before. As I thought it proper to lay this behaviour before you, fo in juftice to him, I muft inform you, that he is very well affected to the king, and hearty in fupporting the prefent fettlement of the crown, and an utter enemy to the pretender and his caufe. He is charitable, hofpitable, a defpifer of riches, and an excellent bifhop, for which reafons he has generallly the love of the country, and a great influence and fway over the clergy and the bifhops who are natives; to thofe who are fent over from England, he does not fhew much curtefie. I wifh I could have made this letter fhorter, but the nature of the matters I was to lay before you, and the time drawing near againft which the proper meafures are to be taken, not admitting of it, I hope I may be forgiven; efpecially fince I don't forefee that I can again trouble you with fo tedious a letter. The prefent ftate of our affairs are before you, and I leave the reft to your judgement, your care, and your freindfhip. When you favour me with your answer and determination, I will thereupon, according to the ufual form, write to my lord

Period III. lord Carteret a letter, to be laid before the king, recommending the persons
 1720 to 1727. who shall seem proper to be appointed lords justices. I take the liberty to
 1723. send you the state of the case with regard to the bill before you, to prevent
 the farther growth of popery, as I have received it from some of the chief of
 the judges and king's council. The house of commons have much at heart
 that bill. It has been mended since it came from them, as commonly their
 bills want to be : possibly you may still make it better ; but if a bill shou'd not
 pass, I fear it wou'd be of very ill consequence, the present laws being so
 evaded, that the popish preists dayly increafe, and keep up such a spiritt of
 rebellion amongst the people, as may sometime be very troublesome, if not fatal
 to the government.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Opposes the first resolution to inquire into the conduct and absence of the lord
 chancellor.—Privately supports it when introduced.—Vote of censure passes
 the house of lords.—Counter motion in his favour passes the commons.—Ad-
 dresses to the lord lieutenant.*

SIR,

December 26, 1723.

SINCE I finish'd my very long letter to you some days agoe, which has been
 detained, by reason all our boats were on your side till yesterday, that we
 receiv'd four mails together, some very extraordinary occurrences here, oblige
 me to trespass more upon your patience by another letter, the subject matter
 not allowing me to bring it within the compass of a postscript.

By the resolutions transmitted to you with my publick letter of the same date
 with this, you will find that my lord chancellour has beent he subject of debates
 in both houses. The complaint of a great greivance by his so long absence was
 pretty universall at my first arrival here, an entire stop thereby of business in
 the exchequer-chamber being manifest, his presence being necessary by the
 statute in giving judgment there, that a great delay of causes likewise in the
 court of chancery was occasioned by it, the judges in commission haveing often
 their hands full in their own courts, that many suitors have been put to the
 expence and trouble of rehearings at his return, and farther, that a great num-
 ber of causes were hurry'd over in three months after his arrival, if I am not
 mistaken or misinform'd, about 120 (which possibly hereafter may find some
 work for our house of lords in England) this matter was under the considera-
 tion

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

tion of some lords at a private meeting about a week before the last recess, where it was resolv'd to move the house, that a day be appointed to enter into an enquiry of this nature. In civility to me, my lord Fitzwilliams inform'd me of the design, and as I apprehended, by the consent and desire of the lords at that meeting, adding, that 'twas hoped I wou'd not interpose my influence to obstruct an affair of so great consequence to the nation; that I had little reason to screen a man who had been so instrumental in disquieting me this session, insinuating too, that the issue of this enquiry might favour me in any views I might have to doe myself justice. My answer was, that I was very sensible what disturbance I had receiv'd from that quarter, and therefore; could not be suppos'd to have partiality or tenderness for that family. That their behaviour was too notorious not to have reached the king's ear, whose service had suffer'd so much through their caballs, yet; that it was now my duty and cheif aim to conduct the king's business thro' the session with as much dispatch and tranquillity as I was able; and however undeserving I might thinke him to continue in his majesty's service (of which he was the best judge when this lord's actions shou'd be laid before him) whilst he was in it, I could not consent to an attack of this kind, and therefore intreated my lord Fitzwilliams to lay aside this design for my sake, and to prevail with the archbishop of Dublin, and other lords to gratify me so far. They complied with my request, and I was in hopes that they would not have reviv'd their first intention, but about ten days agoe, they enter'd into a fresh engagement, to set a foot the enquiry; since the money bill was gone through both houses, the addresses to the king passed, and all the material business relating to the king over. Accordingly they made their motion, notwithstanding all the arguments I could urge to dissuade them from it. I did not cease my endeavours to the last moment, for that very morning, I sent my lord Shannon, the bishop of Ferns, and my cheif secretary to the house, to pray them to desist, but ineffectually.

I had many reasons, abstracted from the king's affairs, which mov'd me to discourage this undertaking. I have no great dependance upon the veracity of the people of this country, or of their constancy to their engagements; and indeed I cou'd not wish my good lord a victory, through a failure of either, or a want of management in conducting the affair. I imagin'd the world wou'd thinke, that I had set the prosecution on foot, to make the way more easy for his removal; whereas I did not thinke such an aid wanting or necessary after his late actions; and if he had been acquitted, it might have given

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727} given some little strength to his interest, which I hope he wants. I was sensible too, that lord Fitzwilliams, who was at the head of this charge, was piqu'd at some unbecoming treatment he had received from the creatures of this lord in the other house, whilst the popery bill was depending, and tho' his abilities are great, his popularity is not so, and his appearing foremost wou'd not increase the chancellor's enemys; it proved so in the sequel in another place. Matters being come to this pass, entirely against my consent and opinion, as I solemnly averr to you, so I will ingenuously confess to you, that when some particular lords of my friends came to me, and shew'd a disposition to act agreeably to my sentiments, I told them that I had no reason to wish the chancellor any new triumphs, nor wou'd I desire them to spare him a mortification, provided all due regard was had to the king's commands to him as his servant, and that nothing was push'd which might wound his prerogative, or hurt his service. This proceeding took up all Saturday till eight, and Munday till eleven o'clock at night. Upon the reports, proxys were not used, otherwise the resolutions had pass'd by a far greater majority. The numbers in the several divisions were about 21 to 10. The inclos'd paper, contains the lords in the first material division; and I can't but observe to you, what strength he had from his new allies, those mark'd with the cross being staunch to the same cause our Mr. Shippen has at heart.

The transaction mentioned in the house of lords, gave rise to the motion made in that of the commons on Munday, which ended in the resolutions which you receiv'd by this mail, without a division. A strict call of the house being over six days before, a number of members gone out of town, yet many kept in it by those who had in view to attempt something counter to what might be resolv'd in the affair to come under consideration elsewhere, the chief business before them being dispatch'd, and the recess being expected even to begin on Munday, made it seem to be the most favourable opportunity to obtain a feather of this kind for my lord chancellor, who in the eyes of the vulgar wou'd appear to be justified in the opinion of that house, which will generally carry the greatest weight, yet the most judicious part of the world will distinguish and observe, that by a general compliment he is clear'd, where he was not accus'd, and where no part of his ministry was under a regular and due examination. Those who oppos'd coming to this resolution at that time, as not ripe for it, avoided personal reflexions, or taking to peices the character of this lord, but urg'd that a day shou'd be appointed to take into consideration such matters

matters as might lead them to this question, that such a method wou'd tend most to that lord's honour, and to the honour of their own proceedings, that they hoped, therefore, that this question wou'd be for the present withdrawn, otherwise that the previous question might be putt, the promoters of this compliment beleiving, they cou'd never have such an advantage again, adher'd to their motion, and omitted no insinuations nor popular arguments to impose upon those who of late they have found weak enough to receive any impressions. They went back to the behaviour of this lord, whilst he was for many many years a member of that house, and part of that time had fill'd the chair, appealing to the journals for the sense of the commons with regard to his behaviour in the worst of times, and reminding them of his steady adherence to the protestant succession, and dangers he had expos'd himself to for the support of it. That whenever he had been call'd by his majesty to another kingdom, the interest of Ireland was always at his heart, enumerating several particulars. But what was always thrown in to warm their affections, was his great endeavours to prevent the passing of the copper patent, hinting at some great merits upon this head, which were coin'd for this purpose, insinuations, as if there had not been the same endeavours from others, or else surely they must have have had some effect: these insinuations, I know how to understand, they not being new. Upon this last occasion, I have lately learnt, that a beleif has obtain'd amongst several of the West Saxons of this country, that my lord chancellor refus'd to put the great seal to this patent, if to be pass'd in Ireland, according to the first intention, for that he had been founded thereupon when in England.

Folly did not only discover itself in the course of this debate, for roguery too had its part, some making great encomiums upon his lordship, who used to talk very indifferently of him, and who particularly had exclaim'd against him for his behaviour and absence as chancellor. Some persisted a good while to have the previous question put, being more sanguine than their friends, who advised dropping it, rather than have any division at all: for my part, I thinke the latter reason'd best, being firmly of opinion, that during the present phrenzy which reigns, nothing can be carried; the peevishness seems to me to be equal to, if not surpassing that which appear'd in another place upon the affair of the South Sea. In plain terms, whilst the chancellor is in power, and this prejudice prevails, all influence is lost, and I can expect no good from them, and heartily wish I had done with them, till which I shall continue to

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} live in a sort of a fever. Before I conclude this article, I will inform you, that such indecent language was us'd towards the lords, that might have an ill consequence, if the recess had not come on, and the king's business pretty near over. Indeed those inflamers met with some cheque, as did others a pretty rough one, who insinuated as if the enquiry in another house against this lord was set on foot by a greater person, and a parallel was drawing betwixt that and an enquiry which had been set a foot against lord chancellor Porter by lord Capel; there being, as 'twas said, a contest between them for power in court. Mr. Hopkins interrupting this harangue, by speaking to order, the house was so gracious to me, as to shew a great dislike to that treatment of me and one gentleman of that side the question, was heard afterwards to say, that he had good grounds to be persuaded, that the enquiry began in the other house was not with the approbation of my lord lieutenant. My lord Allen, in the house of lords, and his two sons (Talkers) in the other house, are amongst those who seem to have no other reason for taking my lord chancellor into their protection, but out of hatred to lord Fitzwilliam; the two Allens have remarkably, in former occasions, made war upon the Brodericks; and one of them this session brought in a bill, in the preamble of which, my lord chancellor was struck at in so indirect and unfair a manner, that his greatest adversaries thought it most becoming to drop the bill: this may give you a little taste of our patriots.

On Fryday last, in the house of commons, the question was proposed (which I herewith inclose) to give me thanks. By the timing of it, and the terms of part of it, you will guess it was not design'd to do me real honour, before I tell you, that it was mov'd by one of my greatest opposers, who, notwithstanding that all my friends desir'd that compliment might be defer'd till the usual and proper season, wou'd not consent to wave it, without the previous question. So far the civil banter was carried, and Mr. Broderick spoke often against the previous question, but when he found the treatment the house gave it, and that their sense appear'd, that it ought not to be in the votes, he left his courtly friends to decide by themselves, who were twelve in number, and sat still himself, as did some of his father's dependants with the other side, who were 126. *My kind endeavours to prevent the passing the patent*, is design'd by the question, to carry both malice and irony at the same; notwithstanding the chancellor's seeming victory in the house of commons, I don't retract my opinion in relation to his credit in the kingdom. Whoever sees him divested

of power, and the mighty danger of what they are frighten'd with, over, will find him no favorite. It is not long since he was the reverse of it to my knowledge.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

The uncertainty where my letters may now find my lord Townshend, makes me not write to him. I question not but that you will communicate to his lordship the contents of my present dispatches, when you meet.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

The king dissatisfied at lord Middleton's conduct.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1723—4.

HIS majesty has commanded me to acquaint your grace, for your own private information, that he is very much dissatisfy'd with the behaviour of my lord chancellor of Ireland, to whose public conduct, as well as secret influences, your grace imputes the unquietness of the session; his majesty will shew his resentment in a proper manner, by resuming the seals; but his majesty directs your grace not to mention this matter to any body whatsoever at present.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Deems it imprudent to force the Irish to take the coin.—Thinks it necessary to remove the lords justices in due time.—Proposes that the lord lieutenant should immediately proceed to Ireland.

MY LORD,

Houghton, Sept. 1, 1724.

I Had late last night the honour of your grace's dispatch, with the several letters and papers from Ireland inclosed, and confess I was not a little surprized at the contents of them. It is not new to see small matters aggravated and carried to a very great height, but these things seldom happen by chance, and when there is in reality little or no reason to complain, nothing but secret management and industry can kindle a general flame in a kingdom. That this is the case in Ireland, I have never doubted from the first beginning of the clamour about the copper coinage, and hope I shall be excused in saying, that I verily believe nothing but the king's authority being underhand employed against him, could have brought matters to this extremity. But I presume it is not at present so much our business to consider from what secret springs and causes the mischief has arisen, as to endeavour to apply a proper remedy.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. remedy. The popular frenzy and averſion to the taking this money, I:
 1720 to 1727. afraid, is now carried to ſuch a degree, that it will ſcarce be prudent to:
 1724. tempt the forcing their inclinations, eſpecially where they are ſupported a
 countenanced in their obſtinacy by their governors, and thoſe that are in a
 thorty under his majeſty. For how is it poſſible that the king's pleaſu
 ſhould be known, much leſs that it ſhould be obeyed by the people, when t
 lords juſtices reſuſe to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure to the people, and t
 council breaks up without coming to any reſolution, when the king's orde
 are under their conſideration. This makes it impracticable to hope to chan
 the minds of the people; and to repeat the orders of the king to the lor
 juſtices, when they have already told you in effect, that they will not obe
 them, is but a ſecond time to expoſe the king's honour, without any hopes
 ſucceſs.

At the ſame time, I cannot but be of opinion, to ſuffer the lords juſtices
 continue in authority under ſuch a behaviour, is at once to give up all th
 power and authority of the crown of England from this time for eve
 And as I am not able to ſay immediately what other perſons may be thoug
 proper to ſupply their places, to remove them avowedly and expreſſy for th
 behaviour, would poſſibly make them ſo popular all over the kingdom, th
 with the intereſt and influence they have already, they might be able to rend
 the king's government abſolutely impracticable, and I think therefore the on
 expedient is, to ſend over immediately the lord lieutenant, whoſe preſence h
 formerly been generally thought neceſſary, but in times of difficulty or di
 order, ought never to be diſpenſed with; and this particular caſe ſeems mor
 than ordinarily to require the preſence of the lord lieutenant. For as it
 plain no Iriſh man will venture to ſtem this torrent, nor even go ſo far as t
 endeavour to bring the people to a little temper and moderation, that the
 might hear reaſon, the chief governor of Ireland, who muſt be ſuppoſed t
 have the honour and intereſt of his majeſty, and this kingdom, firſt and mo
 at heart, and not being a native of Ireland, will be free from that prejudic
 and partiality which has been the only cauſe of all this diſorder, will properl
 exert his authority, bring the people to a temper and a ſence of their dut
 and convince them of the great error and infatuation that they at preſent li
 bour under. Theſe conſiderations, make me humbly of opinion, that the on
 expedient at preſent, is to ſend over immediately the lord lieutenant, and
 his majeſty ſhould be of that opinion, I hope the common pretences for dela

of equipage, &c. would not be admitted. How far this measure will answer expectation, I dare not take upon me to answer, for it depends entirely upon the conduct and disposition of the lord lieutenant; but I think it is all that can be done at present.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

I shall have been a week here to-morrow, and have been very much taken up in looking into my son's affairs, which a five years minority has left in better order than was to be expected from such a circumstance; and I hope in this week, I shall be able to go through the greatest part of it, and leave this place at the beginning of next week, and I hope his majesty will have the goodness to excuse this necessary absence from my duty.

MR. I. PORTER, MAYOR OF DUBLIN, TO THE LORDS JUSTICES
OF IRELAND.

Has prosecuted the publisher of a seditious pamphlet.

(October 17, 1724.) YOUR excellencies having also desired to know of me what was done in suppressing seditious pamphlets, I must inform your excellencies, that upon the 24th of September last, the publishers of a seditious pamphlet, intitled "*The Present state of Ireland considered, in a letter to the Rev. Dean Swift, by a true patriot,*" were apprehended and bound over to appear at the king's bench term, and a warrant issued against the reputed author, who cannot be yet taken, and the printers of some newspapers have been also apprehended, and bound over to appear at the king's bench, by the present lord mayor, for some scandalous and seditious paragraphs in their papers, the suppressing of all such seditious papers and pamphlets, by discovering and punishing the authors, printers, and publishers, was also given in charge to the grand jury, by the recorder at the quarter sessions, pursuant to your excellencies directions.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Censures Swift's pamphlet.—The archbishop of Dublin defends it.—Is determined to proceed against the author, if he is discovered.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle. October 31, 1724.

I Yesterday received a visit from the archbishop of Dublin, who after discouraging of the affairs of this kingdom in a very extraordinary manner, acquainted

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1724.

acquainted me, that the person who wrote the pamphlet mentioned in the order of council and proclamation, which I transmitted to your grace in my letter of the twenty-eighth, had some thoughts of owning, and even declaring himself to be the author of it: the archbishop added, that he believed in the present conjuncture, the author might safely put himself upon his country, and stand his trial, since it was generally understood, that his crime was a writing against the halfpence. I told his grace, if he would know my opinion, it was this; that no man in the kingdom, how great and considerable soever he might think himself, was of weight enough to stand a matter of this nature. But if the author desired to have the glory of taking it upon himself, he would do well to apply to the chief justice of the king's bench. I told him further, that the libel contained such seditious, and in my opinion, treasonable matter, as called upon a chief governor here to exert his utmost power in bringing the author of it to justice.

The event of this is uncertain, but I must acquaint your grace, and beg you will lay it before the king, that if the boldness of this author should be so great as the archbishop intimates, I am fully determined to summon him before the council; and tho' I should not be supported by them as I could wish, yet I shall think it my duty to order his being taken into custody, and to detain him, if I can by law, till his majesty's pleasure, shall be further signified to me. For if his offer of bail should be immediately accepted, and he forthwith set at liberty, after so daring an insult upon his majesty's government, it is to be apprehended that riots and tumults will insue, and that ill disposed persons will run after this author, and represent him to be the defender of their liberty, which the people are falsely made to believe is attacked in this affair of the halfpence. I consulted my lord chief baron Hale, who thinks the case, if it should happen, so extraordinary as to become a matter of state, and require the utmost rigour. My lord justice Whitshed, who is likewise very zealous in this affair, says, that the present ferment in which the people are, should be laid out of the case, and that the government should neither do more or less upon that occasion, but act with regularity and firmness. He said this upon my intimating that I did not know but it might be necessary, if the author should be so bold as to declare himself, to detain him in custody under a guard, till his majesty's pleasure should be taken upon this affair, in which the peace of the kingdom is so much concerned. My lord Shannon was the first person who acquainted me, that he had received intelligence that this matter was
under

under the deliberation of several considerable persons in this city, but neither he or I could give entire credit to it, till I received this visit from the archbishop.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

'Tis the general opinion here, that doctor Swift is the author of the pamphlet, and yet no body thinks it can be proved upon him; tho' many believe he will be spirited up to own it. Your grace may see by this, what opinion the archbishop of Dublin and Swift have of the humour of the people, whose affections they have exceedingly gained of late, by inveighing against the halfpence. I here send your grace a large edition of the declaration contained in the news-papers, transmitted to you in my last letter, which is now printed, as I am told, to be put into frames, hung up in every house. The names I have marked, are the privy council. I must entreat your grace to let me know his majesty's sense upon this, and my former letter, as soon as your grace conveniently can.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Desires that three pensions of 1,000*l.* for eight years, may be granted to William Wood, for surrendering the patent, instead of one of 3,000*l.**

(London, October 12—21, 1725.) HIS majesty, before he left England, signed a warrant for granting a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum, on the establishment of Ireland, to Thomas Uvedale, esq. which was to him in trust for Mr. Wood, for the surrender of his patent. That warrant is still in my hands, and is not to be given out till all difficulties in the parliament of Ireland are over. Mr. Wood has now been with me, to desire that the pension of 3,000*l.* per annum to Mr. Uvedale, may be turned into three pensions of 1,000*l.* per annum, for the same number of years, which he desires, for the greater conveniency of disposing of it to the best advantage, finding it very difficult, and almost impracticable to part with the whole in one sum, which being divided into three parts, may be easily had. I therefore send your lordship three warrants for 1,000*l.* per annum, each for eight years, which I desire your lordship will present to his majesty to be signed; and upon the return of them, I will cancel the former warrants, and keep these in my custody, until it shall be proper to give them out.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Extract.

Copy.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Extract.

Copy.

Success of opposition in the Irish house of commons, owing to the Brodricks.

(London, Nov. 29—Dec. 10, 1725.) YOUR lordship will have heard of the miscarriage of the king's business in the parliament of Ireland; it is most plain that the Brodericks deceived my lord lieutenant, after the most positive promises of supporting him in all his questions. The ill consequence that will follow from this disappointment, may very much affect his majesty's affairs, if there should be any trouble in Ireland, by the army being ill paid. Of this the opposers of the king's measures seem sensible, and as I am informed, think of applying a remedy, before they rise, as bad as the disease, which is by addressing the king to stop all payments upon the civil list, and pensions; until the army is paid up and clear'd, a dangerous precedent, if 'tis attempted. But 'tis to be hoped this design may be laid aside, as some others very mad ones have been, which in their heat they had resolved, and upon cooler thoughts were dropt, which is very certain; in the present temper, whatever is moved for against the government, will be carried.

2. Correspondence between lord chancellor Middleton, Thomas Brodrick, and Saint John Brodrick.

* His second
son.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO ALAN* BRODRICK.

Account of the opposition to Wood's patent.—Of the addresses which passed both houses.—Absurd method of carrying Wood's patent into execution.—Negligence in mislaying the patent.—Indiscretion of Wood.—False and exaggerated reports.

DEAR NAMESAKE,

Dublin, Sept. 30, 1723.

Middleton
Papers.

ON Saturday I sent your uncle the address, which the house of lords agreed to make to his majesty, about the copper halfpence coined by William Wood for this country. Both houses of parliament were of one mind, that his majesty had the good of the kingdom in his view, and that he was informed, that the coining such a number of halfpence as Wood was empowered to coine, would be for the benefit of it; but they were also of opinion, that his majesty had been misinformed, very much to the detriment of Ireland,

and

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

and to the advantage of Wood, and those concerned with him in the profit that would accrue by the coynage of soe great a sume of base money. Soe both houses have applyed to his majesty for protection, and that he would prevent soe great an evil from falling upon us: but I cannot but say, I think the lords have done it in a more handsome and agreeable manner then the other house. They say for themselves, that at the time the lords addresse, the commons had actually delivered their addresse, and that the upper house was not at that time so much in fear as the commons were (while their addresse was still under consideration) least the project might take place: but that the lords believed all would doe well, when the commons had with soe much zeal exprest their detestation of Wood's scheme, which gave the lords a fair handle for being very temperate in their application. It is certain that the necessity of the thing (which both houses were equally sensible of) extorted from them the applications to his majesty, being very unwilling to approach his majesty with any thing in nature of a complaint. We read over all the letters and papers relating to this affair on Wednesday 25 September, and adjourned the consideration of them, and the debate till the following day.

You shall soon have copies of some pretty extraordinary letters, which were proved before us, and read, in which some persons are named, who doe assure us here, they know nothing of the matter. But Wood must be a very silly fellow to order his correspondents to apply to men for advice and assistance in forwarding the project, who are perfectly strangers to the thing. I told you in my postscript, under the copy of our addresse, that two lords named in it, were instrumental in softning matters, by which I meant in the wording the addresse: but I think I may, without vanity, say I pressed the prudence and necessity of our approaching the king in the most humble and dutiful manner, as far as any lord in the house did; and I believe, with as much success. I hope his majesty's goodnesse will incline him to give us such an answer as (we hope) we may reasonably expect, considering that we think, without such an application to him, we must have been ruined: and that we may have the satisfaction to hear what we have been obliged to do in this unhappy affair, is not taken to be the result of any inclination to complain unnecessarily. The sooner such an answer comes over, the more chearfully will all matters of the session proceed. It is very mortifying to us, that the next session after the bank was attempted among us, we should be forced to struggle with the cop-

Period III. if Mr. Wood be a man who had deserved well of the crown, some other method could have been found to reward his merit.

1723.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Desires him to inform Mr. Walpole; that the Irish are determined not to receive Wood's coinage.—Bad management of that affair.—Censures the indiscreet conduct of the lord lieutenant.

Middleton
Papers.

(Dublin, November 1, 1723.) * * * * I Doe believe people will be less curious then they have been, for some time past, to know gentlemen's thoughts about the proceedings of our parliament, with respect to the copper money intended for us, and *for our good*. For our sense of that matter, is so fully understood, that there needs no industry to be used to know the thoughts of every man in the kingdome, who hath a dram of sense, or a penny of money, or the least love for the countrey. I have seen a paper well written (as far as I can judge) upon that subject, which from the manner, I conclude is intended for the presse; but I have not been able to get a copy of it: for which my friend, in whose hand I saw it, gave me this reason. He said, that as he never had contributed to the raising or increasing the heats which had hapned by occasion of this copper money, soe he resolved not to doe any thing which might continue or revive them, as he apprehended giving a copy might doe, for that it would not be in his power after doing soe, to prevent its being made publick, which he never designed, unlesse there should be a necessitye for it, from Mr. Wood's and his friends behaviour in justification of his scheme. But in that case, he would speak his mind in the plainest and most publick manner, which he declined to doe, till there was a necessitye for it, because he should be forced to speak some truths which might disoblige. I gave Mr. W. a hint of my having seen such a paper, and that I hoped to be able to send you a copy of it soon; and to have enabled you to shewe it to him, which I intend to doe as soon as possible, and I wish there may not be an opportunitye sooner then I desire. For yesterday my lord lieutenant delivered to me his majesty's answer to the addresse of the house of lords at the beginning of the sessions, and expressed himself in this manner, that he had received his majesty's answer to the addresse of the house of lords at the beginning of the sessions,

feſſions, which I hoped, and was willing to underſtand, meant the ſeveral addreſſes of both houſes; the firſt being only an addreſſe of congratulation on the diſcoverie and diſappointment of the deſignes of his majeſtye's enemies; the other againſt our being impoveriſhed by Mr. Wood's lean kine eating up our fatt.

But I ſoon found, that the anſwers were only to the addreſſes of congratulation, and cannot but ſay, that his grace's manner of ſpeaking, gave me leſſe hopes then I deſired, of our ſoon receiving a gracious anſwer to the other addreſſes. I ſhewed how much it imported his majeſtye's ſervice, the good of the kingdome, his grace's honour, and how much it would be to the ſatisfaction of all the king's ſervants and well wiſhers, that the ſeſſion might have an eaſy and ſpeedy iſſue: and that to attain all thoſe deſirable things, it were to be wiſhed, that ſuch anſwer might come ſoon, and remove the diſmal apprehenſions the countrey lyes under, of being ruined and impoveriſhed by a thing which we are told is intended for our good. His grace's anſwer was, that I might be ſure he wiſhed we might receive ſuch an anſwer: but he gave me no other reaſon to think he believed that we were like to receive an anſwer, ſuch as is here not only deſired, but (if I thought the expreſſion proper to be uſed) I might add (I think) expected. I doe not know but your plain way may doe his majeſtye and this countrey ſervice, if you would wait upon Mr. W. and tell him, that they doe not act with candor or judgment, who think or may pretend to give hopes that the kingdome is capable of being perſwaded to receive this money voluntarily. If ſuch people have been found, who formerly gave hopes that methods might be taken here to reconcile people to this copper money, they muſt now ſee they miſjudged the thing, and muſt confeſſe that they have not the power to do every thing which they undertake.

For we are not without our ſuſpicions, that hopes have been given from this ſide, that there ſhould be ſuch methods taken here, as ſhould make Mr. Wood's money current: and among Mr. Wood's letters to his brother John Molineux, there is an expreſſion which points ſtrongly this way. But you may aſſure Mr. Walpole, that all hopes which may have been given, or which ſhall be given, that the people here will receive them of their own accord, are without any ſort of foundation; nothing will ever create a currenſe of them, but what this countrey promiſes themſelves they may never ſee in his majeſtye's reign. I will now let you into a ſecret, that nothing was ever managed with leſſe ſkill then this whole affair hath been ſince it was firſt mentioned after the duke's

Period III. duke's landing. He declared himself perfectly unconcerned how the thing
 1720 to 1727. went, and that he had no instructions about it from the king, or the M——y:
 1723. but added, that honour was to be done to the king's patent, which had passed
 before he was made acquainted with the matter's being in agitation.

The exemplification of the patent, which Mr. Wood in one of his letters to his brother Molineux, saith he had sent by Mr. Whichcotte, my lord's private secretary, was not forth coming, altho' there were forty copies in several hands in the town. But at length the exemplification was (we find) not given by Mr. Woods, as he said, to Mr. Whichcotte, but to one Mr. Brumstead, a gentleman of the duke's, who had mislayd it, and at length found it on the 14th of September, among some lumber and goods which were brought over. But this finding hapned to be unfortunately after my lord lieutenant had given an answer to the addresse of the house of commons, in which he told them he had no papers, &c. relating to it, which could give them any satisfaction. The town knew how agreeable the answer was to the majoriye of the house of commons; and I have reason to think, my lord lieutenant was told by several that wished him well, that there would be an humble application for a more satisfactory and explicite answer; but this was fortunately prevented by Mr. Brumstead's finding the exemplification between the deliverye of the lord lieutenant's answer on Saturday, and the house's meeting on Monday, when Mr. Hopkins (as soon as the speaker was seated in the chair) told the house that a gentleman attended at the door with the exemplification. Now, if instead of three persons going together into an upper room in Mr. Conolye's house, on Friday the sixteenth day of August (when the lord lieutenant dined with the speaker, and I had the honour to be of the company) the number had been made foure, it is very possible that a fourth man might have been of opinion (supposing he could have been induced to have gave into the copper scheme) that the way to have succeeded, would have been to act avowedly and above board, and either wholly to have dropt the thing, as wholly impracticable and inconvenient, or else to have appeared for it heartily and fairly. The other method was the result of the poor temper and spirit of one man, who hopes he shall be able to blind people as to his being a well wisher to the thing, and hath obtained his end of convincing one man, that he would doe all in his power, which indeed he hath done, and that is nothing.

You will wonder at my mentioning three persons going into an upper room, one of them I need not name to you; but Mr. Hill was told this (in a vaunt)
 by

by a creature of Mr. C. that after the chancellor was gone away, the D.* the Sp.† and Mr. H.‡ went into an upper room, and were together for two hours, and then settled the measures to be taken in the public affairs. Indeed one would admire how it should be possible for men who have so many troops at command, should be so ill generals as to receive so many disgraces as our great men have done this campaign. The truth is, instead of carrying matters on with temper and prudence and good manners, some gentlemen, depending on numbers in all events, chose to act with hauteur, and to place indignities on gentlemen, who would not bear them, and were very able to shew how inconsistent such proceedings were with the very being of parliaments. Civil treatment and common countenance shewn to your nephew, might have made him less ready to give them the chagrin which they were often put to by his means. In short, if they had considered better, they would not have provoked a man whom few of them could hold a debate with, nor laid him under such impressions at a certain place, that it was impracticable for him to explain himself, and undeceive the other, where he had been misinformed. It is time to conclude, and I know not how to do it better then by saying, that in my opinion, there are several who will think it will be time enough to pass the bill of supply, when they find reason to think the danger of the kingdom from the copper money is over, but I will not pretend to guess at the numbers they may amount to. But of this, I am fully convinced, that a very great majority of both houses (if we should not have the happiness of his majesty's gracious answer to our addresses) will come to resolutions which one would with there might be no motive to come to; but what they may be, I will not presume to guess, least I should be thought a promoter of them. Possibly some may think, that the least they can do, will be to lay those who shall countenance the currency of copper money, by voluntarily receiving them in payment, under such characters, which few men would willingly have fixed on them by the body of the nation: and I hear some men talk lately of sending over some members of both houses on an errand, for which I hope there will be no occasion. Adieu.

Wood's Patent.

1723.

* The duke of Grafton

† Speaker.

‡ Hopkins

Period III. *Letters and extracts of letters, from Saint John Brodrick, to lord chancellor Middleton.*
 1720 to 1727.

1723.

Several conversations with, and remonstrances to lord Carteret and Robert Walpole against Wood's patent.—Speaks of the divisions in the cabinet.—Struggle between Townshend and Walpole on one side, and Carteret and Cadogan on the other.—Various proceedings in England relating to Wood's patent.

Endorsed by lord Middleton—"About my brother's, and his discoursing the ministry on the subject of our proceedings in both houses in Ireland."

Middleton
Papers.
Secretaries.

(London, 11th of January, 1723-4.) MY uncle gave you an account of a conference he had with the 2 S—, * upon the subject of our late proceedings in Ireland, so that I need not trouble you on that head further than to tell you, † The king, that every word he said, was that day laid before —† by one, in presence of the other, in the plainest manner, not without reminding him of the constant zealous affection of our family, &c. particularly in the last session here, the quiet and success of which, he was told, was in a good measure owing to it. I had yesterday a conference of near two hours with the person to whom you sometimes wrote upon this subject, and did, in the best manner I could, open and explain to him the whole history of our session, particularly with relation to the patent; at which he seem'd a good deal surpriz'd, and told me, I had put that matter in a very different light from what it had been represented in by those who had transmitted constant accounts of it over hither. I found, that every one of the resolutions had been said to have been of mine, and consequently your framing; particularly the two which seem to have given the greatest offence, those about the notorious misrepresentation of the state of the kingdom, and addressing the king against granting the power of coinage to any private person whatsoever. When I mention'd the person that mov'd them, Singleton, the meeting at the Rose the night before we went into the committee, the manner of opening it by the chancellor of the exchequer, the proposing one or both those resolutions by Mr. Ward, and in short every thing that was said or pass'd there, which I did very fully and truly, he said, he confess'd some people's proceedings and politicks were a good deal out of his depth, and could hardly believe me, when I acquainted him with Mr. Upton's motion at the close of the debate, to declare Wood incapable of any employment, pension,

sion, &c. from his majesty, fearing, as he said, that he might be made a commissioner of the revenue, or be put upon us for a pension of 1000*l.* per annum, as a satisfaction for the loss of his patent. You may be sure I did not forget telling him whose creature and confident he was; nor that the question of the 150 per cent. loss was mov'd by the king's solicitor, member for Newtown. He was very exact about the names of the particular persons who mov'd the several questions, which he made me repeat two or three times; and assur'd me, that as my uncle had the day before told him a good deal, so I had explain'd and enabled him to say many things, which he had omitted, which he would not fail to represent to — immediately.

I had the satisfaction to be told, when I gave him an account of the first matter of heat which past in the house (a certain grave person's most irregularly calling me to order) that whatever the consequences of that behaviour were, he thought, the person who was the occasion of them, and not I were answerable for them. When I began to enter upon the proceedings of the two houses about you, he told me, I need not labour that point, for that it was very well understood, and that no great stress was laid upon it. This is the substance of what past between us, at least as much as is proper to be trusted to a letter that is to pass thro' Manley's hands; when I can meet with a proper opportunity, I will write more explicitly, and let you know several particulars, which I believe wont displease you. In general, I think our late proceedings will in no sort answer the end propos'd; but on the contrary, will take a very different turn from what those who set them a foot expected.

I go very little abroad, so can't send you much news. Our session open'd very quietly, not a debate upon, or negative to the address, and people seem to think, 'twill be a very short and easy one; but of this, I don't pretend to give any opinion. The town says, lord Cadogan has stood his ground, notwithstanding a very strong attack made upon him. The scheme was, Cobham to command the army, Argyle, for the present, to take up with the ordinance, and Dorset to be steward. If this had succeeded, 'twould hardly have stopt there; but as it has been disappointed, people who know nothing, make various conjectures upon the consequences of it. In short, we are in a strong rumble here; who will turn up, God knows; particulars, you must not expect by the post, no more than answers to your letters to the person who is the chief subject of this; who bids me tell you, that writing would only prejudice you and himself, but that he is, and I verily believe him, much your servant. For

Period III. the future, I should advise your writing either to my uncle or me, rather than
 720 to 1727. directly to him.

1723.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—" *Had seen lord Carterett, who appeared very much dissatisfied at my usage.—Gives good hopes not to see it continued.*"

(London, January 12, 1723-4.) I Wrote to you by last night's post, but having an opportunity of sending this by a private hand, Mr. Hamilton, I shall mention some things now, which in prudence I could not do yesterday, without repeating any thing I then wrote. You cannot imagine what a noise your affair has made on this side the water, nor how 'tis resented by almost all sorts of people. I speak not my own words when I tell you 'tis the luckiest incident that could have befallen lord Carteret, Roxborough, &c. who you may be assur'd, have and will pursue it to the utmost with the king, *whom it has very much power'd already.* These are the words of one of those lords to me. I need not tell you, that the breach between those two lords and Mr. Walpole, is so great as to be past a possibility of reconciliation, or even acting together. The former have withstood many home pushes at them and their friends at Hanover, and as I told you yesterday, have been able to support lord Cadogan, even after positive promises made to the three lords, I then mentioned, of his employments, which has not only a good deal chagrin'd them, but is lookt upon as a great blow to W——, especially, considering the time of pressing and denying him this, the beginning of a session, when he and his friends fancy they have a right to ask and insist upon any thing. He is certainly a very considerable man, and has great influence in the house of commons; but then, many things which pass there purely by the zeal and affection of gentlemen to the king's person and government, are, by his creatures, ascrib'd wholly to his conduct and interest. In short, while he pursues the king's measures, he has, no doubt, great opportunities of serving him, but if thro' pique, or any other pretence, he should again think fit to oppose them, be assur'd there are gentlemen enough, even in this parliament, to do the king's business, without him or his friends, and 'tis not impossible, but that you may in a little time see what I say come to pass. I mention this, purely that you may not be under any apprehensions from the omnipotence of his power; he certainly has a great deal, but your friends have at least as much credit with the king, and are infinitely better esteem'd, by the disinterested part of mankind.

What

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

What the event of this contest between them will be, I can't pretend to say; and am afraid I shall be thought to speak my inclinations, rather than my judgment, when I tell you I have very little apprehensions about it. 'Tis certainly prest on both sides with the greatest application and vigour, and is a fair trial of their credit and interest with the king; so that the event of it will, in all probability, determine the fate of one of the partys. By all the observation I could make, our freinds seem to think they have gain'd a great advantage over the others, and to determine to pursue it to the utmost; and lord C—— went so far t'other day, as to tell me, he did not think doing you justice, by continuing you in your employments, was a sufficient reparation for an injury, which he thought was done and meant to the whole family, and therefore advis'd both my uncle and me to insist upon some particular mark of the king's favour being shewn one of us, and to mention this to Mr. W—— in the strongest terms. I have great reason to know he, Mr. W——, is both ashamed and uneasy about his freinds behaviour in Ireland, which has brought him into the greatest difficultys he ever was involv'd in since his last getting into the ministry. For this reason, great pains are taken to shift the load from our great man in Ireland, who pretends to disavow even the knowledge of it, and the whole blame is laid upon that most inconsiderable tool of his, Jack Rugby. When I was told this by a very great lord and friend of theirs, I took the liberty to say, I could hardly beleive he was in earnest; but that if he were, he was not very well acquainted with the complexion of our house of lords, to imagine they dar'd have taken such a step without orders from their superiors, or that 11 bishops, and 9 temporal pensioners could have been influenced by a little inconsiderable papist in masquerade, whose person every one of them hated and despis'd. I have nothing more to add, not having seen lord C—— since I began my letter; only, that this day in the house, Mr. W—— appointed me to be with him on Wednesday morning; I shall say nothing without advice, and will give you the earliest account of what passes. God Almighty preserve your lordship, and disappoint the devices of all your enemys.

(London, February 1, 1723-4.) I Had yesterday a long conference with one to whom you are under very great obligations both upon this and a former occasion. He assures me, that matters are upon so good a foot, that he does not beleive that leaving you out of the government, will be even attempted. On the contrary, that orders are gone from hence to name you, among others, in the letter which is soon to be wrote. I told you, in a former, that your

Period III. being put in when you went over last, was owing to the personal interest of a
 1720 to 1727.
 1723. great man with his friend, and by no means to those to whom you may fancy yourself under some obligations upon that account. If this be the scheme now, you may be sure we shall be told the same story, and with equal truth. Till this great point is settled, I don't think it advisable to insist, or even mention any thing else; but when that is over, I think we ought to speak plain English, and insist, that as you are equal in commission, so you ought to be in power and credit with that little fellow, who, I may venture to tell you, is now pretty well understood here. If this had been done formerly, I fancy we should not have been under some difficulties that we have been of late. What gives rise to this advice at this time, is an expression of the person's, I mentioned, to me yesterday, that the king and every body here were sensible where the influence and interest of Ireland lay, and therefore he was of opinion, that those ought and would be employed, who were most capable of serving him. That if people could have been contented with doing the king's business only, he was sensible it might have been done in the most unanimous and quiet manner; but if his majesty's name and authority were to be made use of to gratify the private pique and resentment of —,* he thought they were accountable for the consequences, who had been prevailed on to enter into such weak measures. These are, as near as I can recollect, his own words. There is very little public news stirring: every thing goes on very quietly in parliament, and there is great probability of a short and easy session. The great ones are, to outward appearance, upon a very friendly foot. Towards the close of the session, we shall know how far they are sincere. The dukes of Dorset and Bolton are now said to be the competitors for our government, both W—— friends, and they say, both promised; I am glad, however, his grace is like to have a successor; I doubt we shall never have his fellow.

* Duke of Grafton.

Endorsed by lord Middleton—" *That lord lieutenant's stay in Ireland, is in hopes he may still attain his end, and prevent my being left one of the lords justices; thinks he will fail doing it.—That duke of Argyle puts in hard for it.—Which gives great uneasiness to Mr. W.*"

(London, March 2, 1723-4.) I find I made a right judgment of the reasons of — staying so long in Ireland, when in my letter to lady Middleton, I told her, it must be by directions from hence, to see whither the affair of the government could be carried to some people's satisfaction, or else, by keeping possession, to prevent the immediate declaring a successor, and of course,

course, receiving another year's salary. That matter is now fully explained, and gives some people more uneasiness than you can imagine. The contest formerly lay between his grace of B——n* and Do——t;† but of late, another competitor has appear'd, who declares he *must* not be denyed his request; you may perhaps have heard, that when a certain person‡ parted with a general's staff for one of a less size, he obtain'd it upon positive assurances never to expect the former, or any way to intermeddle with the army. But this is now explain'd, *and very reasonably*, to extend only to England; and that the government of Ireland could never be construed to be comprehended within the promise, being entirely a civil employment, tho' by accident the command of the army is appendant to it. Without entering into the nicety of this way of reasoning, 'tis certain he has askt it, and in a pretty positive manner, and those who best know him, think he will not be very easy, if denyed. On t'other hand, to have an employment of so much consequence and value taken out of the hands of a favourite, by such means, seems a little to strike at that omnipotence, upon the notion of which, a good deal of our present interest is founded. By this time, I beleive some people begin to repent the taking *for* Simon§ into such a degree of confidence, indeed, into the administration; because, if I am not misinform'd, he has struck into this new scheme; and if people could have been prevail'd on to have shewn a little good nature to honest Harry Madrigal,|| we should have had a very pretty triumvirate. But this unexpected incident, together with what lately past in the house of commons, an account of which you will see in lord M——'s letter, has put a stop to that affair, for the present, at least. Lord C——t and his friends seem to be perfectly unconcerned in this scrape, knowing it cannot hurt them, let it take what turn it will; tho' if it succeed, *we* must alter our disposition; and take entirely new measures, of which I should be glad to have your thoughts. I told you when I first came over, and observ'd the situation of our great men and their interests, I was of opinion, the fullen calm and seeming unanimity that appear'd at the opening the session, would probably end in a storm, having learnt so much skill in navigation, as to know, one is generally the consequence of the other. The session is now so near a conclusion, that I beleive nothing will appear till 'tis over; but I am strangely out in my politicks, if the next don't prove a warm one.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

* Bolton.

† Dorset.

‡ Duke of
Argyle.

§ Lord
Harcourt.

|| Lord
Bolingbroke.

Endorsed by lord Middleton—" *That my brother and he had waited on and expostulated with the ministry about the design of the D. of G. to leave me out of*

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} again repeat my opinion, that however valiant and sanguine fir Owen and his freinds may appear, they will not even venture to propose the leaving you out of the government, at least not in their publick letters.

But to return; Mr. W—— proceeded, by telling me he believ'd I did not apprehend any ill offices *from one part of the ministry*; but that, whatever my opinion might be of them, perhaps the others were as sincerely our freinds, as they who made larger professions. I took the liberty here to interrupt him, by saying, I was sorry to hear such an expression, which he understood, I meant of the diffentions among the great men, and said, the matter was publick, and that he did not disown being upon ill terms with lord C——t. But I went on, and explain'd myself, that my concern arose from his believing I had entred into measures, or chose to make my court to one part of the administration, rather than another; that if justice were done you, I was assur'd, you would as willingly own the obligation to him as to any body; and that, for my own part, I would always endeavour to behave myself in such a manner as to merit the freindship of all the king's ministers, and should be particularly happy, if I could obtain his. This gave him an opportunity of saying a great many things of me, that neither he nor I thought I deserv'd. He told me, that he had never received more satisfaction, then in my last conversation with him; that I had explain'd the history of our session so clearly, and with such an air of sincerity, that what I said, had made a great impression on him. That he had laid every thing that past then, before the king, in the best manner he could, and that he had the satisfaction to tell me, that my behaviour in parliament here, was entirely agreeable to the king; that he had constantly acquainted him with it, and that it was the greatest confirmation of the truth of every thing I had said relating to the affairs of Ireland. He continued, that 'twas natural to imagine, people in his situation were glad of the freindship of men of character and understanding, and that, without compliment, he thought our family were posselt of both, and therefore should always desire our freindship, and would give me *any instance*, I could desire, of his sincerity and regard for me. I told him, I had nothing to ask for myself, that I never yet had, nor did I believe, I ever should ask for an employment; that doing you justice, was the only favour I desir'd, and that I should make my judgment of the sincerity of the many professions that had been made me, by the steps that were taken in that affair. He told me, he hop'd he had said enough to convince me, he was not so *naughty*, as he had been represented, and that I would

would not think him so, for not having explain'd himself further upon the subject of our conversation, which he was sure I would not take amiss, when I consider'd either his public or private situation.

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

We parted upon the civillest terms, and I must tell you, he talkt to me with infinitely more freedom and freindship then when I came first to town. I have been the more particular in this account, not knowing but the prating and lying of some people may give you some uneasiness. You will form your own judgment upon what I write, and tho' I am too well acquainted with the professions of great men to build much upon them, yet I am so entirely satisfied, that they know 'tis their interest to do you justice, that I have not the least doubt of their doing so, and often think, that we give too much credit and weight to the interest of our enemys, by laying so much stress upon a point, which I know they cant carry, and notwithstanding all their boasting, I verily beleive, dare not even propose. I this moment received a message from lord Townshend, to be with him to-morrow morning, and will let you know what passes in my next. In the mean time, let me entreat you, by your behaviour, to let — and his freinds see, you know you are out of their power. Indeed, my lord, their interest and credit here is at a low ebb; and I should be very sorry to think you had no better tenure in the great seal, then sir Owen has in his power. I forgot to tell you, that as an instance of Mr. W—— sincerity, I was employed by him yesterday, to move for the discharging the committee of elections, from hearing any more petitions this session. The two next were the D. of Ar——e's uncles and cousin germans; from which you may form your own conjectures, for I assure you, the thing will bear it.

(London, March 24, 1723-4.) THERE is no letter in form yet come from his grace, tho' I hear to day, he intends to come away the beginning of May; if so, he must certainly write soon, that there may be time for the king's letter to go thro' the common forms of the offices. I own I could wish, for many reasons, this affair were settled before the rising of the parliament; not that I suspect any attempt will be made against you on this side the water; but your freinds will be better able to speak plainly while the house is sitting then after it is up. The king's going abroad is now generally beleiv'd; if so, 'twill probably hasten his grace's coming over, who I take for granted, will think it proper to kiss his hand, and give an account of his administration, before he goes away. The town talks of misunderstandings between the great men; and that they will probably come to an open rupture as soon as

Period III. the parliament is up. I hope there is no foundation for this report, but if ^{1720 to 1727.} ther be, I can't but think W—— must prevail, and for that reason endeavour to be as well with him as I can. 'Tis certain his interest in our house is prodigious, and while that continues 'twill be pretty hard to withstand him. I am a letter in lady Midleton's debt, and would have answer'd it to night, if I had not wrote to you. Pray give her Nancy's and my humble duty. I hope we shall be in Ireland before the first of next term. The house will certainly rise in a few days after Easter, and I hope before that time, the main affair will be settled to our satisfaction; if not, I am resolv'd not to stir till 'tis determin'd. In the mean time, I beg you will be under no uneasiness about it, for I think 'tis impossible it should miscarry. Adieu.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—" *Had seen lord Carteret and Mr. Clutterbuck, and made my complements. Gives an account of what the court designs to do on Wood's complaint.*

(London, April 18, 1724.) YESTERDAY I received your lordship's favour of the 9th, by which I find you had heard the agreeable news of lord Carteret's being appointed our governour, and of your being nam'd one of the lords justices, in despite of all the attempts and malice of your enemys. You may be sure I did not omit paying all the respect and compliments imaginable on this occasion, to a person who has been so remarkably freindly to you, and by that means, laid our family under such obligations, as ought never to be forgot. I shall see Mr. Clutterbuck to day, and will then obey your commands to him. I had, upon the general good character of the man, made myself well acquainted with him before I imagin'd I should see him in the employment he now is, and you must beleive I shall now do every thing in my power to cultivate his freindship, and hope before I leave this place, to put it upon such a foot, as that no little malicious lyes or insinuations will be able to shake it. I have had a good deal of discourse, both with my lord and him, about the affairs of Ireland, and have honestly told them my opinion of them, and I look upon the difficultys, and indeed disgrace, which his predecessor met with by espousing that pernicious patent, and giving himself entirely up to the freinds of it, as a peice of very good fortune to Ireland, because they will effectually prevent his treading in the same steps. From the time of his being declar'd lord lieutenant, I confess I was more then ever apprehensive of the halfpence,

both

both because I knew the power of their great patron was vastly encreast, and as I was of opinion, that the prospect of laying my lord under difficultys, might be an additional motive to the others insisting on the establishment of the patent, and I now find I was right in my conjectures. I gave you a hint in my last, of what past in the committee of council about them, and am promis'd a copy of the order then made, which, if it come time enough, I will send you by this post. All that is said to be design'd at present, is only to send over an order to the commissioners of the revenue, to revoke one lately made by them, forbidding their officers to receive or pay any of that cursed coin, so as the patentee may be upon the same foot he was at the opening of the parliament. I never, till lately, heard our commissioners had vertue enough to issue so honest an order, nor can I yet bring myself to beleive it, tho' I have been assur'd of the truth of it from very great hands; but if they did, I am afraid some of those honest gentlemen will find themselves in a good deal of difficulty, how to act upon this occasion. If they revoke the order, I doubt whenever the house of commons meets, they will expect a very good reason from their members for acting in direct opposition to their unanimous and repeated sense, and will hardly think any orders from their masters here, can dispense with their obligations to them. On the other hand, should they persist in what they have done, you know they have to do with people, who are pretty impatient of contradiction, and will hardly bear to have their orders disputed by those whom they look upon as their servants.

'Tis now pretty plain, with what view so many resolutions were fram'd at a certain place, against the abuses of the powers of the patent, and I hope, if ever it should prevail, the countrey will be made sensible to whom they owe that blessing. I have reason to know, that the plan of all those wise questions was sent from hence, with design to make the use that is now intended of them, *viz.* The parliament complains only of the misexecution of the patent, but there has been none such; therefore no cause of complaint. You and I are too well acquainted with Mr. S——n's* *sincerity*, to imagine he could * Singleton; have any indirect view in proposing the question for addressing against granting any patent for coining, &c. to private persons; but as the best actions are liable to misconstructions, so a handle is taken from hence to say, that his majesty's prerogative is struck at by this, and in such an article as that not even an English parliament ever ventur'd to question, and therefore, if for no other reason, his ministers are oblig'd to justifye the legality of this patent. This is

Period III. the foot upon which the abuses complain'd of are put; as to the objections
 1720 to 1727. made to the quantity, they are allow'd to have some little weight; but may be
 1724. answer'd by the patentees condescending to lessen it, perhaps half, and then
 surely all uneasiness will be remov'd. I don't trouble you with the answers
 made to these *weighty* objections; but upon the whole, I beleive revoking the
 order I mention'd above, and agreeing to lessen the quantity, is what is at pre-
 sent designed; and in all other respects, the patent is to stand upon its own bot-
 tom; without the assistance of a proclamation, or order for receiving them;
 both which are positively disavow'd, and I hope will never be given into.

(London, April 14, 1724.) I Designed to have wrote by last post, but
 lord Carteret's being out of town prevented me. He returned on Sunday
 morning, and I had a good deal of discourse with him about the affairs of Ire-
 land, the particulars of which, it is not proper to send in a letter that is to go
 through Manley's hands, and indeed I am enjoin'd not to mention many of
 them till I can find a more secure conveyance. In general you may be as-
 sur'd, he is inclin'd to do every thing in his power that can be thought for
 the service of the countrey, or is agreeable to the inclinations of some of your
 freinds, towards whom he expresses himself with uncommon regard and
 esteem. The thing which is likely to create him the greatest uneasiness, is
 that pernicious scheme of the halfpence, which I now apprehend more then
 ever. You must no doubt have seen the account that was lately given by
 Mr. Wood in the publick news-papers, of a hearing before a committee of
 council, at his instance, and the order that issued thereupon for an immediate
 assay of some of his coinage. I endeavour'd to inform myself, as well as I
 could, of what pass'd there, but could learn little more then what is mention'd
 in the papers, nor do I beleive there was any debate on that subject in council.
 When the report of the assay is made, we shall know what is determin'd about
 us; in the mean time, it seems pretty plain to me, that this affair is to be pusht
 to the utmost, not only, as 'tis a darling project of one who cannot bear con-
 tradiction, but as 'twill lay some other people, for whom he has not much re-
 gard, under the greatest difficultys imaginable.

I am not acquainted with the forms of issuing proclamations in Ireland,
 but if any thing of that nature is to pass thro' the hands of a freind of mine,
 which he imagines destructive to the kingdom, I hope he will have little doubt
 with himself in what manner to act. I could say a great deal on this subject,
 but

but dare not, for the reasons I have given, enlarge upon it. I am to be with lord C—— again to-morrow by appointment, and as soon as I can meet with a safe hand, you shall know every thing that passes. 'Tis whisper'd among some people, that he will not go into Ireland, but have the same successor there, that he had in his former employment. This possibly may be in some people's thoughts, but if ——* has assur'd him, as 'tis said, he shall go over, I * The King. beleive 'twill be pretty difficult to persuade him to alter his resolution. 'Tis certain he is as well there as ever he was in his life, and the night after the alterations were declared, —— talkt to him near half an hour in the drawing room, and hardly spokt to any other person; so that his freinds are sanguine enough to think he will, even yet, be able to make his party good.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

We are told the parliament will be up in a few days, but as far as I can judge by their manner of proceeding, they will not rise so soon as is expected. Be that as it will, unless something extraordinary happen, I will endeavour to get away so as to overtake the very beginning of next term, for I am heartily tir'd of this town, and long, more than I can express, to see you and my freinds in Ireland. I hope in a day or two, to hear how sir Owen and his creatures receiv'd the news of your being put into the government; they certainly must have been a good deal mortified, especially considering how high their expectations were rais'd; but they have been so much mistaken in their politicks of late, that disappointments of this nature, fit easier upon them than they did formerly.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"About the alteration of the king's letter to the duke of Grafton, to appoint justices, &c."

(London, April 21, 1724.) I Wrote you a long letter by last post, and was then in hopes I should not have had occasion to trouble you with another, unless it were to give you an account of my having left this place, which I intended to have done to-morrow, and had settled all my affairs accordingly, but was oblig'd to alter my resolution by an account I received, and which went current for two or three days, of some further changes intended, and particularly one lately made, I dare say, a good deal to your satisfaction. I endeavour'd to inform myself of the truth of this matter, but dont find there was any other foundation for the report, than a letter lately sent over by your very good freind,† complaining of ill usage in being superseded while in Ireland, contrary to all president, as he alledges, and desiring that the commission, appointing lords justices, may not pass till he is ready to come away, for if it does, *he must steal away by night*, rather than stay or go off as a private man.

† Duke of
Grafton.

This

Period III. This letter, I hear, was communicated to his successor, who was desir'd to
 1720 to 1727. make this matter easy, by consenting his grace should have the pleasure of
 1724. passing the commission for lords justices in his absence (which by the by, he has
 a thousand times said, he would never do, if you were to be in it) and that as
 soon as he was landed, lord Carterett's should be put under the seal, and then
 a new one for appointing the same lords justices during his absence, should
 pass the great seal of Ireland. This is the foot upon which this matter is
 put, and you may depend upon it, there is no other view in it then what I men-
 tion, and that repeated orders are sent to hasten his grace over, who I believe,
 will have left Ireland before this reaches you. Besides the letter sir Owen has
 wrote in answer to the publick one wrote him by lord C——t, I hear there
 is another sent to a certain minister, whom I must not name nor even describe,
 desiring him to assure our friend of his best services, and of his desire to make
 him easy in every respect; that he is perfectly easy in the company he is put,
 and is very desirous of living well *with every one of them*. How strangely is
 that servile abject creature's tone alter'd! He would have talkt in another style,
 if his friend's scheme could have been brought to bear; but I find he is resolv'd
 to continue his power by the same base unworthy methods he attain'd it, *viz.*
 the most servile mean compliance with every thing that he thinks has power
 either to hurt or serve him.

I dare say, you must be impatient to know how matters go here, and what
 further alterations are likely to be made since the late great ones. Every
 body expected the command of the army would have been put into other
 * Cadogan. hands immediately; but hitherto the person* who has it has stood his ground
 beyond expectation; and the town says, has a friend who has positively de-
 clar'd he will not part with him; if this be fact, such a repulse is more then an
 overbalance for the late victory. Tho' for my own part, I know the power and
 temper of a certain person so well, as to be firmly of opinion, that he *will*
 carry this and every other point he insists upon; and will leave no body in
 employment but his own relations and dependants. The commission for the
 admiralty, they say, will be soon alter'd; and that there are thoughts of put-
 ting it upon the same foot as it was in the prince of Denmark's time; but I
 believe it much more likely that lord Tor——n. will succeed B——ey, and
 that two or three of his friends will be join'd with him in the room of so many
 of the others. Your friend† at Ockam is like to have the purse; the chief
 baron to preside in the next court, and he that was lately ours, in the court he
 now is. These changes make a good deal of uneasiness among every body
 but those immediately concern'd in them, and the toveys, who seem extremely
 pleas'd,

† Sir Peter
 King.

pleas'd, and have hopes of being taken in. 'Tis certain the present bottom is very narrow, considering the prodigious superstructure; but I am of opinion, 'twill be as dangerous to endeavour to enlarge it by those means, as 'tis impossible it should stand long upon the present foot. The publick papers tell you, that Kensington is fitted up, for the next summer; but as the air there cannot be suppos'd to be so good by reason of its neighbourhood to this unhealthy town, 'tis possible a more remote and agreeable place may be thought of.

I told you in my last, what I now find is resolv'd, that there would be an order sent to the custom house to revoke one lately issued from thence, forbidding the several collectors to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence, which, however agreeable to the sense of both houses of parliament, is said to have been very irregular, as not being warranted by any directions from hence, and pretending to controul or abridge the king's patent under his great seal. You may be sure I endeavour'd, as far as I could, to prevent this, by speaking and remonstrating against it to the persons chiefly concern'd in the obtaining it; but received no other answer, then that the king's prerogative was concern'd, and that his ministers could not sit by and see his own servants take upon them, without order or authority, to controul his patent; that Ireland was not concern'd in the present question, since it was not intended to give the least sanction to the patent, but only to leave it upon the same foot as it was before the issuing that order. Besides many other objections, I hop'd this might have some weight, that insisting on this order, might possibly make it very difficult to meet this parliament again, for that it was not to be imagined, that both houses could sit tamely by and see an order made in the very terms of their resolutions, revok'd by persons whom they look upon as under their power, and some of them members of one of the houses, and as such certainly accountable to them for a breach or contempt of their orders; but arguments of this nature had very little weight, and to tell you the truth, I believe, concluded rather for then against doing what was intended.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"About the proceedings before the committee of council about Wood's halfpence.—Calls the patent a vile project.—Glad of the opposition it met with in Ireland."

(Bristol, May 10, 1724.) YESTERDAY I received your lordship's of the 26th and 28th April, which I immediately forwarded to my uncle to be laid before lord Carteret, that he might be sure to have a true account of what past lately in council about the halfpence. I am very glad that vile project meets

with

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

Period III. with so much opposition in Ireland, which I beleive will have a good effect
 1720 to 1727. here; tho' at the same time, I must tell you my opinion, that if any body *on*
 1724. *behalf of Ireland*, had appear'd at a certain place, which I know was both expected and desir'd by Wood and his accomplices, it would only have furnisht some people with a plausible excuse for doing what they were in all events determin'd to do; whereas now all the world thinks and says the hearing was only *ex parte*. This I find is not understood by some of our freinds in Ireland, by one of whom, I and all of that countrey in London, were taxt with *supine negligence*, in not endeavouring to oppose the proceedings before the council, of which I do not think one of us had the least notice, till we read the Daily Courant; tho' if we had, I fancy we should have acted in just the same manner. You may be sure lord C—— has been fully talkt to on this subject, and as he is perfectly free from all suspicion of being concerned in, or wishing well to this base project, you may depend upon his doing what becomes him. Perhaps a time may come when a good use may be made of what is lately done; you will understand my meaning without further explanation. You would not tax me with neglecting the last term, if you knew my only reason for doing so, was to see what turn things took. I assure you, when our freind was first declared, they who procur'd him that honour, little thought of his going over; and I know the D. of B——n was promis'd his place, above three weeks after he was declar'd; but that matter is now settled, and you may depend upon it, he is at least, as secure as some of his freinds are in their places.

Further letters between lord chancellor Middleton and Thomas, and Saint John Brodrick.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Remonstrates strongly against Wood's halfpence in conversation with lord Carteret and Tickel his secretary.

Middleton Papers. (May 18, 1724.) THIS will bee delivered by Mr. Tickel, whoe will bee to attend the justices during the absence of lord lieutenant, hee seems to have a true notion of the state of things with you. I spoake fully to his lordship upon the subject of Wood's pattent, butt more plainly to Mr. Tickle, desiring him to repeate to my lord what I sayd, the substance of which was, that I could foresee nothing that would create trouble and uneasinesse to his government, except these halfpence; that this was noe party cause, but universally espous'd, every man of estate being to bee affected, as well as trade in
 generall,

generall, that among those whoe wisht best to his government, I did beleive a man would nott bee found soe hardy as to open his lips in favour of itt, nay nott to remaine neuter, unlesse hee would submitt to give up att once all his interest, and bee lookt uppon as a betrayer of his country. I told him my lord must judge for himselfe what part hee was to act, butt att the same time desired itt might bee remembred, that I was of opinion, nothing lesse then a vigorous opposition from his excellency was hoped for, and I was very sure was expected. That the pretence of limiting Wood to a small summe, would bee of noe availe, for that none att all was wanted, besides that 'twould bee impracticable to discover what greater summe hee should coine, which without doubt hee would putt in practice. That unlesse timely precaution prevented itt, I was morally certaine, 'twould produce such effects as I could nott thinke of, that people were nott to bee blinded with Wood's name, that they full well knew the greatest share of the profit was to goe elsewhere, and were sure such considerations ought nott, and they hoped would nott prevaile to the ruine of the kingdom. That an order to the commissioners of the revenue to recall or revoke their former directions to the collectors against receiving them, would bee interpreted an order to take them, which however would nott have the effect proposed, giving them a currency; for that none would take them in payment, except the poor souldiers, whoe would very soone bee obliged to live uppon free quarter, rather then starve, for that the pay in that coine would nott buy halfe enough in the markett to keep life and soul together, that this would necessarily bring complaints from every part of the kingdom before the government, which would bee well improv'd, and made use of here, by a sett of people, whoe by a prophetick spiritt would foretell what might happen here. That I thought this would bee the first ill effect, but that an utter losse of trade would soone follow, wherein 'twas very manifest England would thinke ittselfe, (as indeed itt will bee) immediately concerned. I mentioned what had happened in your councill uppon lord Abercorne's motion, asking him whether any representation was come.

I told him I thought nothing of that nature could adde force to the representations of both houses of parliament, butt that I mentioned itt as what the D. of G. could not stem, for (as I heard) hee sign'd the order, referring this matter to the consideration of a committee of the whole board. Hee told mee hee heard his grace had brought over something of this kind, for that the matter was soe managed on your side, and by one in particular (whom

Period III. hee named) as that 'twas carry'd through before his grace could bee ready
 1720 to 1727. to come away. I concluded with taking notice of the essay made here, in
 1724. order to lay that before the councill here, for that I heard itt was to bee brought before the great councill, though hitherto itt had been onely before a committee, I desired itt might bee considered whoe brought the halfpence foe essay'd; every body knows 'twas Wood. Was hee likely to bring the baser mettle, or lighter halfpence: this essay would surely obtaine with nobody, and therefore I could not butt thinke what was foe obvious to all others, would nott escape the notice of foe wife an assembly.

Whither what I have sayd and heartily endeavoured will have any effect I know nott, butt content myself with having to the utmost of my power with his excellency (as well as elsewhere) endeavour'd doing the best service I can to the kingdom, and if I can foresee any thing, to his majesty: for uppon my word, I thinke it will be made use of by those whoe doe nott foe heartily with his ease and prosperity as I doe. I ended with giving my opinion, that if nothing were done, 'twould dye away silently, butt that if what might by implication or necessary consequence, should bee attempted for giving countenance, a flame would be raised, nott easily to bee extinguished. Farewell.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

*Conviction of the ill consequences occasions his opposition to the patent.—The lords justices refuse to issue the orders.—The 40,000*l.* in lieu of the 100,000*l.* will not be received.*

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, August 29, 1724.) I Am just returned from spending six days at Mr. Pole's house in the queen's county very agreeably with a great deal of company who loved and liked one another, and found yours of the 15th from the Bath: for which I thank you. In it you tell me, that it will be the fault of Ireland, if Wood's halfpence prevail, because there will be no compulssory methods used to inforce them on us, nor encouragement given to them, except by those who are in the bottom of the affair. I cannot tell how extensive this phrase may be, but can assure you, that great earnestness hath been used to induce those here, who have appeared most zealous against them, to come into the grace and favour done us lately, by the consent of kind Mr. Wood, *viz.* to accept voluntarily, 40,000*l.* and I have been foe urged to come into these sentiments; that not lesse than an unalterable resolution against this coyne in
 the

the maner it hath been endeavoured to be imposed upon us, grounded on a conviction of my judgement, that my doing what was expected from me, would tend to the hurt (if not utter ruine) of the kingdom, could have induced all the justices* to desire to be excused from issuing the orders required from them to be issued: as they did on the 20th of this month, in a modest, submissive, and yet (in my opinion) a strong letter, the consequence of which we shall soon see and perhaps feel. But I think all the three are determined in the matter, and will adhere; but I can't speak with certainty only for one of them.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

If you look into the beginning of lord Clarendon's history, you may find a very judicious remark of the effect the judgment which was given in Mr. Hampden's case, about ship money, had on the minds of people in general, who had not so much weighed the matter before: and to the best of my observation, what hath passed lately in relation to this copper coyne, seems to have a like influence here. I doe not find that the report hath made one convert, nor that the reducing 100,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* hath soe sweetened the draught, that people are enclined to swallow it, as altered and softened; which I confess, seems to proceed in a great measure from some severe passages in a certain paper, and from an opinion people may have, that the same matter may be again thought useful or necessary for us, when we think we know the contrary, and could be very well content to be excused from having such a kindness done us against our wills. Others imagine, that it will be impossible to prevent the importing or uttering above 40,000*l.* which I own seems to me to be more difficult than the favourers of the project will allow it to be.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Insidious conduct of several who promised to support the patent.—Proceedings for the prosecution of Swift's Letter to the whole people of Ireland.—Supports the prosecution.—Is strongly against the position, concerning the independency of Ireland, which is supported by Molineux, the archbishop of Dublin, and Swift.—Is uneasy at the situation of things in Ireland.

(Dublin, October 31, 1724.) INSTEAD of agreeable accounts of what passes here, I shall be obliged to mention several things which, I believe, will create you uneasiness, because I am sure they doe so to me in a great de-

Midleton
Papers.

* Himself, lord Shannon, and Mr. Conolly.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1724. gree. The matter of Wood's halfpence would have put the kingdom under difficulties enough, tho' our people here had acted with the greatest prudence and temper: for considering what steps have been taken in England in granting and supporting the patent, he must, in my opinion, be a very sanguine man, who can hope for such an event in this affair, as I believe might have been attained (before things had gone the lengths they have gone, and before persons and things had been exasperated to that height, which I fear they now are) if some people had spoke their minds as freely in that matter at the beginning as they have done since. But the game was plaid thus, by a certain set of men; they saw the carrying the point was much at the heart of the lord lieutenant, and would be very well taken in England; they knew that the sense of the whole kingdom was opposite to the receiving the halfpence, and consequently trusted, that the majority in both houses of parliament would be against them, and prevent their obtaining a currenecy, without their appearing in opposition to a darling point; and I am apt to think, some gentlemen (who have since thought it advisable to declare themselves as much against that coyne, as those who from the beginning honestly and publickly spoke their minds of it) gave hopes, if not assurances, that they would be for receiving them. This conduct, I apprehend, brought us in great measure to those difficulties we now lye under, and perhaps may be finally ruin'd by; for if the good of the kingdom be concerned one way, I fear honour may be thought to be soe far concerned the other, that I confesse, I hardly see what clue will lead us out of the labyrinthe we are in.

But in addition to this misfortune, the behaviour of some people, who have thought fit to write against the halfpence, hath given Mr. Wood and his friends great advantage, and may possibly turn to the great damage, if not destruction of this kingdom, if not prevented by the prudence and temper of others. On the day of my lord lieutenant's landing, there was a pamphlet published and cried about by the hawkers, one of which was brought to my lord the next day; and on Saturday, 24 October, his excellency shewed it to me, and told me, it struck at the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. I had not read it over, but had one of them from Mr. Tigh in the council chamber, who told me, he bought two in the castle from an hawker. But after my lord lieutenant had mentioned the book to me, under such a character, I read it over very deliberately; and when he asked me what my thoughts of it were, I freely told him that I thought the pamphlet was highly seditious, and

fit to be taken notice of, in order to punish the author and printer. His excellency then declared, he resolved to lay it before the council, and to have the opinion of the chief justice, chief baron, and attorney general, as to the pamphlet's being criminal; which he accordingly took, and they were all of opinion, that it was a seditious and vile libel, and fit to be prosecuted.

Wood's
Patent.

1724+

On the 27th of October, my lord held a council, and in a handsome and strong manner disclosed the tendency of the paper, and expressed such a resentment of it, as became a man in his station, upon such an occasion: but he spoke short, and thought fit to select some few of the many exceptionable passages, and to leave others to be enlarged upon by those who should speak after him. As I was convinced of the wicked positions contained in that libel, and how much the publishing such doctrines might, and certainly would turn to the prejudice of the kingdom, if such things should pass unpunished. I thought we should act wisely in taking the advice of the communion service, which directs us to judge ourselves, lest we be judged of the Lord. I then spoke pretty largely as to some points in the pamphlet, *viz.* some of them which seem'd to treat the king in an undutiful and dishonourable manner, others which asserted an independency of this kingdom, and one which in expresse words, calls the power of the British parliament to bind Ireland by laws, a power *sometimes assumed in the memory of man*. Other paragraphs reflect on the wisdom of England, one insinuates (in my apprehension) I mean the parliament, that they are capable of corruption: Ireland is represented as in a state of slavery, and treated as slaves by England; nay, when he mentions 50,000 operators as a necessary number to distribute his fire-balls, I doubt he means something which he dar'd not name, and insinuates as if we were to be born down with main force. I therefore mov'd that the attorney general should be directed to prosecute, &c. All the lords of the council own'd their abhorrence of the pamphlet, as seditious and of dangerous consequences; nay, soe did one who would not join in signing the order for a prosecution, for this reason (if I understand him right) lest the prosecutor should fail of succeſſe.

Every body who knows that the first contest between England and Ireland arose from the judgement given in the cause between the society of London against the then bishop of Derry, now archbishop of Dublin,* in which the lords voted, that an appeal brought by the bishop against a decree in the chancery here, was *coram non judice*. This matter matter slept for several years, till sett again on foot in the house of lords in Ireland, in the case of Sherlock and Aveslye

* Dr. W.
King.

Period III. Aveſſye in 1719, by means of the ſame man, when the barons of the exchequer were proceeded againſt in an extraordinary manner for acting as they were directed by the lords of England, in oppoſition to what had been determined by the lords of Ireland. But I am not at preſent ſollicitous to tell you the circumſtances of this caſe; only thus much I remember, that it produced a certain representation, which occaſioned an Engliſh act of parliament, that hath declared that matter of jurifdiction. The labour of ſupporting the jurifdiction of England fell a good deal to my ſhare, and I was treated then as a betrayer of the liberties of Ireland by ſome who believed what they ſaid, and by others, who had other views, and knew more of the ſecret. For the truth is, if the jurifdiction of the houſe of lords here, could have been eſtabliſhed to be the dernier reſort, that houſe conſiſting generally of ſo ſmall a number of lords preſent, it was always in the power of our bench to determine finally the property of every man in the kingdom. This was a very deſirable thing, and much panted after, and I am much miſtaken if I did not ſuffer for the ſhare I had in this affair, within one year laſt paſt. In this debate, I uſed this argument to ſhew, that appeals were not finally to be determined here; becauſe they muſt neceſſarily have the power to expound laws finally, who have the power to make them; elſe another perſon may, by expounding them contrary to the ſenſe of the maker's will, exonerate, and in effect repeal them.

This was an objection which could no way be ſo fully answered, as by reſorting to Mr. Molineux's notion, that they in England could not bind Ireland by any act made there; which is one great poſition of our pamphlett, and a darling point of his grace; and from that quarter, I take it, the arrow originally comes. The author of the pamphlett has, I think, viſibly had the principle from him. Now this is the man who was carreſſed to that degree in a late government, that he had vanity enough to obſerve he ſhould at all times be courted in the ſame manner his grace of G. was pleaſed to doe. The late diſappointment in the greateſt church preferment, hath no doubt greatly irritated and exaſperated the good man, and hath occaſioned the general reflection in the pamphlett, as if no employments or preferments were ever to fall to the ſhare of thoſe of this country. That ſeems to be much inſinuated; but no man can think the writer takes a way to mend matters in that particular, on the contrary, is doing the moſt in his power to have all of this country for ever excluded from them. I will ſend you the pamphlett, with lines under ſome of the paſſages of which I took notice, when I ſpoke in council on this ſubject;

subject; and hope that your having this matter sett in a just light, may enable you to explain any thing that may be offered out of this writer, to the prejudice of Ireland. The council also promised 300*l.* as a reward to the person who should discover the author. But in a little time after it was buzzed about, that the writer would come in and own himself to be soe; and I heard from my lord lieutenant yesterday, that the archbishop had been with him, and spoke as if the author would appear and own the writing the pamphlett. This to me was amazing, but I can never believe it. I was this morning at the castle, and found the archbishop in the clofett, but whether any thing passed on this head before my coming in, I cannot tell, but believe the contrary.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

The town concludes a certain dean* of the same name with our divine, who lives beyond Shackleford, to be the writer, and indeed the maner and nature of it, as well as the style bespeak him to be the author. The archbishop, the bishop of Elphin, and Dr. Coghil, declined to sign the order for a proclamation. You know that the two latter are the creatures of the former.

* Swift.

I wish this matter were once well over; and shal not be at quiet while I have any apprehensions of Wood's importing his halfpence, which he may plainly see can never obtain a currençye with the consent of the people, but if he should still opiniatre the thing, and resolve to bring them in, I am in great doubt what may follow upon his doing soe. If the mob should be so audacious to meet in a riotous maner to obstruct the halfpence being landed, and the government should think fit to oppose force to force, what a condition will this country be in? No body can tell what follyes the populace may be guilty of, nor how far their behaviour may provoke the government to proceed to chastize and repress them. But this is a subject of which I am weary, and will quit it. I have been very kindly treated by my lord lieutenant; but I confesse, nothing would have overjoyed me soe much as to have seen his instructions were to quiet our fears of the halfpence ever being brought among us; but this I am sorry to say, I have not had the happineffe to be able to expect from any thing that I have yet seen or heard. If things continue long in the uncertainty they seem to be in at present, I think the country will suffer extremely in its trade, and the crown in its revenue, and I shall soon wish my self at Peperhara. Adieu.

Period III.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

Difficulties about the coinage.—Hints as if Swift and the archbishop of Dublin intended to asperse the revolution.

Middleton
Papers.

(Dublin, November 7, 1724.) I Have your two letters, one dated the 24th, the other the 31st of last month; both which came to me under the same wrapper, which surprizeth me. I have always acted with the greatest respect toward my lord lieutenant, and will continue to do soe, it being my duty to him as lord lieutenant, and what I personally owe him on many accounts: with which resolution, I hope it will not be supposed to interfere, if I continue to follow my own judgement in the matter of Wood's patent; but I find the great difficulty is this, what temper is to be found in the matter? Noe body can be soe wild to expect, that some people will put themselves in the wrong from the beginning by owning that the patent, in the manner it hath been granted, ought not to have passed, nor consequently can reasonably hope for more then being daily vexed from the ill consequences which it is believed will assuredly fall on us, if that coyn ever shall obtaine a currenecy here, let the thing be done either by people's willingly receiveing them, or in any other maner. This is an end much longed for by every body: but then it seems to me, as if some people thought the thing's dying of itself, will look like a victory over the patent, and not consistent with the honour of those who were concerned in carrying it on. And if I understand Mr. Wood's letter to the duke of Newcastle dated 29 September 1724, right, he seems to think it very hard to be soe great a sufferer, as he is like to be by that which he saith was originally intended him as a mark of his majesty's favour. This letter being transmitted to the late lords justices; I am apt to think speaks the sense of more people than Mr. Wood: but I doe not yet see who the person will be that will think soe well of his own understanding, as to hope he can propose that which may be acceptable to remove this very great difficulty. I doe not find the least disposition in people to accept the 40,000*l.* nor that any body will venture to say such a thing may be an expedient, which (if accepted by those who appear for the patent) will be made good, if care be taken to prevail on, or prevent Mr. Wood's bringing or sending over any of his halfpence. If any thing of this sort should be proposed, I doubt we should have it called undertaking for a kingdom, which you know is the most likely method

thod in the world to disappoint any thing in a popular assembly; since the merit will wholly redound to the honour of the proposers, and others will not readily contribute to that which may indeed be thank worthy, unless they can partake of the honour of having a share of the thanks.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

I sent you Wenfday seven night an account of the pamphlet which was brought by my lord lieutenant in council under the confideration of the board. I did intend to have sent the book itself by fir Gustavus Hume for your perusal, with strokes pointing at many of the exceptionable passages in it; but far from all. But the knight was failed before I could send my letter to him, soe I am forced to doe it by post; which will be noe inconvenience to you, since your privilege exempts you from paying the postage, which is indeed much more than the present is worth. I own upon reading it over more considerately, and comparing it with a pamphlet, supposed to be wrote by the same author some years since, exaggerating the severities this kingdome lies under in point of trade from the laws made in Great Britain, it is very observable, that in that pamphlet he assigns the rise of them to have been much about the revolution, and I doubt, intended by that means to insinuate prejudices against the revolution in the minds of the people here; and for aught I know, the author retains still some good wishes to his patron the lord Bolingbrook, and to that cause, for whose service he wrote the conduct of the allies. It is plain, that the matter of the independencye of this kingdome, the complaint of the lords not having jurisdiction in matters of appeal, and our not being bound by statutes made in Great Britain, are the notions which have for several years past been propogated and avowed by a great churchman, who was lately thought to be taken into favour, and to have distinguishing marks of being so placed in him, in the time of the duke of Grafton's administration; while I, who alway opposed him in every one of these articles, received usage which I cannot forget, while I suffer under the effects of it. But why doe I mention my own little sufferings, when it is possible I may have strength enough to outlive the happiness of my country; if this affair does not take a more favourable turn than some people not only wish but expect.

If this business were moved in parliament, I am sure I would without reserve speak my mind without regard to popularitye, and consider the service of my king and countrey only, in proposing what seems to me the only way which seems to be safe for the people, and at the same time honourable for others. But least what I think right may not find the approbation of others,

Period III. I am not hardy to mention or propose it, for fear of falling under the odious
 1720 to 1727. name of an undertaker, or having deceived people by my advice, if it should
 1724. prove unsuccessful.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Wood distributes the Drapier's letter to the members of the English parliament.

—Determination of the people not to receive the copper coinage, although, reduced in quantity.—Agitated state of the nation, and its consequences in regard to the revenue.—Conduct of the friends and opponents of the measure.—Expresses his intention to retire, and discontent at the rejection of his advice.—Proceedings relating to the prosecution of the author of a pamphlet addressed to the jurors on the Drapier's letter, and his sentiments on the business.—Recurs to the affair of the coinage.—Shews the little confidence reposed in him.—Private overtures concerning an expedient.

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, November 17, 1724.) THERE are letters in this town of the 5th instant from London, which give me a good deal of surprize, for certainly mine dated either 29th or 31st of October, about what was done in council in relation to the discoverye of the author and printer of the pamphlett, intituled "*a Letter to the whole People of Ireland,*" must have come to your hand. If it be stopped any where, it is barbarous treatment: for I make no doubt but that hot headed libel (for I cannot term it lesse) is handed about by Mr. Wood and his friends among the members of parliament, and probably will raise such resentment as may turn to the prejudice of this kingdome, if care be not taken to have it understood, that the kingdome is in no sort of the mind of the author or his patron,* whom I have pointed out in that letter. The kingdome hath received, and probably may receive more damage by the politics and wrangling of those two men, than it would have been in the power of its worst enemys to have brought upon it, without the assistance of indiscreet and seditious pamphleteers: but sure their follies and crimes are not to be placed to the nation's account. There are now three pacquets due, and I have hopes you will by one of them put my mind at ease in this matter, and be able to acknowledge the receipt of the pamphlet itself, with my marks on the margin of it, which I made as a guide to me in speaking in council against the most flagrant parts of the libel, in order to incline the board to order a

* Archbishop
of Dublin.

prosecution. The pamphlet went in a later maile, in a wrapper, dated, I think, the 2d instant.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

I wish I could say any thing had been done here, since my lord lieutenant's landing, which had quieted the minds of the people; but indeed I cannot with truth acquaint you, that soe desirable an end hath been attained. It is true no compulsoy methods have been taken to inforce the currenecy of that coyne (for I will not with the archbishop think the proclamation had a tendency that way) but on the other hand, no steps seem to me to have been omitted to create a willingnesse in people to consent to the receiving the summe proposed. But as far as I can make a judgement, people are at least as firmly determined as ever in that particular, and I cannot find by the discourse of the most temperate and prudent men in my sphere of conversation, that any body seems inclined to receive the reduced quantitye on any grounds whatsoever. That really seems to me to be the sense of the people in general, but the grounds they goe upon, have in my hearing been called nonsense; yet in our way of thinking (for we have a particular way of thinking from the rest of mankind, if I understand that phrase in a late letter right) there is more sense in refusing that money for the reasons which move us, then others will allow, who no doubt have very different reasons from us on this occasion.

I hear there is a paper called "*Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jurors*," to dissuade them from finding a bill against the printer or author of the letter, full of reflections on those of the council which voted for prosecuting and discovering the author, and very liable to be called in question. But I have not seen it, tho' I am one of the persons who are reviled in it, having heartily voted for a prosecution. You cannot imagine in what a condition this kingdom now is; no doubt there are those who represent this affair in the strongest light they can, to inflame people's minds with an opinion of very hard treatment by this patent, and the steps taken to establish it, as they think. I cannot but wish those who have it in their power to efface those impressions, would think it deserved their care to do something out of hand in it; for the damage which accrews to the publick is very great, while things remain in the state in which they now are; and the effects of this patent's hanging over our head for about two years and an half, are thoroughly felt in the countrey already, and will be soe in the revenue, whenever we come to meet in parliament. I doubt the demand will then be such as will not come within the compasse of the ordinary duties, and must be left unsupplied, or new funds be found.

Period III. Now we have charged every thing that will bear it already, except one, to
 1720 to 1727. which indeed some people insinuate this affair hath an eye: but indeed I cannot
 1724. say I know one man in the kingdom that will advise an attempt of that kind, as likely to have succeſſe, or that will be hardy enough to propoſe it, whatever they may ſay privately in a cloſett.

Our lord lieutenant doth not think fit, or is not inſtructed to let any body know, what is expected to put this unhappy buſineſſe at quiet, but ſeems to wait in expectation that propoſals will come from the other ſide. But as far as I can judge, no man or number of men will venture on any thing of that nature; ſo that I think it is the inclination of every body to come to a right underſtanding and agreement, yet I ſee no ſufficient grounds to hope for ſucceſſe, ſince neither ſide will begin. One ſide may, but ſeem not willing; the others think it not ſafe to do it, but apprehend that their ſaying they have a readineſſe to doe every reaſonable thing in their power, when they can doe it with honour and ſafety to themſelves (*viz.* when called together to adviſe on national affairs) is all they can juſtifyably or in prudence doe at preſent; and think they ought to be believed in their affirmation, that they will meet in a diſpoſition to act with great duty to the king and regard to the quiet and happineſſe of the countrey.

As for my part, I ſee ſo many difficultyes, that I have not a proſpect to live ſo long, till an happy end is put to them; and I ſee that I am not able to doe any thing by my advice in this perplexing affair, and ſhall, I think, very ſoon retire into Surrey. My way of thinking is not ſuch as is pleaſing on your ſide, and of conſequence my advice can have little weight; and all that I am like to bring to paſſe is to be eſteemed too ſtiff by ſome people, and too condeſcending, or rather complying, by others. Whichever of the two is my fault, ought to be imputed to want of better judgement: for I have done all in my power to diſcover what is the right thing to be done, and have an inflexible purpoſe to follow what I think to be ſo. If I am ſo unhappy not to be able to diſcover what is fit to be done, I ought to be pityed, not blamed. I have thought ſo much of this matter, that I have really impaired my health by the uneaſineſs of my mind and breach of my reſt; but will give over a matter in which I ſee my labouring is like to be ſucceſſeleſſe, and where I reap no thanks for doing what I think right.

I cannot but obſerve to you, that the firſt time I heard there was ſuch a paper printed, as the "*Seaſonable Advice*," was from my lord lieutenant on 15 November,

November, who told me the import of it, but I never saw it till 22 November at the castle, in the hand of Mr. Tickel, who read it to the attorney general, solicitor, and me, who were talking of what had happened the day before in the king's bench, when the court discharged the grand jury for not presenting that paper as seditious. The manner of doing that, I was told, was what is contained in a paper, which comes along with this, and was reduced to writing the same day the thing happened. The town talks of that transaction variously, and are far from being of one opinion about the discharging the jury. For my part, I will not presume to censure the proceedings of a court of justice, but will take it to be within their authority to do it in the manner and on the occasion they have done it; because I am convinced, that courts have formerly exercised that power, and because I know no law which restrains them from doing it. But then it is a power to be used with discretion and great consideration; and if what Mr. Conely told me last Sunday night, that 11 out of 23 were for prosecuting the paper; I confesse, I could wish time had been given to the dissenting 12 to have considered farther of the matter, and possibly one might have been convinced in two or three days time before their next meeting. This thought of mine I was rash enough to expresse to a certain person, who expressed himself soe warmly on the occasion, that I cannot but fancy, that this matter was settled and resolved upon before hand: and if soe, in taxing the discretion of the court, I fell into the absurdity of telling him that had before considered of it, that the thing was misjudged. To conclude, the town is in a prodigious consternation and ferment, and seem to be in the same condition as the disciples of our Saviour, are mentioned to be in the 24 chapter of St. Luke, verse 22.

I wish their suprise may be as happily removed as that of the disciples was, by seeing that thing effected by that person of whom they had almost given over all hopes of effecting the thing hoped for. I think it is usual with physicians to change their course, if upon trial they find the patient grows worse, and the distemper increase upon using those methods which were at first thought the best. But my zeal for the service of my king and countrey, and the honour of my lord lieutenant have carried me further then one who had great concern for himself would have gone. Just now a very sober man of great fortune, and well affected to his person and government, expressed a good deal of surprize, that no bill of indictment had been drawn against Harding, the printer, and seemed to hint, if that had been done, it is possible the bill might have

Period III. have been found, which would have shewn how little influence the "*Seasonable*
 1720 to 1727. *Advice*" had on the minds of the jurors; and indeed it is pretty unaccountable
 1724. to me, why that hath not been done in all this time, if there be sufficient for
 finding the bill; and this would have put the offence of printing into a legal
 examination.

If the receiving any of Wood's coyne be finally on us, I confesse noe prospect of its ever taking effect upon the terms of the patent (*willingly*) and I hope it will not be a mark of disaffection in people to use that freedome which the laws allowe, and his majesty doth also in expresse terms. God help us; something is to be done, and we find is expected; and I think every body knows the nature of the expedient, but no body will propose it, for reasons very obvious. I look on it as a great happinesse, that I was [*not*] consulted about laying this paper before the grand jury, and consequently had no part in the advice given; but from my being a stranger to the whole (which I hear was chiefly under the direction of the chief justice and secretary) you will make your judgement in what degree of confidence I stand. Adieu.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Hopes that the coinage will not be forced.—The lords justices charged by the duke of Newcastle with inattention.—Their justification and conduct.—Effects of the proclamation for the apprehension of the publishers of the Drapier's letter.—His opinion of the pamphlet, entitled "Seasonable Advice to the Jurors."—And of the conduct of the jurors.

Middleton
 Papers.

(Dublin, November 23, 1724.) I Am not at all surprized at your desire to be informed of every thing which passeth here in relation to Wood's halfpence, considering the hopes you had given me in three several letters written soon after your return from Newmarkett, that we should not be pressed in that very disagreeable affair, but left entirely to our own choice, whether we would receive or refuse that coyne. I confesse, I entertained hopes, that in a little time all apprehensions of that money becoming current among us, would have vanished, and people would have begun to think of their business as formerly, and been free from their jealousies of this coyne obtaining a currensey in this kingdome. This is so desirable a thing, that every man who hath thought enough to conceive the prejudice which trade suffers, while men's minds are in the same suspense about it as they have been for about two
 years

years and a half past, and how much the kingdome and his majesty's revenue suffer on that head, must earnestly wish it were settled. But alas! brother, matters are much otherwise; and tho' I cannot decline answering your expectations, and letting you know the situation we are in at present (since you desire it, and will make the best use of it for the service of the king, and this unhappy country (yet I must take leave to protest you have imposed a very difficult task on me, and such an one, as I would not undertake at the instance of any other man. For I believe letters are sometimes opened, and am sensible, that whoever writes on this subject, will be found fault with by some whose sentiments may not be easy to be born, what part soever he shall take in this affair; which will be thought favourable or unfair, as men are previously disposed, if not determined, in their thoughts about the matter of Wood's patent. However, while I confine myself strictly to truth, as I resolve to do (as far as my knowledge reaches) I think I shall only suffer in the opinion of others for not judging right, which I can easily bear; being for a long time accustomed to have greater and wiser men differ from me in opinion, as probably they do and will continue to do in this.

I will now proceed to represent the circumstances in which I apprehend this city stands at this time. By a letter which the late lords justices received from the duke of Newcastle, dated 3d October, they found that his majesty had received repeated accounts, as if Ireland were in such a condition as the quiet and peace of it was in danger (those are not the words, but I take it the sense of the letter) and they did think it was pretty strongly insinuated, that they had been remiss in discouraging and preventing this evil, and in punishing persons guilty of publishing seditious libels, if not encouraging them in so doing. This letter they answered, and insisted on their having done their duty to his majesty to the best of their power, and that the kingdom was free from any disturbances and in perfect peace and quiet, and very well affected to his majesty's person and government. When my lord lieutenant was sworn, and the sword delivered to him by the justices, I did by their concert and direction of the other justices, tell his excellency, that we did with great satisfaction deliver the sword into his hands, and had great pleasure in being able to assure him that the kingdom was in perfect peace and tranquillity. But we had acted very unfairly if we had said or insinuated it was in any measure disposed to receive Wood's halfpence, or indeed any part of that coynage: for indeed we know the contrary, and were sensible my lord
lieutenant

Period III. lieutenant will be soon convinced, that the aversion to that coyne was insuperable, as the justices told the duke of Newcastle in answer to his grace's letter of the 3d of October.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

The day my lord lieutenant landed, or very soon after, the "*Letter to the whole People of Ireland*" came out, one of which I sent you with strokes under some of the most exceptionable passages and seditious positions and insinuations contained in it, and must refer myself to my letter on that subject dated 31st October, which I find you had receiv'd on the 7th instant, at which time the pamphlet itself had not reached your hand. The publishing this pamphlett shews that things of that nature might be printed and creep into the world without any neglect of the government, or encouragement given by it. For I think my lord Carterett will not be suspected in that particular; and his excellency having one of them laid before him by some person, he called a council, and laid it before them for their consideration: if the council had not done what became them upon the occasion, they had been highly accountable; but I confesse I think the council did as much as they could doe in justice or prudence; for which I refer you to my former letter. The proclamation agreed on in council, had such an effect, that Harding the printer of that letter was apprehended and carryed before the chief justice (as I hear) in order to be prosecuted for printing the letter. Some time after there came out a paper called "*Seasonable Advice*," one of which I send you under this cover: you will see the tendency of it to be to disincline the grand jury to find any bill of indictment against Harding the printer, which I own I think to be a most impudent and illegal practice, and punishable by law, under the name of embracery of jurors (but perhaps I may mistake in this point of crown law, having for some years past discontinued thinking on that part of my profession which relates to criminal matters). The paper seems to me to goe farther, and to endeavour not only to excuse but vindicate the author of the letter for what he had said in relation to the dependency of Ireland, and to leave that as a doubtful point. I passe by that part of it which reflects most vilely on the persons who signed the order for prosecuting the writer and printer of the letter, considering that I am directly libelled by that paper. There are some parts of that letter which appear to me to be highly criminal; but I doe not say or think they are all. For I doubt the tendency of the whole is to create jealousies between the king, and his people of Ireland; and to foment divisions and misunderstandings between the people of Great Britain and us; of
the

the consequences whereof I have fully spoken my sense in my former letters, and tremble when they occur (as they frequently doe) to my thoughts.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON.

Endorsed in lord Midleton's hand—" *That he had a long conference with Mr. Walpole about the halfpence, and the persecution that I had undergone in the house of lords, in which the duke of Grafton denies to have had any hand.*"

(London, January 17, 1723-24.) I Deferr'd answering two of your's of the 2d and 3d instant, by last post, being appointed by Mr. Walpole to attend him this morning, and consequently desirous of letting you know what past in that conversation. I was with him above two hours this morning, and in the best manner I could gave him a particular account of what past in our parliament, especially with relation to Wood's patent, which I do not repeat to you, who are so well appriz'd of it. He heard me with great attention, and in the conclusion told me, he had been inform'd of most of the particulars I mention'd, but that some of them were new to him, by which I understood he meant the history of all the resolutions we past, except the first, the persons that mov'd them, and the motives of their doing it. He then began with a protestation of his not having the least hand in advising or promoting that patent, further then as first lord of the treasury, it must of necessity go thro' his hands; and took particular pains to disclaim having had the least share of the advantage, or prospect of any, by it. He said, that these things were intended as boons from the crown, and consequently, that it must be suppos'd, and was intended that the patentee should have some profit by his grant, and added, that he thought those who had with so much zeal appear'd against this patent, should be sure that no petition or paper could be produc'd under their hands, desiring a grant of the like nature; but a good deal more to the prejudice of Ireland, it being propos'd, that a pound of copper should be coin'd into three shillings, whereas Wood's was only into half a crown. This he mention'd and repeated in such a manner, that I imagin'd you were the person intended, and when I prest him to explain himself, he desir'd to be excus'd from naming any body, so left me to my own conjectures. Tho' I know you never had any share in a project of this kind, yet I should be glad to have your opinion of the person he intended, and express himself against with great bitterness.

Midleton
Papers.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1724. He then proceeded to talk of the extraordinary method of our proceedings, which he said, he was afraid would hardly answer the end, not being founded even upon truth; that the calculations were false, and that there never was but one sort coin'd by Wood, and those strictly according to the patent, and that all the other sorts were counterfeit, *having been assur'd so by Wood*. He said, he was the more positive in this matter, because particular care was taken by the lords of the treasury, to appoint a comptroller, who was very far from being a friend to Wood; that sir Isaac Newton was the first that was appointed, but that he, being old, desir'd, and accordingly obtain'd leave to resign to Barton his nephew, who had made several assays, by which it appear'd, that the halfpence were not only better than any that were ever coin'd before, but even exceeded the terms requir'd by the patent. He could not conceal his resentment at what pass'd in our parliament, which he said, he was afraid would hardly attain the end propos'd, every thing there being hurried in such a manner as not to give people time to consider of what was proper to be done, and therefore they were oblig'd to advise general answers, that when gentlemen were *a little cool*, the ministry might consider of some reasonable scheme, which he hop'd might be agreeable. To this I answer'd, that the hurry and heat with which this affair was carry'd, if any such there were, was to be imputed wholly to them who had declin'd, and indeed reject'd all friendly proposals; that if gentlemen had understood, and could have trusted one another, I was assur'd things would have taken another turn, and any reasonable thing that could have been propos'd either by the castle or ministry here, would have been gone into; but that since all measures of this kind were declin'd, I thought they who gave such advice, and not our friends, were accountable for the consequences, to which he seem'd to agree. He insist'd a good deal on the legality of the patent, and was afraid that bringing a *scire facias* against it in Ireland, or questioning it in the parliament here, would rather establish than avoid it. I told him, as to the first, that I was in hopes his majesty's answer, and the proceedings of our parliament, would in a good measure secure us, for the present at least, from the pernicious consequences of that patent; and that I saw no sort of occasion for a *scire facias*, unless it was intended, in all events, to establish it. As to the second, I thought he would consider how far that might be adviseable, and whither it might not create some uneasiness in a session which hitherto had, and I hop'd would continue to proceed with the greatest unanimity and quietness. He seem'd, in this particular

ticular, to have overshot himself, at least to have intended to feel my pulse; but I had before given assurances that I would not attempt bringing it into parliament here, and had very good reason to believe other people would, at least not be at all displeas'd that it were done, upon an assurance that the house here might have had another opinion of that project than ours in Ireland express'd.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

This is, as near as I can recollect, the substance of what pass'd between us, which I have set down in the very order it was deliver'd, having taken notes of all that was said, as soon as I came home. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, this affair is far from being over, and that as soon as the parliament rises, something or other will be attempted, but what in particular, I do not pretend to guess.

From the subject of Mr. Wood's coinage, we pass to that, which was the principal part of my errand, your affair, which I was advis'd only to talk of in general, without entering into particulars, or expecting a positive answer to any thing. In this, I found we entirely agreed, so that after having open'd the several steps taken by Fitzwilliams, &c. preparatory to the resolutions, and the certainty we had of his g——'s being at the bottom of the whole, (which however was deny'd) I told him I was sure I need not remind him of the consequences which might attend the giving any countenance to such a proceeding, which every body here lookt upon as a contest between his majesty and the lords, and not between the lords and you. These were the very words of L. C. J. King us'd to me. I then mention'd the constant good affection of our family in general, and your's in particular, to his majesty's person and government; especially the services which he knew they did him last session here; and therefore concluded, that when they were fairly represented, as I did not doubt they would be, to his majesty, he would be graciously pleas'd to take them into his consideration, and that we entirely depended on his goodness and justice. I said something of myself, and that my principal errand was, by my behaviour in parliament, to convince his majesty and the world, that I had been most vilely misrepresented.

In answer to this, I was told, that however he might have been lookt upon as an enemy to our family, he never had done any act to disoblige any one of them; but on the contrary, had done us all the good offices he could, whenever it lay in his power. That he was sure he had never given my uncle reason to resent any thing, except it were his not being restor'd, as others were,

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to his employment, the beginning of the king's reign. That he was not ther
in the administration, and therefore that could not be justly imputed to him,
and that since he was so, he had it not in his power to shew his regard for him.
As to your particular, tho' he was sensible the putting you in the government,
was ascrib'd to the interest of other people, yet he assur'd me; 'twas principally
owing to him, for that unless his g—— had consented to it, the king would
never have order'd it to be done, without removing him, which he was sure
could not have been done. That he was the person who obtain'd his g——
consent, and that, not without great difficulty, being oblig'd to make it a point
between them, and to put an old freindship, that had been between them, upon
it. That after this affair was settled, he thought some trifling punctilio's, as
not sending the order over under lord lieutenant's cover, were unnecessarily
insisted upon, and express'd himself with some warmth against a freind of your's,
whom 'tis not proper nor necessary to name. He then made professions of
the regard and good opinion he had of me, and of his having taken all oppor-
tunities of shewing it, when I was last here, which indeed was in a good mea-
sure true; that he had endeavour'd to serve me in the affair of the solicitor-
ship, but was prevented by lord Sunderland's power; and concluded with ge-
neral professions of regard to our family, that he would consider of what I had
said, and lay it before the king. I told you before, I was instructed not to
make any particular request, nor desire particular answers; the reason of
which, I must not now tell you, and so our conversation ended.

I wont take up your time with making any reflections upon it, which you
are much better able to do; but will in a few words tell you, my impartial opi-
nion of your affair. You have certainly two or three very sincere freinds,
who have and will employ all their credit and interest to serve you, and have
* The King. laid every thing in a full and true light before ——. No body has yet de-
clar'd themselves openly against you; and tho' I am not sanguine enough to
believe, as some of your freinds do, that no attempt will be made to lay you
aside, yet I am of opinion, that you are upon a much better foot then you
were last year, and that Fitzwilliam's and his wife freind's scheme, has been the
luckiest incident that could possibly have befallen you. 'Tis certain W——
interest, if employed against you, is very great; but I assure you, very far from
being omnipotent, of which we have had very late proofs; and I cant believe
he will be brought to lay all his strength to do a particular injury to a family
who have never disserv'd him, but have, and probably may have it in their
power

power to be of use to him; and all this to gratifye the private malice and pique of two or three the most inconsiderable wretches in the world. But what I chiefly depend on is his majesty's goodness and justice, who I have reason to know, has a good opinion of your's and my uncle's integrity and services, and will therefore not be prevail'd on to shew a particular mark of disfavour to a family, who, he is sensible, have upon all occasions, appear'd most signally in his interest, and without vanity, done him considerable service. I at first intended this letter only as a rough draught, but 'tis spun out to that unreasonable length, that I have not time, nor indeed am I able to write it over. You must therefore excuse the faults of it.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Lord Carteret zealous in promoting Wood's patent.—Represents the natives averse to its reception.—The English cabinet inclined to delay the surrender, with the hopes of finally succeeding.—Those who oppose the patent accused of opposing the king.—Is determined to resign.—Mentions lord Carteret's surprise at that resolution.—Reproaches Walpole for insolence.

(Dublin, March 15, 1724-25.) MY letter of the 13th instant, which goes by the packet, will certainly come to your hand before this can; which the attorney general promises to deliver into your own hand as soon as conveniently may be after he gets to London. I think I can have no doubt of the bearer's delivering this into your hands, and will therefore speak plainer English than otherwise I would venture to do: yet not so plain that every one else shall know my meaning as fully as you will. This you may depend upon, that the person who told you in so solemn a manner, that all people would be left at their own liberty, &c. thought it either necessary or convenient for him to use every way he could think of, that nobody should make use of that liberty to which they were to be left: no careffes were wanting to soften those who were supposed capable to be made pliant, nor was there any difficulty made of letting people know what was hoped (if not expected) from those who had dependancies, and what the consequences of being refractory might (nay would certainly) prove. Those who were against warm methods at the beginning were not in so good grace as those who either advised or were concerned in putting them in execution. To be short, I cannot but think that a certain person knew —* had the success of Wood's coyne so much at

Middleton's
Papers.

* Carteret.

heart,

Period III. heart, that he was persuaded to undertake the business, as the man in the
 1720 to 1727. world most likely to effect it, and to deliver some people in London from the
 1725. difficulties they have laboured under by means of this patent; and I confesse
 it is my thought, that more zeal and industry could not have been used to attain
 this end, then was employed, if the succeſſe of it were to be attended with an
 entire reſtitution of the ſame favour and employment which he formerly
 enjoyed.

You may be ſure thoſe who were moſt zealous enemies to the project were
 firſt and moſt warmly applied to, and all they could be brought to was this:
 that they believed if the patent was ſurrendred by Wood before the meeting
 of the parliament, and thereby the fears and diſſatisfactions of people were
 diſſelled, gentlemen would not be fond of bringing that matter again on the
 carpett, notwithstanding all the hard treatment and ill language the nation had
 received; but that nobody would go into the giving any thing to Wood in
 nature of a compenſation for giving up the patent. People ſeemed to hope,
 and promiſed to uſe their endeavours, that on this foot, matters of ſupply, &c.
 might goe on in the ordinary courſe; and I am convinced that a certain per-
 ſon after having ſpent ſome time in Ireland, became ſo far ſenſible of the
 temper of the kingdome, that he gave it to be underſtood in London as his
 ſenſe, that no endeavours that had been uſed had in any ſort reconciled men
 to the receiving that coyn, nor had influenced their meaner paſſions to an ac-
 quiſcence in the pleaſure of thoſe who in this affair ſeem to me (at leaſt) to
 act like our maſters. I believe alſo, that he gave as little hopes of an eaſy
 ſeſſion of parliament (unleſſe the patent ſhould be previouſly given up) as he
 reaſonably might, and that he put the manner of attaining that end, and bring-
 ing that about upon the Engliſh miniſtry.

If my accounts from London be well grounded, they pretended ſtil to be-
 lieve, that the granting the patent, and all that had been done by the lords to
 whoſe conſideration Wood's petition was referred, and Woods his manner
 of executing the powers granted to him, and every thing done in England in
 this matter were right, and every thing done here had been wrong from the
 beginning; and that even giving Wood (but not in expreſſe words or by
 name to him) a compenſation for his patent was not at all agreeable to thoſe at
 the helm, and would look like a victory obtained by us here; and I fancy they
 inſiſted on Ireland's being contented with the king's not going farther to ſup-
 port the patent or create a currency for Wood's coyn then had been done
 already,

already, as enough to satisfy them; which is just what the order in council faith, and was signified to the late justices with directions to make it publick, for which I refer you to some late papers delivered you by C. P. from me.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

It was matter of amazement to those with whom a certain person advised, and pretended to be much influenced by their advice, to be told every post, that no orders were come about declaring what the king intended to do to remove the difficulties which Ireland laboured under, from this patent's still hanging over our heads: but so it was, only we were told, that there would be time enough before the meeting of the parliament; and that in the mean time no methods were used to bring them in upon us. Now I am pretty well convinced, that the satisfaction (which Mr. S. and others in London had written was ordered to be given to Ireland) meant no more then letting matters remain quiet till the meeting of the parliament; and I cannot but think that all hands have been at work to incline men to think it will be adviseable to go on in the ordinary course of granting supplies, without an actual surrender of the patent, or taking the least notice there ever had been such a thing in the world. However wild this scheme may seem to you, yet I am fully persuaded that it is hoped and expected a push will be made to go on with what they call the king's business, with all convenient dispatch, and if any thing of the halfpence should be mentioned, to endeavour to postpone that till the other is finished, with full assurances of our having time enough for that and all other matters which relate to our country. I have good reasons to be strong of opinion (which I confess I was not of till very lately) that it is not in their thoughts to give up the patent before the session, but fairly to try whether people can be cajoled or discoursed into the measures from the other side prescribed to us; and as far as I can judge, there are some people here who give hopes, that this scheme will succeed: but I own I am not of the number; yet cannot find reasons strong enough to think I have convinced a friend of your's, that things will not answer expectation. It is very hard to persuade a man to believe that will come to pass, which he hath a mind to have never happen. When I have spoke my mind freely on this occasion, I have been asked who the people are who will create the opposition to things proceeding according to desire; and have been told that some people dare not after what they have done (whether it was meant in this particular or other matters I know not, but believe in other things which have come to the knowledge of a very discerning man) and that those who are not under any apprehensions from a sense of their
past

Period III. past actions (whom I understood by the term used, which was *others*) would
 1720 to 1727. not oppose the king's affairs. You see that still not giving opposition to

1725. Wood is called the king's business, or that opposing the halfpence, is to oppose the king's business, and consequently those who will not oppose him are to be understood to do it; as on the other hand, those who will still oppose that patent, are to be deemed obstructors of it. Nay so far have I heard matters carried, that no one body in the king's service, in any station removable at pleasure, will be continued, who shall not proceed in the method expected, not excepting even the most honourable the privy council.

I was on Sunday at the castle, and delivered my lord lieutenant your letter of the ninth, by which he saw that Mrs. Duncombe's secret about sir William Thomson was not so entirely new, but that I had notice of it from you. He seemed a good deal surprized at the later part of your letter, in which you tell me, you hope I am putting things into the best order. I can for going into England, and told me it could not be reasonable to desire or expect a licence of absence so near before the opening of the parliament. I told him I had no such thoughts; then said he, you speak upon a supposition the king should dismiss you his service before that time. (which I do not believe): to that I said, it was not unlikely I should attend the session in some capacity, either public or private; and added, that offering the seal about from hand to hand till somebody could be found to take it up, was certainly intended to lessen me, and in great measure did so: the former he allowed, but not in any sort the later, and added, that my enemies could not think I had lost any honour in this whole affair, which had been so long between more than one ministry and me.

Carteret's. To conclude this tedious scrawle, I must tell you that my lord —* heart is bent on going through this session (as if there never had been such a thing as Wood's patent in the kingdom) and that he thinks I can, and shall be an obstacle to their designs. Thus far he doth me no injury, for I have told him what I intend to do in that matter; and hope I shall not be disappointed in it. But if he believes that the intimations given out that every body in the king's service shall be removed who will not comply, can incline me to quit, or be silent in the interest of my country, he entertains thoughts less honourable than I apprehend my conduct hitherto in this and other affairs, have given him reason to have of me. I confess that from his surprize at hearing what you mentioned in relation to my going over soon, and other circumstances, I

cannot

cannot but apprehend, that his view is to have me paffe the session on the woollack, and there go through the drudgerye of it, and the reward (which I have been so long and so often told of) of my long faithful and powerful services, a *superfedas*. When that comes, I shall cease to be the king's servant, but not his loyal subject. But whenever that happens, it will in other people's opinions make me more master of myself and my own actions, than when I was in employment. But I have always looked on the salary and perquisites of my office, as due to me for officiating in the chancery and elsewhere as chancellor; and I thank God I have always thought myself at liberty to act, vote, and speak in parliament (as a lord) just in the same manner, while I was on the woollack as I should have done on one of the benches. I have now done, and am obliged to Mr. W.* for his honourable performance of all the promises he made me in England; but most particularly in providing me a successor of such eminence as sir William T. is known to be. I will not be longer in the power of an insolent man, but will in a little time save them the trouble of doing an act they have so often threatened me with, but for other reasons than good will towards me have deferred the execution of their indignation.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

* Walpole.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Announces the departure of an express, conveying a letter from the lord lieutenant to the secretary of state, stating his request to resign the seal.— Moves for acting in that manner, and for not making a formal complaint of ill usage to the king.— Lord Carteret much distressed at his resolution to quit.

(Dublin, May 1, 1725.) THE express which went hence yesterday with a letter to the secretary of state, from my lord lieutenant to notifye that I had applied to him, that his majestye would be pleased to give me leave to surrender the seal, will have delivered also to you mine of the 28th of April, by which you will see, that I resolved (in compliance to your repeated advice and that of my friends here) to lay down. Nobody was more warm or readier to give that advice, then the person, whose sense in the matter of Mr. Wood's coyne, Mr. C. told you he had so much desired, but could not have by his being at that time out of town. From that and some expressions he lately used, I apprehend he may have entertained very vain expectations; and if

Middletown
Papers.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} my conjecture be in any measure right, those probably must proceed from some words which may have been artfully let fall by a certain person on your side of the water to him to bring him into measures, which the speaker of them never had the least thought of making good. My last letter told you, that possibly I might desire the trouble of you to deliver a memorial directly to his majesty; but on considering that matter again, I thought it not advisable to proceed that way, which would put me under great difficulties as to the manner of doing it. To have applied to his majesty in blunt terms to have leave to lay down the seal, without assigning any reason why I made that request, would naturally imply a disinclination to serve the king, of which I am sure I am not capable: if I resorted to the common motives for making such applications, indisposition of body and my advanced age, this would have given some countenance to the revilings and lyes of Shimei, as if I acknowledged myself incapable to serve the king in that office; whereas the truth is, that I have health of body and strength enough to give me reason to believe, I shall be able to discharge my duty on the woollack this session, as well as I ever did in any former. To have told the truth, which is, that tho' I am sensible of as much ability of body and mind to goe through with the business of parliament and the duty of chancellor, as I ever have been since I came into that place; but I did think myself to have been soe ill treated, that I did not look on myself in any sort obliged to run the risk of a fit of sickness after the session, occasioned by the fatigue of the session. This would or might put me upon explaining myself, whether I meant from — or the ministry, or any others, and whom in particular; and I doe not think it prudent to be in danger of making such explanations as I must make, if I tell plainly what I resent (and I think very justly).

These reasons and the advice of my friends, made me content myself with desiring my lord lieutenant to send no more in his letter, then that I attended him on Wednesday, and desired him to lay before his majesty my humble request, that I might have leave to surrender the seal; and instead of a letter drawn by the secretary, founded upon such explanations as I had made about my ill treatment at the time I waited on him, and which I then intended to mention in my memorial to the king, and told him soe the night when I first waited on him. The letter drawn by the secretary shewed me the difficulties I should lye under, in such a manner, that I could never agree it should be sent as prepared.

To say truth, I am far from thinking Mr. Tickel (who drew it) to have intended any unkindness to me in the draught (which mentioned ill treatment I had received *in England lately*) and that I found myself through want of health, and my great age, incapable *to discharge the duty of my office*. I never did, or can yet with truth say so: but my real resolution is, that I will not wear myself farther out, or run the hazard of sickness by the pains I shall take on the woofsack, during the session, after the usage I have met with; and when I know what I shall meet, when the purpose of those, by whose permission I yet continue in my employment, is effected by my assistance. But I believe the letter was directed to be drawn by my lord lieutenant in such a manner, that I might see how my resentment would look, as put into writing by Tickel, and I think he took this to be as good a method to dissuade me from using expressions of resentment, as persisting in giving me his express opinion to the contrary, which he fairly and strongly did. But I must be just to him in letting you know, that he sent Tickel's draught to me by Mr. Clutterbuck, who left it with me to correct, and alter, and amend as I thought proper. Since it was to contain my sense, he desired me to express it in my own words; and on the best considerations of some of my most faithful and judicious friends, they and I thought it would be sufficiently understood by the world upon what motives I resigned, without expressing them, so I went to the castle, and desired the letter might go in general terms, and so it is sent.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

His lordship, I told you, was greatly shocked at the resolution I had taken; thought I gratified my enemies in it, and should leave him under great difficulties to hold a parliament with a new chancellor, who might prove a person not to be confided in, nor perhaps able to give him much assistance.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Alteration of measures since his resignation.—Hopes of government that no mention of the patent will be made in parliament.—His opinion, and conduct of lord Carteret on the business.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, July 4, 1725.

FROM the repeated assurances you have given me lately, that our little correspondence is thought worth prying into, I chuse to send this letter by major Renouard, who tells me, he will without fail deliver it into Allye's hand; and when it once gets safe there, I make no difficulty of her being able to

Middletown
Papers.

Period III. convey it to you unexamined on your side of the water. We are now here
 1720 to 1727.
 1725. upon a new scheme of politicks, which is not to be much wondred at, considering the late alteration at the castle, by my laying down, and another's succeeding me. In consequence of which, you may be sure I am trusted in the same maner as undeserving, disgraced, or disobliged people alway are at court. I have all along acquainted you with every step I took to discourage my lord Carterett from entertaining hopes of having a quiet and easy session here, unless the parliament were satisfied as to the matter of Wood's patent, for so I rather chuse to call it, then Wood's halfpence, which I believe every body's teeth can not obtain a currency here, by reason of the resolution of those formerly in authority, and the constancy of the people in their determination not to take them voluntarily; and that his majesty's goodness and wisdom will not admit of his using any compulsory means to make them pass. No man can entertain a thought or apprehension that his majesty will do any thing inconsistent with the repeated declarations he hath made on this head.

But in my opinion, the tranquillity and easiness that the people hath shew lately upon this matter, proceeds not from their being told, that the king will not do any thing to oblige the taking that coyne, nor from the sense they have that nothing but compulsion will give it a diffused currency in the kingdom for his majesty's patent and declaration in council, were as strong against using any compulsion to enforce that coyne on the nation, as any thing which hath hapened since his excellency's landing, and the minds of the people were as well known to be very averse to receiving it voluntarily: nay, so averse were they, that Mr. Wood and his friends were pleased to argue, that the people were on this score become disaffected to his majesty's government. But in my opinion, the seeming easiness men shew of late, by not talking at all about them, arises from an apprehension that some publick act will be done, or declaration made at the opening of the parliament, which may render it unnecessary to undeceive his majesty and the council in England in a very material point, viz. whether there was such a want of copper coyne as was suggested to his majesty to be in this kingdom, without which suggestion, they could not have been a pretence for asking, or a ground for granting Mr. Wood those powers of coining, which he hath by his patent. Mr. Wood, indeed, was ready with his witnesses, to swear there was a want of such coyne, and had the good fortune to obtain credit in that matter, for want of witnesses prove the contrary; for the sense of both houses of parliament, and of the cou

cel board were not of sufficient weight to the contrary; upon this principle (if I do not mistake) that in matter of property, as Wood's patent is, the votes of either, or both houses, or address of the council board are not legal evidence, much less conclusive.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

But I doubt the parliament may be inclined to lay the truth of that fact in another light than it seems to me to stand at present on your side of the water; and perhaps they may fancy, that when a thing is of so national consequence, as knowing whether there be occasion for 14 tons of copper to be coyned into small money, to be current for above 100,000*l.* this matter might have deserved the consideration of the representatives of the kingdom, or at least to have been referred to the government and council of it, and not to be finally determined at the treasury upon the testimony of persons, who might be either concerned in interest, that Wood might obtain a patent to coyne, or be procured by him and his friends. But my lord lieutenant seems to me, not to expect he shall receive any orders to mention either the patent or proceedings had either in England or here on that head at the opening of the parliament; and consequently that he shall not in his speech take any notice of that affair at all: and he also seems to believe other people will be perfectly silent on that point too, and proceed in granting supplies, and other business of parliament (if there shall be any other) just as if there never had been such a man as Wood in the world, or as if no patent had been granted, or proceedings either in England or Ireland relating thereto.

If these be his real sentiments, I freely own to you, that I think he will be greatly mistaken. But I will now tell you my judgement on his conduct in this whole affair. I am well satisfied that his own private judgement is, that the patent obtained in the manner this hath been obtained, and when the kingdom did not want (in reality) such a quantity of small coyne as Wood, by his patent, is authorized to coyne, and without enquiring into the truth of that matter on this side of the water; I say that his opinion, I believe is, that the patent is legal (such a notion he seems to me to have of the king's prerogative) and that the king, by the law, is the judge of the convenience to the kingdom in granting power to coyne such quantity of base money, as he shall think proper; and that he is empowered to give currency to a piece of copper for an halfpenny, which is not of such intrinsic value; allowing the necessary expenses of coynage and other reasonable allowances. This I think to be his notion, but his good sense must tell him, that such a concession puts the subject
very

Period III. 1720 to 1727.
 1725. very much in the power of the prince, if he be the sole judge of the quantity of copper to be coyned, and of what intrinsick value the piece to be coyned is to be of in proportion to the rate it is to goe att. But I have no reason to say, he thinks the king hath a right to inforce such base money to be received as current money by his subjects; by which, added to the belief every body ought to have, that the crowne will not use its prerogative to the detriment of the subject, I apprehend, he thinks the subject to be sufficiently guarded against any great and grievous inconvenience from an excessive quantity of base coyne. 1. Because we should not think so ill of the crown, as to believe it will for any private inducement, doe any thing which may be prejudicial to the nation in general. 2. That there being no necessity laid on the subject to receive this base money, they will be sure to refuse it, when there is a superfluity of it; and then there will be an end of coyning, when the trash cannot be uttered or received as money.

But it is now time for me to proceed to unfold to you what I mean by our new scheme of politicks. You may remember the matter of Mr. Hackett's letter to me: and to speak plain English, I am of opinion, every thing is now kept perfectly a secret from my knowledge, which is really intended; for since I have from the beginning told lord C. that I always was, and alway must be against Wood's patent, in the whole and in every part, and never could be prevailed upon, either by the most artful and insinuating letters from England, or the great caresses used toward me upon his arrival to come into this darling affair (in which I do not find, but that his excellency went as great lengths in the committee of counsel as any body) and since the more cavalier methods taken by him soon after his landing to carry his point, had no more effect on me than his douceurs, I plainly discovered in him a coldness toward me; he alway treated me with great civility, and as far as good words went, expressed himself to have a particular kindness for me. I should be glad to be able to give one instance of his favour, unlesse his constantly advising with me in the most ticklish and dangerous affairs to advise in, may be looked on as instances. From time to time I shewed him such parts of your letters as informed me of the manner I was treated in at a certain place, and told him I understood very well the meaning of those who sett the chace on foot, viz. that they who could not assign a ground for removing me, might put me on doing that from resentment, which they wished to be done, but were unwilling to doe professedly. He could not but know from my telling him what I
 heard

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

heard (to all which he alway professed he was wholly a stranger) that I intended to lay down that which only made me capable of being insulted in the manner I had been, and I told him that I certainly would quit, if it continued, without desiring him to interpose, that I might have fairer quarter.

Perhaps he did not think I was of so much mettle to doe what he afterwards found I dared and resolved to doe; or to speak my mind clearly; he refined thus. This man will never come into my schemes, but lord chief baron Hale will; let them proceed to worry M—— and let him be angry and throw up, and then I shall have opportunitye of bringing Mr. Hale into his place to have a chancellor as obsequious, as his predecesser hath been untractable. And I must needs say, that upon the best consideration of things which I have been able to give them, my thoughts are, that for some time it hath been wrote by lord C. that its not to be expected things will doe in parliament here, without giving the people satisfaction in the matter of Wood's patent, and I *believe* he hath set that out soe strongly as to convince the ministry. I am also apt to believe, that to bring them into the king's giving him instructions or power to give the parliament satisfaction in that particular, he may have given hopes, nay assurances of being able on those terms to obtain great supplies, and indeed, of not being disappointed in any thing that is not very unreasonable in point of money, if men's minds can be made easy about the patent. But I am of opinion, that he hath desired to be left at liberty, not to mention it in his speech, out of hopes that nobody will mention the patent in parliament; but if it be stirred, and the parliament shew a spirit, that he may then have the patent in his power to qualifie their heats, and by this means he will come at the knowledge of the bold men who shall venture to appear in the service of their countrey, and not worship Baal, upon whom I have reason to believe, as great marks of resentment will be shewn, as men deserve, who having employments, doe not act as they are bid.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Apprehensions of government lest the affair of Wood's patent should be brought into parliament by his means—and hopes that by his assistance things may remain quiet.—Tautology of the measures proposed.—Suspicious that lord Carteret is thwarted by the English ministry.—Necessity of satisfying the people by annulling the patent.

DEAR

Wood's
Patent

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Period III.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, July 17, 1725:

1720 to 1727.

1725.

Midleton
Papers.

I Continue still (as my wife once called me humorously enough) vice chancellor to Mr. West, who is not yet landed, nor possibly may in two or three dayes, if his being unwilling to ride over the mountains of Wales, or any other consideration hath determined him to come directly from Chester water, and not ride to Holyhead: the wind is now at West and may continue longer soe than he is aware of; but the captain of the yatcht will be able to tyde it down to the head, and when he gets soe far, will be able to make his passage thence at least, as well as any of the packet boats. Before you receive this, I hope M. R. will have delivered into your hands a long letter of three sheets, which I at first intended to have sent to you under Allye's cover, but altered my measures, because it would then have gone first to Peperhara before you received it. I shal be very uneasy till I have your answer to each part of it, as well publick as private. Tho' I have not received a line from you since your's of the second instant, yet I am sensible you have had one from me, because my lord C. takes notice of mine to him which went under your cover. In it, he speaks to this effect, that he hopes I will continue to make use of my interest to keep things quiet here. This caution of his to me, certainly arises from his having been told from this side, that such methods have been taken, to prevent the matter of Wood's patent being brought upon the stage in our approaching parliament, as will attain the end, if I doe not appear in the matter, and concert measures about it, and sett it on foot.

As for my part in the affair, I am kept entirely a stranger to what is intended, if any thing has been determined: nay I am told my lord hath not yet any orders in that particular, but he stil seems to hope that matter (*with my assistance*) will rest, and that the session will goe on very smooth without mentioning or thinking of the copper money. I have alway told him he would find his mistake too late, and that unlesse men's minds were made easy in that particular, it would certainly be taken up by somebody; and when it should be soe, that it would not be in the power nor inclination of his sincere friends to stop things from going farther then would have satisfied men's minds at the opening of the session. To fancy telling the houses from the throne, that the king will not doe any thing to inforce a currensey of that coyne, is no more then the patent speaks, and is contained in the report of the committee of council and the king's order of council thereupon. This I think will be soe far from preventing the parliament entring into the consideration

of

of that matter, that it seems to me to furnish an handle to those who have a mind to bring the affair on the carpett. And I confesse my thoughts to be, that there will appear more gentlemen in the matter then seems to be expected.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

I am very doubtful that encouragement is given from your side to the people confided in here to create my lord C. all the difficulties possible in the session, and if a story be true, which I lately heard from noe ill hand, he will find not only little assistance, but hearty opposition from a quarter whence it seems to be little apprehended. Now methinks you might, as you are going toward Peperhara, call on a gentleman* who lives a very little out of the road, and tell him that which I have often endeavoured to persuade his friend to be the truth of the case, that (unlesse it be resolved in England) that we shal speak our minds freely in what maner the nation hath been treated in the matter of Mr. Wood from the beginning to the end in the plainest maner, as well as in procuring and passing the patent, as how the parliament, privy counsel, and nation have been used, &c. I say, if this be not the wish of people, some step should be made to quiet men's minds, that neither this patent nor any obtained for the private benefit of any body without the application of the kingdome, or soe much as acquainting the government and council of this kingdome, that it was suggested that there was a want of copper money, or directing the truth of that fact to be inquired into, in Ireland; shal be used or put in practice. But if the long step taken at the T—— in granting the patent upon such information as preceded the obtaining this, must in all events be supported, and made a point of prerogative, I cannot but think the parliament will look on their property to be touched too nearly by such a position as justifies the manner of obtaining and granting this patent, not to doe their best to prevent their falling into misfortunes, which they believe will follow from this point being once insisted on in the manner it hath been (in my opinion) unlesse it be receded from. I know how difficult a thing it is, to bring great people to doe all that will be wished on this occasion: but I now write while there is time to doe what may prevent warmth in our approaching session; and I confesse I do not see that any thing lesse then what I have hinted at, can attain that desirable end.

* Sir Peter
King.

This, this, is the way and the only one I can think of having things proceed smoothly in parliament: till we were blessed with a bank and a copper patent, every thing proceeded quietly here: the people gave what was demanded to support the establishment, nay ex abundanti encreased their own expence by an

Period III. addition to the pay of the troops. But when they found their money was going into private pockets (I mean the projectors of the bank and Mr. Wood and his partners) they could not digest those proceedings. Methinks you may better discourse this matter where it is proper, than that it should be done in a letter directly to the party; in which I should not be fond of speaking my thoughts so plainly as to the king's prerogative and the proceedings at a certain place where you were a witness of what passed, as I reasonably may when I write privately to one whose estate lies in this country, and to whom I have so near a relation as I have to you; in whom I entirely confide, that you will make no other use of what I write, than to consider whether what my thoughts on this subject are, may be of any service to the king and this poor country in the very difficulties we lie under. For it is certain, nothing can be so fatal to our happiness, as to lie or fall under the displeasure of the king, or the resentment of the ministry. Now unless something can be done to prevent the heats, which I think will unavoidably happen in our parliament, if it open without giving better satisfaction about Mr. Wood's coynage then (I fear) hath been yet given, I confess I have a very melancholy prospect of the success of the session.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Conjectures that lord Sunderland was the original author of Wood's patent, and thence accounts for the zeal with which lord Carteret promoted it.

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, August 15, 1725.) WHEN Wood's patent was heard of first, I cast about to find who was the person for whose benefit that worthy project was set on foot, and truly the first way my thoughts turned, was to consider, whether this might not spring out of a former patent, granted to alderman Knox, the interest of which came to the late earl of Arran; and I did fancy this might have taken its rise from that root, especially when I considered the relation there is between those who are descended from lord Arran's heiress, and some persons in very considerable power at the time of the passing that patent. Under this mistake, I continued, till a friend* of yours, who is now on the continent, gave me an account from the court† where he was at that time, that a certain person‡, to whom I recommended him, and who allowed him familiar access, seemed to espouse the patent in a warmer manner than I did believe he would have done, as a matter which was undoubtedly the king's pre-

* Alan Brodrick.

† Hanover.

‡ Lord Carteret, probably.

prerogative, &c. I then began to suspect that my first conjecture was wrong, and that any person representing lord Arran or their friends had the projecting or bringing the scheme to the perfection it came afterward. And I doe confesse, that the judgement given by Solomon about the true mother of the child (which was grounded upon the real concern which appeared in one of the contending parties, to prevent the death of the child) hath influenced me a good deal in my opinion, that the friends of those who seem not to have half so much concern for the event of this affair, as another person seems to me to have shewn for several months past, are not so much at the bottom of it, as I once believed, and that this was the offspring of one (who is now in his grave) and for that reason, as well as to keep well with those who are to gett by it, hath been strenuously supported by his surviving friend. Of the truth of his endeavours to support it, I need no proofs, but am to seek for a reason for a wise man's doing it; so far as I think this hath been carried, unless there were some very strong reason to induce him to doe all in his power to endeavour it. This is most certain, that Mr. W——* disclaimed, and doth disclaim having any hand in it, or other notice of it while it was in agitation, then such as he necessarily must have by his office, and I have it from a good hand, that he declares he all along was in his judgement, and declared himself against the thing as very unreasonable in itself.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

* Walpole.

What I have already wrote, I intend as a foundation for my following conjecture, that all methods have been hitherto taken, and I believe will be used to have the fall as easy as possible; and perhaps the security of this poor country from any ill consequences which it may fall under by means of this patent, or from such a precedent, may be thought of less concern to be remedied, than the covering what hath passed in the manner of obtaining this grant. This consideration may lead you into conjectures, what is advised from the friends of the patent here, by which I think those on your side of the water will a good deal be guided in their measures to quiet this affair. How far such endeavours to cover, &c. will attain the end aimed at, which is said to be to quiet the minds of the people by giving them reasonable satisfaction, &c. I doe not know, but of this I am certain, that a friend of your's seemed to me to be in great warmth, when I discoursed with him last on this subject, and seemed to think the actual surrender of the patent would be insisted on; I say, I observed a great deal of heat and dissatisfaction as far as I could judge, by the manner in which he deputed himself, and some expressions which

Period III. dropt. You will take your own measures as to your resolution contained in
 1720 to 1727. your's of the 3d (which is the latest I have received from you) and will con-
 sider, when you know from your friend in London, what will be done, whether
 1725. that will in your opinion be safe, and to the satisfaction of rational men, who
 really have the good of their country, and not their own private interests in
 view, and take your measures accordingly. But the time is coming on very
 fast, and what will be done, will be (I think) at the very beginning of the ses-
 sion, when not one man of the standing troops will venture to be absent (on
 pain which may ensue) and a vote then will determine the fate of this affair,
 and I think of our countrey too in consequence.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Declares that nothing less than an actual surrender of the patent will avail.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, August 19, 1725.

Middleton
Papers.

BY a letter which I received lately from the person at Chester, under whose
 cover I have sent my letters to you at Bath lately, I have reason to be-
 lieve that most of mine are come to your hand, which went that way, because
 my correspondent owns the receipt of them, and assures me, they from time to
 time were forwarded by the cross post. I have given you the best and ear-
 liest accounts from hence, that I can learn; for you may be sure I am kept
 entirely in the dark as far as possible; and yet there is not a movement they
 make, or any scheme undertaken by them, but comes some way or other to my
 knowledge.

I have already told you, that Mr. C—— came to me on the day I took
 physick, and by that means could not attend at the castle according to ap-
 pointment, altho' I promised to doe soe, and that the main of his businesse was
 to take my opinion, whether nothing would doe but giving up the patent; and
 the answer I made, that in November last, I had, with the privity of my lord
 lieutenant, discoursed several gentlemen to know their mind and resolution in
 that particular, who had all unanimously declared their sense to be, that no-
 thing but an actual surrender and giving up of the patent could prevent that
 affair being mentioned in parliament; which was also my opinion at that time,
 and that I knew not that any one of them had altered his thoughts since, and
 believed they had not, nor had I altered mine. Prodigious industry hath
 been used to soften this affair, as to the maner, and I must tell you, that the
 person

person to whom your last letter seems to impute your not closing with Dr. Hackett for the purchase of a certain farm, wrote to me lately to this purpose, that for his part he thought a declaration from a certain place, that we should never be troubled with the halfpence, would be satisfactory to him; but that he was white paper, and if convinced that was not sufficient, should be guided by his friends; but said, he supposed it was not intended nor expected he should take the lead.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

If you turn to my letters, you will find one dated in November, which contains an account of a conversation between half a dozen gentlemen of figure, who dined at my house with the privy of my lord lieutenant, that I might know what their sense was as to the manner of putting people's minds at ease about Wood's patent; and you will there find, that not one of them thought of any thing less than an actual surrender and giving up the patent. Upon this point, I all along insisted, and was accordingly treated; the same letter will also tell you the names of gentlemen who agreed in that opinion, no one dissenting. I believe the English air really hath effect on most of our countrymen, who goe over; and I do assure you, it hath had very great influence on several, particularly on your tenant, and the gentleman of whom I gave you caution, under the character of a person very ambitious; of which he gave you a sample in his discourse, whether the matter of the halfpence should be entred upon before other business.

My last letter to you by the cross post, of which the whole superscription is in my own hand (whereas in others I leave it to Mrs. Kenna to superscribe) tells you how active — is to ward against an actual surrender being declared from the throne, or being made, if I understand him right. But I fancy that point will be got over; but am sure it will be with the utmost reluctance and regret. But I now hear we are to have the old way of accounts being laid before the parliament, which was condemned in the session in 1703; for which we sent sir William Robinson to the castle, and voted him incapable of any public employment, revived. His fault consisted in this; in striking a ballance, by which the debt of the nation appeared to be one hundred and three thousand and odd pounds more than it would have been, if credit had been given for cash in collector's hands, and for several solvent branches of the revenue, that were not then collected. I should be sorry any thing of this kind should be revived now, or endeavoured to be brought again into practice, because I think the attempt will not succeed, and a disappointment will

not

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1725. not be at all for my lord lieutenant's honour; or if it should succeed, I think it will be extremely hurtful to the kingdom. I hear a certain person approves the thing extremely, and that the officers who are to prepare the papers to be laid before the parliament, have directions to draw the demand at full, without giving the nation credit for some things, which I doubt the parliament will think ought to have been brought to credit. This is an odd passage, but I verily think there is something in it, and sure you had some hint of it, when you say in a late letter, that if you find schemes are framing to bring us into such a debt as must ruine the nation, you will come over to give your assistance to prevent it. For God's sake (without the losse of *one* post) write to London for a copy of Wood's last petition, which was referred to the committee of council, and upon which they made the report, which was the foundation of the order about the commissioners of the revenue recalling their orders, and the lords justices publishing the king would not inforce that coyne; for much depends on it.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Surrender of the patent communicated to the council.—Proceedings and joy thereupon.—Difficulties to be apprehended about the manner of addressing the king.—Is inclined to promote the supplies.

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, Aug. 27, 1725.) YESTERDAY morning my lord lieutenant's private secretary monsieur Balaquier came to my house to acquaint me Mr. Edgumbe was landed, and had brought dispatches concerning a matter of consequence; and that my lord intended to impart the news first to me; to which end he was ordered to call on me, and tell me his excellency desired to see me at the castle as soon as I could this evening. Before he came I had received my friend's letter of the 14th inclosed in your's of the sixteenth from the Bath. But by the by, whoever recommended that messenger, would hardly have thought him a proper person, if he had been privy to the import of your letter; for that gentleman withdrew from Ireland to avoid being examined as to his knowledge how far a certain great man knew of, or was concerned in the procuring or supporting that patent: I mean he who said, that lord M. was at length turned out. If opportunity offers, you or any friend of mine may say his favorite patent is brought to an end, notwithstanding all the methods taken to reconcile people to it.

The matter was imparted to me at the castle under the greatest confidence, as not having been communicated to any body before; but I could not conceal its being no news to me, who had an account from another hand; and I can no more conceal from you, that I mett the speaker coming out of the castle just as I came into the yard, but possibly it was not told him. My lord imparted the thing to the council, which was said (by the summons) to be called on extraordinary business. Every body, you may be sure, was extremely delighted with the news, and they seemed to me to shew most joy, who had hitherto never given that project any avowed opposition. But the speaker's zeal carried him so far, as to use this over rhetorical expression, that he believed God Almighty inspired *the ministry*, who advised his majesty to the measures he had taken to have the patent surrendered; and, as I understood, he said, he rose to congratulate or give thanks in the name of *all the people* (the last words he actually used) and should propose an address of thanks to his majesty, if he were not sensible that would more properly be moved elsewhere, and I think, ventured to undertake for one, if not both houses of parliament, that the thing would be done. Which put me in mind of a passage in one of Shakespeare's plays, where Owen Glendower (a proud Welchman) in a rant said, that at his birth the skies were all on fire, to which Harry Percy answered with just contempt, that so they would have been, if his mother's cat had kitten'd at that time.

My lord lieutenant, you may be sure, represented the thing in the strongest terms as a great condescension, and an act of great goodness in his majesty; and this I think might reasonably be expected to be his style, but the archbishop gave it the term of a piece of justice done by his majesty to this kingdom. I confess that I apprehend the truth lies (as it often doth between disputants) in the middle, and that neither of them was in the right (to speak the real truth) if they confined their thoughts to the narrowness of the expressions by them used. For my part, I do think the easing the kingdom of that patent, was an act which the king owed in justice, and which they might with modesty hope from his majesty's tender regard for, and affection to them. But I do not think that the king was in any way obliged in justice to take those methods, which brought Wood of his own accord, without a judgment against the patent, to surrender and give it up. And this certainly was a condescension in his majesty, and a great act of his goodness, and a strong instance of that gracious disposition towards this kingdom, which ought to
remove

Period III. remove all fears of his entertaining any other thoughts of us, then as of a very
 1720 to 1727. loyal part of his dominions, to say noe more.

1725.

My lord lieutenant told me yesterday, he resolv'd not to make the speech on the 7th of September, but that the houses shall meet then, and the commons issue writs for new members, and the new peers and bishops be introduced; and that then the houses should adjourn for a week or ten dayes, that the kingdome might, previous to the meeting of the parliament, be acquainted with the patent being laid aside. I foresee some difficultye, that I doubt will arise about the maner of addresssing. Every body will with great duty and gratitude own his majesty's goodness in what hath been now done; but how that will be done soe as not to give offence by mentioning the redress to have arisen upon the addressees of the houses, complaining of the patent (which perhaps will not be liked) or else by making the thing a meer act of grace and favour, to which this strong objection may be opposed, that the parliament hath, by their severall addressees, mentioned this patent (in the maner it was obtained) to have been unprecedented, and very prejudicial to the kingdome; to which his majesty hath answered, that the patent he granted to William Wood, was what his ancestors had from time to time done, &c. These are not his words; but by my sense, he by his answer claims it to be his right to grant a patent in the same maner, and upon the same information he granted this; and truly he hath been told all was right, that the kingdome wanted small money, and that his majesty had not been misinformed, &c.; but I confesse these are not the words of a certain report, but I take it to be the sense of it. If then we own the procuring the patent to be surrendred to be an act of grace and favour; is not that an allowance, that in justice it might have been insisted upon as duly obtained and granted? and if that be soe will it not be in the power of the crown at any time hereafter to doe the same thing? though I am perswaded, since this experiment hath hitherto had so ill successe, and met soe strong opposition, I doe apprehend, the boldest minister will not think it advisable soon to steer the same course.

But there seems to me an appearance that people may differ as to the merit of the thing. Some will believe they doe all that can be reasonably expected from them, if they forgett what is past (and that hath been a great deal) and proceed to business, and give such supplies as they should have judged reasonable, if the day of passing Wood's patent had been (as Job wished the day of his birth had been) not joined to the dayes of the year. But if I apprehend

prehend things right, it is hoped and perhaps expected, that in the joy of our hearts for this *great condescension*, we shall supply very liberally, and perhaps be lesse strict in scanning and looking into money matters. But the archbishop put the thing in this light the other day; a man (saith he) throws me into a mill pond, and then pulls me out of it, all over wett: hath he done me a favour, taking the matter altogether? I own, if we can steer clear of the difficultyes arising from the maner of addresssing, I shal be inclined to wink at any *tolerable exceeding* in the supply, without enquiring with eagle's eyes, what is to be done or hath been done with the money. If I should suspect that it went a certain way, I shall consider whether in prudence we are obliged to be too inquisitive, and to put this difficultye on gentlemen who wish well to their countrey, to make them alway obnoxious, and give others opportunity of confirming the great men in England, that they (and they only) now (as formerly) support the king's interests. If you think I am wrong in this, you must not judge by the rules men are to take, who expect to live in this world with any quiet; but I cannot say, that I think the thing strictly right. Farewell. I assure you, I am glad the thing is so well over. Pray God so unreasonable a supply be not pushed for, as may divide us more then we have yet been.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Confers with lord Carteret about wording the address of thanks.—Is determined to act with moderation and respect to the king.

(Dublin, September 16, 1725.) I Had executed my promise to you in part, before I received your last, by declaring I would with the greatest softness and duty to his majesty, acknowledge his goodness in easing us from the apprehensions and fears we lay under from Wood's patent, by his majesty's interposing soe far as to have the patent resigned and surrendered. But at the same time, I insisted on it, that we should say it was done upon the humble representation laid before his majesty by the parliament. The person with whom I discoursed seemed much to dislike the later words, but was for our saying, that the *royal* condescension and goodness of the king in procuring the patent to be surrendered, filled the hearts of his subjects with a deep sense, &c. and that the actual surrender, &c. had given us entire satisfaction.

Mildeton
Papers.

Period III. *sons.* He found (in a while after the grand jury had refused to present the letter, and after he saw in what maner the discharging the grand jury was re-
 1720 to 1727.
 1725. sented) that the temper of the whole people was averſe to Wood's coyne, and that it was not a faction or party only raiſed againſt it, that there was a neceſſity to doe ſomething to pacifye people's minds; but ſaw the method preſcribed to the juſtices (to publiſh the reduction of the whole ſumme to 40,000*l.*) would be of no avail. His next thought was to order the judges of aſſize to aſſure the country in their circuits, and to ſatiſſy the people the halfpence would not be brought in among them: and this they did ſo far, that the countrey ſeemed eaſy and not to be under much concern on that account; but that proceeded from an opinion they had, that the patent would be called in or given up before the meeting of the parliament. Whereas it is very poſſible he expected the parliament might be brought together, and meet in ſuch a temper as (if the halfpence were not brought into the kingdome, nor the patent given up) it might remain in being, and all that had been done would have been paſſed over in ſilence. It is true, that — read part of a letter to me, which (as it was read) ſeemed to me to impart, that it was his opinion, the patent muſt be given up. But matters were ſo ordered between your ſide of the water and this, that we heard nothing of the reſolutions taken in England till Auguſt laſt, when the parliament was ſitting, and what paſſed then you well know. Then the giving up the patent, and his majeſtye's part in it, muſt be repreſented as matter of condeſcenſion and royal favor (againſt which I adviſed, apprehending it was meant as a ſhooing horn for attaining ſome things which could not with any good grace have been inſiſted on otherwiſe) and I much doubt, ſome hopes if not aſſurances, have been given by — that ſomething very ſatiſſactory to the perſons who had obtained that boon ſhould be found out. This, I fear, is at the bottom; and if it be, the diſappointment will be as far fatal as the looſing the ſupport of the perſons who expect, can be ſoe. Adieu.

The ſucceſſe at the beginning of the ſeſſion in carrying the words royal favour and condeſcenſion, in the addreſſe to his majeſtye, and of ſupplying the deficiencies in that to my lord lieutenant, gave, I believe, ſuch hopes, that it was believed nothing could be propoſed that would not be carried; but men ſhould diſtinguiſh between general expreſſions of compliment in addreſſes, and votes for taxing the nation: men weigh the later more before they come into them then they doe the former.

I will not conclude this without telling you, that a gentleman of my acquaintance,

quaintance, who hath a friend very conversant at the castle, tells me his friend informed him that the common topick of discourse at the castle is the obligations lord —* hath laid on lord M—— and that all these disappointments are owing to the later. I asked him whether lord M. was taxed with having promised any thing, which he did not perform, he said not. I have often heard M. say he owed great obligations to lord C. and I am sure he never did nor ever will disown them: but I have reason to believe he never could think it just, honourable, or handsome, to pay a personal debt of gratitude, by acting in a publick trust contrary to that which in his judgement, was expected from him by, and was due to the publick. But lord M. thinks it is not prudent to tax him in this manner, as if he were the cause of all that is taken amiss. Surely if the things expected were in themselves reasonable, the management of affairs is in soe able hands, that they would have been made appear to be soe; and if that had been done, what interest of any particular person could in a reasonable thing prevail against right, when all honest men, all the ministry, and dependants and expectants of all sorts, are taken into the number? What arguments could one private man use to these persons to overballance those on the other side? But from the time I declared myself in November 1724, to be against giving any advice, till the patent was surrendered, I have not observed that I ever was so happy, to be able to propose or advise any one thing which was thought fit to be followed. Farewell.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

* Carteret.

Intended dedication of the Drapier's letters.—Endorsed in lord Middleton's hand-writing —“ *This paper was left at my house in my absence on 20 Sept. and brought to me by one of my servants while I was at dinner in the presence of my son, Mr. Wall, and Mr. Slatery. I ordered the servant to tell the man who left it, that I would not by any means consent to the dedication of the Drapiers to me, and if done, would complain of the printer.*”

TO THE RIGHT HON. ALAN, LORD VISCOUNT MIDLETON.

MY LORD,

YOU have so signally interested your self in asserting the dying liberty of your country, that to offer the following papers to any other, would be the greatest injustice I could possibly be guilty of to your lordship's character, which must attend the fame of the greatest sovereigns that have adorn'd the British

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. British throne through the memoirs of futurity. But among all the great
 1720 to 1727. actions of your lordship's life, your late conduct in the affair of the copper-
 1725. halfpence justly demands the nation's thanks: and, in my humble opinion, the
 Drapier himself would have been intirely silent in that affair, had he not had
 so glorious an example as your lordship to follow, whose every action testifies
 to the world, that your greatest glory is being what the ancient Romans so ar-
 dently desir'd, a *pater patriæ*.

I humbly beg pardon for my presumption, and remain with all respect,
 My lord,

You lordship's most humble, and most obedient servant,

GEORGE FAULKNER.

1725.

LETTERS BETWEEN SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, LORD TOWN-
 SHEND, THE EARL OF ILAY, AND OTHERS, RELATING
 TO THE TUMULTS IN SCOTLAND.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD MIDLETON.

*Thomas Brodrick proposes to enforce the payment of the malt tax in Scotland.—
 Walpole at first opposes it, but finally accedes.*

MY LORD,

London, Feb. 8, 1723—4.

I Am to acknowledge the favour of three of your letters, of the 25th, 27th,
 and 30th of January. The two first came by Wednesday's post, but dining
 the next day with the duke of Roxburgh, and staying pretty late there, I could
 not answer them at that time. Before I enter into particulars, I think it
 necessary in general to tell you, that as the letter for constituting or naming
 lords justices, is not yet come, so you must not expect any other account of
 your affair, but that it still continues upon as good a foot as possible, nor can
 I yet see the least danger of its miscarrying. 'Tis very easy, however, to
 discern the different inclinations of some of our great men by their very dif-
 ferent behaviour to me. From one side, I meet with more civility and good-
 ness than I can well express, and I am persuaded, they are very sincere in their
 professions; other people talk always in general terms, but so as they would
 have

have me beleive, they are and always were very good freinds to our family, and that even at this time, they have not a thought *of doing the least injury to any one of them.* These are their own words; and as they will in a very short time have an opportunity of explaining themselves, so I shall defer giving my opinion of them till then. I could wish, however, that the business of the Scotch malt tax had not hapned, at least that my uncle had not appear'd so warmly in it, till your's were over. The case is this: ever since the end of the war, they have been charg'd with the same duty upon malt, 6*d.* per bushel, with England; but this being more then that commodity will bear, as they say, they have never paid one farthing to that tax, which you know is a very greivous one here, and consequently must imagine the English members were not well satisfied to see them escape without paying one farthing, where they pay 750,000*l.* per annum. My uncle, among others, has always roar'd at this, and mov'd yesterday to adjourn the committee of ways and means, where the malt tax was propos'd, till Monday, in order to think of some method to oblige Scotland to pay something to it. This was oppos'd by Mr. W——, but after some debate, he was oblig'd to give it up, and I beleive 'twill admit of a pretty long one a Monday, and if not carryed, there will be at least a pretty close division upon it. I own I don't see how insisting upon so just a thing can reasonably give any offence; but as 'tis a method with some people to tax those who either refuse to go into, or oppose their jobs, with obstructing the king's measures, so 'tis not impossible but this turn may be given my uncle's behaviour; and for that reason I prest him, and made use of all the little interest I have, to prevail with him not to take the lead in this affair, but to no purpose. I own I cannot enter into their reasons, tho' I submit entirely to their advice, who think the way to attain what every honest man wishes for, the humbling —, is to go thro' this session as quietly and with as little opposition as possible; and therefore I resolve not only not to enter into the debate on Monday, but to divide with those who are for keeping things upon the foot they now are, being convinced of this certain truth, that 'tis necessary sometimes to give up one's opinion in lesser matters, in order to attain those of greater consequence.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

*On the temper of the people of Glasgow.—Conclusion of the riot.—Combina-
tion of the brewers at Edinburgh.*

1725.

SIR,

Edinburgh, July 31, 1725.

Campbell
Papers.

* Wade.

† Forbes.

I Am very sensible that you have accounts from much better hands, of the situation of affairs in this country. But as they happen to be at present in my poor opinion, of that consequence, as to deserve the attention of the government, I hope my laying the present map of the country before you, will not be misconstrued. The present temper of the people of Glasgow, from whence all the ferment took its rise, is a very odd one. When the general* and my lord advocate† went thither to enquire into the authors of the barbarous riot there, they indeed found some people who condemned the mob; but they found a combination among the citizens to conceal the actors, and they found nobody in authority there, had been at the least pains to make discoveries. The honour of the government was concerned in punishing these magistrates publicly: I believe it was for that reason they were brought in here as prisoners, but the behaviour of the lords of justiciary, especially the lord justice Clerks, in relation to these gentlemen, has had the effect to render them yet more insolent than ever. When they came hither they were accompanied by a great number of their inhabitants, who, by their upbraiding of our people in this place, as betrayers of the interests of their country, whose submission to the law would have the effect of wreathing the unsupportable burden of the malt tax about their necks, so spirited the people, that in a few days after, we heard of a criminal combination entered into among our brewers, neither to give security for the duty of stock on hand, nor to brew one drop after the first of them was summoned to appear before the justices, in order to be decerned for that purpose.

Mr. Dundas is the spring, to which the success of their sowing sedition is owing. The gentlemen who accompanied the magistrates being mostly the tools he had employed to overturn the magistracy of Glasgow at the election, and they now served him as so many guards upon them, to prevent their being spoke to by any body, but such persons as would cherish them in their madness. The poor unhappy gentlemen themselves, while upon their way, were resolved to have thrown themselves upon the mercy of the government, and by a letter
which

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

which I saw, to their recorder here, commanded him to present an application to the lord advocate for that purpose; but Mr. Dundas waited to receive them at the gate of the prison, and soon prevail'd with them to committ themselves implicitly to him. Their success before the court of justiciary was triumphed in as a victory over the government. And to ridicule their coming out of Glasgow as prisoners, two of them, who went home next day after they were bailed, being met upon the road by a great number of inhabitants, they re-entered Glasgow in a chaise, amidst the acclamations of the croud, and with bells ringing, being preceeded by all the gray horse in the company, and followed by the black. I submit it to you, whether it may not be for the service of the government, and the quiet of the countrey, that these gentlemen be called up to London to answer for their conduct, and that very soon too, since they think themselves above being punished in this countrey, and I am affraid not unjustly, considering the present frenzy that prevails. It's very possible the doing this would have a very good effect on other towns.

It's true the provost and other three magistrats, who went home some days after, went in very privately, the practise of the other's having been disapproved of, even by their abettors here; but the people of that place are as seditious in their behaviour now as ever, and infuse sentiments wherever they have access, destructive of the quiet of the countrey. They have but too well succeeded here, for Mr. Dundas and they have wrought up our people to a belief, that submission to the law is the ready way to cutt themselves short of their relief from a tax, which, in their present situation, their trade can not bear; and has rivetted them, I am affraid, in a resolution neither to give security for the duty, nor to brew, if they are judicially called upon for payment.

These poor men, however criminal their combination is, are very much to be pitied; their advisors are more guilty then they: my lord advocate thought so, and therefore, while general Wade was bringing troops together to preserve the peace of the place, if any thing should fall out, he left no means un-essay'd, that the witt of man could suggest to bring them out of their delusion; but all was in vain, they had given themselves up to Mr. Dundas, body and soul. He from time to time gave them assurances, they were safe in keeping to their resolutions, *and so strong is the enchantment with which he holds them, that it is impossible to perswade them they are in any sort of danger, or that they are making it impracticable for their friends to help them.*

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1720 to 1727.
1725.

On Thursday last, the lords of the session published an act of sederunt, commanding the brewers to appear next day before them, to give security to continue brewing; a copy of which I enclose; and as they all concurred in voting this act, save the justice clerk and lord Tweedale, every body imagined it would have had the effect to bring the brewers to their senses. But Mr. Dundas having mett with them that evening, spirited them up a afresh, and instead of giving security, prevail'd with them to sign a petition, which he drew for them. This petition, the lords appointed to be burned yesterday, by the hand of the common hangman, as a false, a scandalous, and a seditious paper; yet none of the brewers have submitted, save one gentleman, who is a present magistrate of Edingburgh, who upon that account meets with the treatment naturally to be expected from the present temper of the people. Till Thursday last, I did not observe the Jacobites take any part in encreasing the flame, but since that, they have shown themselves industriously of his side of the question. General Wade has show'd a very great and prudent concern for the peace of this place. It is to this in a great measure it is owing, that hitherto we have had no tumults. But I never knew this country at any time so much disposed to be mad. The magistrats and council of this city, continue in a very good temper. We are upon our guard as much as we can be, but while this firebrand continues among us, it's hard to say, we will alwise be so. I enclose a copy of the lords their order to us for burning the petition, which was faithfully executed.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Troubles in Scotland not suppressed.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Extract.

Copy.

(London, July 29—August 9, 1725). ALTHO' the affairs of Scotland are now the chief object of men's thoughts and conversations, I have not as yet troubled your lordship with my thoughts on that subject, 'til I am able to form a better judgment about them, and to give my humble opinion to his majesty upon mature deliberation, and shall only say at present, that I am far from thinking that the troubles there are over. On the contrary, I greatly apprehend it will come to be a serious matter, and prove as difficult a task as any thing that has happened since his majesty's accession.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Hints at the necessity of removing the duke of Roxburgh, and abolishing the office of secretary of state for Scotland.

Tumults in
Scotland.
1725.

(London, August 13—24, 1725.) AS I write by the post, I must not be too particular, but I thought it proper to acquaint you, that since my long letter to you, baron Lant is arrived from Scotland; and in discoursing with him upon the state of affairs there, and the proper remedies for this great confusion, he told me very frankly and very explicitly, that nothing could conquer the present disorder, but the measure that I presumed humbly to advise, naming the person and thing; and I do assure you, I did not drop one word that should lead him to such an opinion, nor let him suspect that I had such a thought. But he says this whole affair in Scotland is understood, by every mortal in the manner that we look upon it here, and that even the most cautious and discreet are amazed that it is not done, and that the whole contest is for nothing else. He explains himself for a total abolition of the office. What makes me think this intelligence of more weight than ordinary is, that your lordship knows baron Lant's character and attachment cannot render him suspected as partial at all to my way of thinking.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Extra.
Copy.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

On the tumults of Scotland.—Is of opinion that the brewers should be permitted to raise the price of their beer.

MY DEAR LORD,

Chelsea, August 14, 1725.

I Send you inclosed, a copy of lord Townshend's last letter to the duke of Newcastle, that your lordship may be fully informed of the sentiments at Hanover, of what is doing where you are. The severall things suggested are little new, and almost agreeable to the measures that had been thought on here, and which were laid aside for good reasons. However your lordship will give them a due consideration, that if any thing can be struck out, that is practicable, we may have your lordship's opinion, upon which the necessary orders shall be sent down. Equivalent Campbell's proposal of carrying on the brewing trade, if the magistrates of Edingburgh dare suffer it to be tried, and can be made effectual, would do the business, and if either that or any thing else that can be thought on which wants nothing but a fund of credit, will do the business,

Campbell
Papers.

Period III. *busineſſe, creditt ſhall not be wanting; for we muſt pour water into the well,*
 1720 to 1727. *if nothing elſe will raiſe the water.*

1725.

If any particular brewer, ſuch as the ſingle magiſtrate of Edingburgh, who upon the ſummons of the court of ſeſſion, would exert and endeavour to do all that is poſſible to be done, a creditt ſupplied to him, which I would answer for, if he ſucceeded, would make the whole flock follow him as faſt backward, as they have run into the other way. But I am of opinion, if the conſtruction of the article of union which Mr. Scrope himſelf diſcourſed your lordſhip about, can be brought to bear, and the price of beer therein mentioned, be looked upon as deſcriptive only, and not conditional, and in conſequence of this conſtruction, the brewers be permitted to advance the price of their drink, without having the duty increaſed upon them, directions to commiſſioners of exciſe in purſuance of this opinion, might probably contribute more to the quelling theſe diſcords, than any other method whatſoever. Such orders from the government would at leaſt leave the country inexcusable, and I ſee no objection, if it is legal, to our giving ſuch orders, if in the execution of them due care is taken, that the kind of drink is not altered; I mean, if the ſtrength and goodneſſe is not increaſed, altho' the price be, I ſee no reaſon to raiſe the duty.

I muſt not omit letting your lordſhip know, that the aſſurances from Hanover of ſupporting the meaſures that ſhall be reſolved upon, in my private letter from lord Townſhend, go much further than what I here ſend you, that I am very ſanguine about the ſucceſſe of the long letter I wrote.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Leaves the method of proceeding in regard to the diſturbances in Scotland, principally to his grace and ſir Robert Walpole; but ſuggeſts ſome hints for the purpoſe of cruſhing the combination of brewers.—Commends the earl of Ilay.

MY LORD,

Hanover, Auguſt 17, 1725.

Campbell
Papers.

I received yeſterday by Parry the meſſenger, your grace's diſpatch of the 30th July, which I laid before the king; and as his majeſty was moſt affected with that part of your letter, wherein your grace mentions the difficulties which we are ſtill like to meet with in raiſing the malt duty in Scotland, and particularly with the informations you had received from Edingburgh of the reſolutions the brewers there ſeem to have come to of leaving off brewing,

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1725.

as soon as the officers should distrain for the malt duty, his majesty there- upon especially commanded me to let your grace know, that he is persuaded that so small a sum of money as that proposed to be raised by the malt tax, compared with the advantages which will accrue to all the growers of corn, by the draw-back on malt, could never have such an effect on the minds of the people of Scotland, nor produce in them such acts of folly and madness, were they not spirited up to that pitch, not only by jacobites, but also by incendiaries from other quarters. However, as any disturbance at this time, may have a double ill effect upon the king's affairs, not only by putting things in confusion at home, but particularly by giving them a wrong turn abroad, when the emperor and king of Spain will not fail to promise great advantages to themselves, from the least commotion that may arise in Scotland; his majesty therefore does not doubt, but on so critical a juncture, your grace and my brother Walpole, with all those who have his majesty's service at heart, will give the utmost attention to the carrying on this business with prudence and vigour, so as on the one hand, not to give up the collecting of the malt duty, as it is prescribed by law, and on the other, to take care to act with such precaution as not to drive things to extremities, or plunge the country in confusion, before the meeting of the parliament.

His majesty cannot take upon him at this distance, to suggest what measures shall be most proper and effectual for obtaining these ends. Your grace and my brother Walpole are on the spot, and are more distinctly informed of the working of this evil, and what remedies are to be applied. And I assure you, his majesty places an entire confidence, both in your abilities and zeal for his service, and will rely on those measures which you shall judge adviseable to be taken on this occasion; promising you at the same time, his assistance in all things necessary towards carrying through what shall be resolved on.

The king thinks, that the combination of the brewers at Edingburgh, may be attended with most dangerous consequences. For should they persist in their design, and should their example be followed by the chief towns throughout the kingdom of Scotland, this single act of theirs might put the common people under the greatest necessity, and consequently throw them into the greatest fury and distraction. How far the magistrates of Edingburgh are able to go in this case, or what power they have to force the brewers to carry on their trade, his majesty cannot pretend to judge here. Neither can he determine whether, if they were forced to go on against their wills, the bad beer they might in such case

Period III. *busineſſe, creditt ſhall not be wanting; for we muſt pour water into the well,*
 1720 to 1727. *if nothing elſe will raiſe the water.*

1725.

If any particular brewer, ſuch as the ſingle magiſtrate of Edingburgh, who upon the ſummons of the court of ſeſſion, would exert and endeavour to do all that is poſſible to be done, a creditt ſupplied to him, which I would answer for, if he ſucceeded, would make the whole flock follow him as faſt backward, as they have run into the other way. But I am of opinion, if the conſtruction of the article of union which Mr. Scrope himſelf diſcourſed your lordſhip about, can be brought to bear, and the price of beer therein mentioned, be looked upon as deſcriptive only, and not conditional, and in conſequence of this conſtruction, the brewers be permitted to advance the price of their drink, without having the duty increaſed upon them, directions to commiſſioners of exciſe in purſuance of this opinion, might probably contribute more to the quelling theſe diſcords, than any other method whatſoever. Such orders from the government would at leaſt leave the country inexcusable, and I ſee no objection, if it is legal, to our giving ſuch orders, if in the execution of them due care is taken, that the kind of drink is not altered; I mean, if the ſtrength and goodneſſe is not increaſed, altho' the price be, I ſee no reaſon to raiſe the duty.

I muſt not omit letting your lordſhip know, that the aſſurances from Hanover of ſupporting the meaſures that ſhall be reſolved upon, in my private letter from lord Townſhend, go much further than what I here ſend you, that I am very ſanguine about the ſucceſſe of the long letter I wrote.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Leaves the method of proceeding in regard to the diſturbances in Scotland, principally to his grace and ſir Robert Walpole; but ſuggeſts ſome hints for the purpoſe of cruſhing the combination of brewers.—Commends the earl of Ilay.

MY LORD,

Hanover, Auguſt 17, 1725.

Campbell
Papers.

I received yeſterday by Parry the meſſenger, your grace's diſpatch of the 30th July, which I laid before the king; and as his majeſty was moſt affected with that part of your letter, wherein your grace mentions the difficulties which we are ſtill like to meet with in raiſing the malt duty in Scotland, and particularly with the informations you had received from Edingburgh of the reſolutions the brewers there ſeem to have come to of leaving off brewing,

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Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

as soon as the officers should distrain for the malt duty, his majesty there- upon especially commanded me to let your grace know, that he is persuaded that so small a sum of money as that proposed to be raised by the malt tax, compared with the advantages which will accrue to all the growers of corn, by the draw-back on malt, could never have such an effect on the minds of the people of Scotland, nor produce in them such acts of folly and madness, were they not spirited up to that pitch, not only by jacobites, but also by incendiaries from other quarters. However, as any disturbance at this time, may have a double ill effect upon the king's affairs, not only by putting things in confusion at home, but particularly by giving them a wrong turn abroad, when the emperor and king of Spain will not fail to promise great advantages to themselves, from the least commotion that may arise in Scotland; his majesty therefore does not doubt, but on so critical a juncture, your grace and my brother Walpole, with all those who have his majesty's service at heart, will give the utmost attention to the carrying on this business with prudence and vigour, so as on the one hand, not to give up the collecting of the malt duty, as it is prescribed by law, and on the other, to take care to act with such precaution as not to drive things to extremities, or plunge the country in confusion, before the meeting of the parliament.

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The king thinks, that the combination of the brewers at Edingburgh, may be attended with most dangerous consequences. For should they persist in their design, and should their example be followed by the chief towns throughout the kingdom of Scotland, this single act of theirs might put the common people under the greatest necessity, and consequently throw them into the greatest fury and distraction. How far the magistrates of Edingburgh are able to go in this case, or what power they have to force the brewers to carry on their trade, his majesty cannot pretend to judge here. Neither can he determine whether, if they were forced to go on against their wills, the bad beer they might in such case

Period III. case brew, would not enrage the populace as much, and have as bad effect as
 1720 to 1727. if they left of their trade all on a sudden.

1725.

Under these difficulties, I must suggest to your grace a thought which the king mentioned to me on the perusal of your letter. His majesty observed, that the magistrates of Edinburgh have notice, that such a combination is forming, and therefore thinks, if they have vigour, zeal, and resolution enough towards carrying on his service, they may summon all the brewers before them, acquaint them with the informations they have received, and require them to declare, if there is any truth in the advice of their having entered into such a pernicious combination, and if they own they have, they should first intimidate them with such reprimands and threats as they think proper, and then privately try to break the combination, by getting some particular brewers to go on with their brewing, and promising them all encouragement and support, if they will abandon so extravagant a design, as their fellow traders would bring them into. But if they shall find the combination so strong, and the brewers so obstinate, that no impression of that sort can be made among them, then the magistrates should let them know, that unless they will submit to pay the malt duty appointed by parliament, without putting the officers to the trouble of distraining, and will engage to go on with their trade as formerly, and brew as good beer as they used to do; then the magistrates will find out and appoint other people to go on with the brewery, and set up public brewhouses for the use of the town. If this project be judged practicable, his majesty thinks it should be put in execution out of hand, before the officers come to distrain for the malt duty; and that preparations should be made from England, as well as at Edinburgh, towards shewing them that care shall be taken of the brewery, and that other brew-houses will be set up, even at the expence of the publick, in case the present brewers continue sullen. And the same expedient the king imagines may be put in practice, if necessary, in any other towns, where the like combination is set on foot, and in the county's where the justices of the peace are well inclined and have courage to act.

This that I have now written to your grace, is a thought which the king ordered me to suggest to the consideration of his servants in England, and his majesty does not question, but you will either model this in such manner, or strike out such other expedients on this occasion, as may prevent the pernicious designs of the enemies of his government in Scotland; and his majesty is persuaded, that if by any means the brewers may be made to fear, that they
 may

may happen to lose their trades, if they persist in their unreasonable obstinacy, they will submit to the law, and quietly pay the easy tax which the parliament has laid upon them.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

The king was highly pleased to find by your grace's letter, that my lord Ilay was gone to Scotland. His majesty has a great opinion of his capacity and zeal to do him service there in this juncture; and your grace will do well to let his lordship know his majesty's orders concerning his journey, and how acceptable it was to him to hear that he had anticipated them by his diligence and activity; his majesty being desirous by all means that his lordship should be encouraged to exert that skill, dexterity, and influence he has in Scotland.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

The troubles of Scotland increase, and are principally owing to a contest for power.—Duke of Roxburgh counteracts the measures of government.

MY LORD,

London, August 17—28, 1725.

I Have nothing in particular to trouble your lordship with, in relation to the affairs of Scotland, but to acquaint you, that almost every particular method that your lordship suggested towards bringing the Scotch to reason, have been before thought of, and some of them attempted and found ineffectual, others were such, as the magistrates of Edinburgh dare not to attempt.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

You will have had an account of the proceedings of the lords of session, which was making use of the greatest authority in Scotland, to break the combination of the brewers, but your lordship will see how little effect that has had; and by the accounts received yesterday, the 10th of this month, the day appointed for the brewers by the court of session, to give security to carry on their trade, is expired, and not one brewer has complied with it. And the lords of session have deferred doing any thing further upon the disobedience to them, till they see what success the advocate has in his proceedings towards levying the duties, and this I look upon as an unfortunate incident; for now the dispute will be barely between the king's officers and the malsters, upon non-payment of the duties. But if the lords of session had proceeded in defence and support of their own jurisdiction, the weight and authority of that court, which has hitherto commanded the greatest deference and regard throughout all Scotland, would have been of great consequence to us. But the lords of session seem to be a little disheartened, and though the lords justices have in the strongest manner approved and commended their conduct, I

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Period III. am afraid that is look'd upon only as a compliment of course, since nothing
 1720 to 1727. follows upon it. I intirely agree with your lordship, that the two extremes
 1725. are to be avoided, if 'tis possible, and we are to endeavour neither to give up the raising the malt tax, nor to fling the country into confusion. But for the first, there is no medium: for they not only refuse to pay the duties for the stock that has been surveyed and charged, but they absolutely refuse to give security for payment at three or four months distance, which has been offered to gain time, which brings us under an immediate necessity either of levying the duties by distress, or not levying them at all. If any orders from thence should put a stop to the execution of the act, then we shall be told next winter, that a want of resolution in the government is the only blame.

By the last letters from the advocate, which came in last night, he seems to conceive some hopes, that he may be able to do some good, by a new thought which occurred to me, and I suggested to him; which is by suffering the retailers of beer to advance the price of the drink, without advancing the duty upon them. This is a construction of the article of union relating to the excise, which has hitherto been taken otherwise; but I am of opinion, it will bear this construction, if we find it will do, shall venture to give orders accordingly, which must come from the treasury, at least, as the only plausible objection they have, is founded on the opinion, that they are restrained to the price of their drink, notwithstanding the malt tax is paid, which they call an additional charge, and such as the price of the drink will not afford to pay; if this objection is removed, and they are suffered to raise the price of drink in proportion to the duty paid without an additional duty, they will be left inexcusable, when it will be impossible for the brewers or maltsters any longer to insist, that they are not able to pay the duties, which then will be born by the consumers. But, my lord, when we have tried every thing, I cannot but have recourse to the opinion I have already given, and tho' no man can foretel where or how this will end, 'tis most certain the whole springs from a contest for power, and this I dare affirm is the opinion of every thinking man in Scotland. His majesty can only determine, but I beg leave to observe, that the present administration is the first that was ever yet known to be answerable for the whole government, with a secretary of state,* for one part of the kingdom, who they are assured acts counter to all their measures, or at least, whom they cannot in the least confide in.

* John, duke of Roxburgh.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

Tumults in
Scotland.

The duke of Roxburgh dismissed from the office of secretary of state for Scotland.

1725.

I Would not loose the opportunity of this post to acquaint you with what I am confident will be some satisfaction to you, amidst the troubles and difficulties, which I am sensible you are very hardly besett with; and when you have read this, I dare say, you will make no farther use, nor take any notice at all of it, until you shall hear in form, that the king's orders are actually executed.

Campbell
Papers.

I this day received an expresse from Hanover, which brought the king's orders to the duke of Roxburgh to deliver up the seals of his office to the duke of Newcastle, together with a sign manual directing and warranting the surrender and receiving of them; but both the order and warrant purporting expressly the delivery of the seals to the duke of Newcastle by name, and his grace being in Suffex, the execution of these orders must necessarily be delayed till his arrival in town. I have sent an expresse to him, begging he will come up without the losse of a moment's time, and hope he will be here time enough to do his business on Monday. This intelligence may be of immediate use to your own conduct, when your lordship sees what ground you stand upon, and you shall know it in form, the moment I can say it is done. But it may not be improper to acquaint you at present, that the scheme is to putt an end to the office of Scotch secretary. It will be happy indeed, my lord, if your lordship's endeavours should have any so good success, as to give a credit and satisfaction to the king from the effect of this useful measure.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Good effects to be expected from the removal of the duke of Roxburgh.—The disaffected in the highlands surrender their arms readily.—Recommends the measures most proper to be pursued.

(London, August 23, 1725.) THE duke of Newcastle return'd this morning out of Suffex to execute the king's command, with regard to the duke of Roxborough, who being likewise out of town, nothing has yet been done, but I presume by to-morrow night, the duke of Newcastle will be able to give you an account of having executed this commission from his majesty,

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. which I am verily persuaded will be of great service to his majesty, or at least
 1720 to 1727. if this measure does not strike a damp on those restless spirits in Scotland,
 1725. which animate, and even create all these disorders there, I am not able to, say what will. By the accounts that are come in this day from Scotland, there is reason to believe that the jacobites have not so far taken their part as to be actors themselves, but leave that hitherto intirely to others; this I think is plainly to be inferred from the account general Wade sends of the dispositions of the Highlanders to surrender their arms immediately, which I scarce believe they would have done, if they had been determined to have any hand or share in the present disputes about the malt tax, any further than by by privately and underhand blowing the coals; at the same time the magistrates of Glasgow persist in their obstinacy, and by way of reply to Mr. Delafaye's letter, written by order of the lords justices, almost dispute the facts that are most unquestionable, and endeavour to represent the whole proceeding as a fiction of the advocate's, and what he has not sufficient evidence to support. Upon this head, I beg leave to make one observation, that their reasonings are the same, and their objections agree almost verbatim with those that were stated by the duke of Roxborough at the regency, and it is now a fact, not denied by any body, that Mr. Dundas is the adviser and drawer of all papers that are prepared in opposition to the malt tax.

In the present situation of affairs in Scotland, it seemed to be a question, which of their measures it was prudent to proceed first upon. To levy the duties for the stock in hand already surveyed and charged, by distress for not paying or not giving security for the payment of the duties; to proceed by criminal process against the brewers for entering into an unlawful combination to leave off brewing, or to execute the warrants of commitment of the lords of sessions for disobedience and contempt of their authority, and by virtue thereof, to commit the brewers; and I was of opinion, that the first measure was the most preferable to be first put in execution, because it is the natural and plain step, expressly required and enjoined by the act of parliament, and the not doing it, or deferring the doing it, is not putting the law in execution, which is so far yielding the point in question, and upon this there can be no doubt or uncertainty of the proceeding, and if the consequence should be, that the brewers should thereupon leave off their trade, there is an overt act, and express proof of the combination, which will justify whatever shall be thought afterwards proper to be done to the brewers; and if the brewers are

committed for disobedience to the court of sessions, that may be some pretence for leaving off their business, but the question of paying or not paying the malt tax is not at all determined or forwarded by this proceeding, and I always think it better to proceed upon points that are plain, and not in the least to be controverted, than to enter into questions that will admit cavils and disputes, and this I have suggested as my opinion, and am very much inclined to hope, when this news of their secretary of state shall reach Scotland, and nothing is done, but in plain execution of the law, the madness will not be carried on, which they will plainly see can have no support.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

But as to what shall be done if the brewers should leave off brewing at Edinburgh, 'tis very hard to determine, because the magistrates of Edinburgh who are so well disposed, have not as yet dared to receive any other drink into the town not brew'd by their own brewers, for several expedients have been thought of, if this difficulty can once be removed, and I cannot again, upon this head, but flatter myself we shall have very good effects from his majesty's last resolution. Mr. Daniel Campbel is just come in, and the accounts that he gives, exactly agree with the notions we have of the whole proceeding, and he is persuaded, that the resolution the king has taken, will certainly have a very good effect. I am with great truth and affection.

P. S. (August 25, 1725.) The duke of Newcastle did not see the duke of Roxborough till this morning, to receive the seals. He will give you an account of their conference, and there is but one part that I shall trouble your lordship about, which is what he has desired to be wrote concerning his coming to the regency, and as he has resolved to stay away till he hears from Hanover, I think it is very much to be wished, that he may not receive such an answer from thence as may encourage his coming. When I sent my humble opinion, that it was necessary for his majesty's service, to take this resolution, I did not imagine that he would once think of coming after the seals were taken from him, and as I did avoid, and always shall avoid saying anything personally hard of any body, that is founded upon suppositions only, tho' never so strong, I said nothing of the difficultys that we were every day under at the regency, when we were to consider of measures, and to give orders, in the presence of one, that I am persuaded, was counteracting all we did, which at least put it in his power to render every thing ineffectual. I think it very fortunate that he has resolved to stay till he hears from the other

Period III. fide of the water; because in that time, I flatter myself we shall so far have
 1720 to 1727. the good effects of his dismissal, as to see the main contest over, altho' the
 1725. chief business of the regency, I believe, will be in sending orders to Scotland. I would therefore, with all submission humbly hope, that the answer your lordship should return, might be something to this effect. "That his majesty would not do so harsh a thing as to alter the commission of regency on purpose to leave the duke of Roxborough out, or to send any orders to forbid his coming to the regency. But as he imagines his grace's attendance there in his present circumstances, cannot be at all agreeable to himself, his majesty does not think it reasonable to require that of him, and shall not be displeased if his grace thinks fit to stay away." Believe me, my lord, his coming will create a great deal of trouble, and disoblig'd as he is now, 'tis impossible to hope for any thing but open opposition from him.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Affairs in Scotland mend.—Rumours that he is to be disgraced.

MY LORD,

London, August 24, 1725.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I Am very glad you have had so good success in the great point of Scotland, which I cannot but hope will answer our expectations, for by the best accounts we have, with all the allowances for party representation, 'tis most certain the opposition in Scotland has been raised and kept up, by the hopes and expectations of support from hence. Daniel Campbell is just come to us, and confirms every thing, and you'll wonder to hear, that they are persuaded in Scotland, that my fall and disgrace at court is very near, and that they dream of nothing less than the loss of the seals. I have not seen governor Harrison of late, but I will send to him, and discourse him about what your lordship writes concerning the East India and South Sea company.

P S. I foresaw the duke of Roxborough's continuing in the regency, notwithstanding his losing the seals, which I took to be unavoidable, altho' it would be very much to be wished it could be otherwise, in case he should take it into his head to come among us; for I do assure you, he has taken up a very different manner of behaviour this year, from what he ever did before, and has been very explicit in giving direct opposition wherever he could find the least handle. The address from the magistrates of Glasgow, which has been already sent over, and their letter to Mr. Delafaye, which will come now, perfectly tally

tally with his proceedings here, that 'tis demonstrable they have hitherto wrote by his advice and direction; and now that his grace has lost the seals, and has nothing to manage, if he should come, it will be very mischievous. But this depends entirely upon himself; for we adjourn ourselves from time to time, and there are no summons sent, but upon extraordinary occasions, which very seldom happen. I verily believe, if your lordship could have apprehended, that the duke of Roxborough would have thought of coming to the regency, you would have been of another opinion about that matter; as he has now put it, he cannot come without the king's orders to come, or some intimation from his majesty, that he desires he should come, which indeed as to Scotland and appearances here, will lose half the grace of the thing, and as he would never submit to such a mean compliance, but with hopes of doing some mischief, you cannot imagine how prejudicial the hints that he has hitherto given, have been, and all their measures have been taken accordingly. If you avoid this difficulty, I think the business of Scotland will be soon and well over, and believe me, his boasted credit and interest with the king, is the only thing that keeps the opposition alive in Scotland, and if you were in any degree sensible of what I feel, you would be of my opinion. For God's sake do not think of continuing him in the cabinet council, with a *Harcourt* pension.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

Highly approves his conduct in suppressing the tumults in Scotland.

MY LORD,

London, August 26, 1725.

I Am very much obliged to your lordship for the favour of your letter, and the particular account you gave me of the present state of affairs where you are, I should be very unjust, if I did not in a particular manner declare the sense I have of the service you have done your king, and the fair prospect you have opened of extricating the government out of difficulties which, till you undertook them, seemed unfurmoutable. Your condescension to act as a private justice of the peace, must be of such singular service, that I cannot enough commend the thought and resolution. And I think it great good fortune, that my endeavours have been so successful as to remove out of your way that great obstruction, which must have render'd all measures for the service of the government very difficult, if not ineffectual.

Campbell
Papers.

I can-

Period III. 1720 to 1727. 1725. I cannot but be of opinion your lordship has judg'd very right in beginning in the first place with summoning the brewers before the justices of the peace, for not paying or giving security for the payment of the duty. For as this is a regular step, in direct obedience and execution of the law, it cannot possibly admit of any cavil or dispute; and without it, the government had hitherto done no act, in order to levy and secure the duties, and if upon this the brewers shall leave off their brewing, you have an overt act, that is a full proof of the criminal combination and confederacy, which otherwise remains in the intention only, untill they shall have persisted some time in the non-exercise of their profession and calling. And if at the same time, some of the most notorious are committed upon the warrants of the lords of session for contempt, you do not only, as your lordship very wisely observes, engage the lords of session in the quarrel, but show the brewers how many different ways, the government has to harass and punish them, and it is very rare to find men of their rank, obstinate and hardy enough to withstand the power and authority of the law, when they begin personally to feel the smart and trouble of it. But upon supposition that they shall persist, your lordship will do very well, if you can break the confederacy, and take off some of the brewers. For that once done, and the knot broken, they will all be endeavoring to retrieve and return to their duty, and to this nothing will more contribute, than if they shall see the bailie-brewer well supported, and carrying on his business to his advantage, and the out-town brewers admitted to come into the town. For as the whole view and drift of this combination is to defeat the malt tax, by distressing the town by a total want of beer and ale, if such an attempt is by any means render'd ineffectual, their design is baffled, and they can have no inducement to hold out any longer; and if you can besides get possession of some of the brewing houses, they will soon grudge others reaping the profits which their own folly and obstinacy has deprived them of; but 'tis mispending your lordship's time, to dwell upon particulars which your own prudence has suggested, and must therefore see the benefits of, better than I am able to explain them.

But there is one thing in which I likewise agree with your lordship in opinion, that I understand gives the lord advocate some uneasiness, which is your delaying the prosecution of the magistrates of Glasgow, till after the trial of the rioters, and this I think should be so managed, as not to damp his zeal, which has been so commendably exerted upon this great and difficult occasion.

Your

Your lordship will easily imagine he must not know I write in this manner, but your discretion will easily manage this so, as to do what is right, and at the same time, not distaste him. For as 'tis most certainly of great consequence, that the magistrates in Scotland, upon whom the keeping the publick peace, and suppressing riots does so much depend, should not think they may with impunity neglect or withdraw themselves from their duty, so if by more gentle means they can be taught their duty, it leaves lesse rancour and determined resentment against the government, which a too rigorous severity may begett, but I mean not this to give up the prosecution of the magistrates, but only to postpone it till after the trial of the rioters.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725

I have herewith sent your lordship 1,500*l*. which I leave intirely to your discretion and management, and dare say it will be laid out to the best advantage for his majestie's service. I will write to lord Orkney to do immediately what you desire about the brewer concerned with him, and whatever you shall propose for the incouragement and support of the magistrates of Edinburgh, shall be done. But pray my lord, give me leave to be so free with you, as to beg we may not at the beginning drive so fast, as to give our adversaries any advantage over us. The great stroake was now accomplished, without the least difficulty, which you know, I think is equal to the doing of the thing, and if we should immediately follow it, with propositions of other and more changes, it may possibly make some uneasiness, where there is now none, and where we should avoid giving any. I mean this in regard to lord Rothes and the chaplains; if the first will not be gained, I shall make no scruple, to lett him take the fate he deserves.

But I would at first show all that call themselves whigs, and are willing to be received, that they may be received; for surely 'tis better, to lett this man fall single, than by involving others in his ruin, give him a credit, which I think does not belong to him. Your lordship will soon see how this operates, and from the effects be better able to judge what more is necessary to be done. By the conversations I have had with you, your lordship will conclude my opinion is not against doing the thing, but against doing that too precipitately, which we shall otherwise do more surely; in short, I would take the same methods now, that I think have succeeded in greater things, and question not but we shall perfect all. As for the chaplains, I shall soon be able to represent facts in such a light, as shall sufficiently strengthen your hands in affairs of that consequence, wherever you want it, but I would at present take the air of having
nothing

Period III. nothing to do, but to carry on the king's business, put the law in execution, and to do justice to all that are willing to support the king and his government.

1720 to 1727.

1725.

I beg leave to give you one hint, do not neglect to write to the duke of Newcastle upon all occasions when any thing has been done or is to be done, he must know it, if it comes through my hands, and I am as well pleased to see it in his. Your more private sentiments you may communicate to me, and I shall make nothing but a proper use of them. I hope, my lord, you will look upon the freedom with which I write to you, as an instance of the friendship and confidence I place in you, and be assured, you shall find me with all possible sincerity, &c.

THE EARL OF ILAY TO MR. STEWART.

Relates the proceedings, at Edinburgh, against the combination of the brewers.

DEAR STEWART,

Edinburgh, August 24.

Campbell
Papers.

I Was so fatigued with variety of plagues, that I only writ three lines to you, referring you to my long letter I writ to Mr. Walpole. When I came here, I found Duncan very violent for imprisoning some of the brewers immediately upon the warrants of the court of session, which were lodged in lord president's hands, to be used discretionally by the advice of such of his brethren, who were in or near the town; this instruction amounted to no more than a private advice, and made no part of the proceeding of the court, for the warrants were absolute in case the brewers did not by the 10th of August, obey the act of federunt. I found the brewers' scheme was to palliate their crime of conspiracy by their imprisonment, and afterwards when in prison, to deny they ever intended it, and only complain of the act of federunt; this, though it could not be a sufficient proof of their innocence, yet might have great weight with the people, as if I had occasioned the distress; I took therefore a middle way, and the rather because those proceedings of the session had been carried not only by the authority, but indeed by the artifice of our friends, and I had notice the rest had either been practised upon or intimidated, so that they did not care to have those warrants executed. I had the brewers summoned at about six days notice, to appear before the justices of peace (I having myself qualified the day after I arrived) and by the act of parliament, in case of appeal, they would have six days more to appear before the quarter sessions;

fions; this I did to give myself time to take all measures possible to practice upon the brewers, and to provide against the bad consequences of the distress, if it should happen, and in all events to render the rogues the more manifestly inexcusable, resolved at the same time, whenever they began to leave of brewing, to begin all sorts of severe methods to terrify and punish.

I found it impracticable to do any thing with the brewers before they desisted from brewing, because they were convinced by their advisers, that their conspiracy would have the effect they intended, and that I durst not proceed farther against them. Some of them, I believe, were sensible of their being in the wrong, but either by secret oaths or other engagements, were so linked together, that the most moderate among them thought themselves under a necessity of at least showing some regard to their mutual promises or oaths. Many of them had this farther terror upon them, that if they deserted their brethren, they would lose their whole trade in this town, and that all their customers would leave them. But above all, the thing which united them most was, that they believed, and do so to this day, that I am acting against the secret inclinations of the king only to support sir Robert Walpole, that he is next sessions of parliament to fall, and that one Mr. Poultney would have all in his hands, in conjunction with Dundas and the duke of Roxburg. Thus, instead of being considered as one having the favour of the ministry, they think I am acting a desperate game, out of private views and resentments, and for which I am very soon to suffer; however, as nothing of this nature was unforeseen, when I left London, it neither has nor shall make the least impression upon me.

They commonly brew here three times a week, Mundsays, Wensdays, and Frydays, in this town and the adjacent places subject to the town's duty, about 8 or 900 barrels each brewing. On Fryday night last, I had notice sent me, that they had all left off, except Bailie Simpson, who submitted at first; but I had intelligence, that they had the Wensday preceding brewed a double quantity, and that they kept their brewhouses so ready, that they could begin to brew upon a minute's warning, having all their fires made up ready to light, when they pleased. I had further intelligence from different quarters, that the most substantial of them had great difficulty to prevail with the poorer sort to desist from brewing the Fryday night, and that they had prevailed upon them only by assuring them that they would desire to engage them no farther than the Wensday after, and if their scheme (which they affirmed to be infal-

Period III. 1720 to 1727. libe) did not then answer their purpose, that they must submit; I had on Saturday some hopes of the leaders giving up the rest, but whether they got, as I have heard, a private express confirming them in their resolutions, or whether they did it only to amuse me, and make me lose time till the distress should come on, I cannot tell; however, as I could not get my brethren that day together to advise the execution of the warrants, and having some reason to suspect one of them to have altered his way of thinking, besides the clamour of the church, if they had on Saturday night been deprived of the spiritual assistance from the pulpits on Sunday, I resolved to be quiet till Monday, when I got together lord president, lord Newhall, lord Royston, and lord Milton. All the rest were out of town, but lord Cullen, who, when he should have come to us was asleep, and his servants would not wake him.

Upon our meeting, I acquainted my brethren with the great merit they had with the king and the ministers, by their seasonable interposing their authority against the conspiracy of the brewers, that I understood there were warrants signed by my lord president in name of the court of session for the imprisoning them for their contempt, if they should not submit by the 10th of August, that these warrants had been delayed in hopes that there would be no immediate occasion for them till the time of the meeting of the court, but that now since the conspirators had actually began their attempt to starve this town, I thought we could be no longer answerable to the king, to the court of session, or to our country, if the leaders of this sedition were not immediately imprisoned. My lord president said, that he had those warrants signed in hands, and was of my opinion, that they should some of them be put in execution, only desired to have our advice for that end. Lord Newhall declared against it, and said it being now out of session time, we could do nothing, that those warrants were intended only in terrorem, and that he did not believe the imprisoning any of the brewers would do any good. I answered, that although the court of session was not now sitting, those warrants were signed in court, and that it was impossible they could be executed, but out of term time, because they were conditional, *viz.* unless the brewers submitted before the 10th of August. Now if the term ended the last of July, either those warrants were illegal, or they could now be executed; that as a member of the court of session, I could not justify myself to the parliament, if I should be thought guilty of suppressing the orders of the court, made on so solemn an occasion for the public

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lick good, and therefore I hoped my lord president would deliver warrans against five of them, whom I was informed were the leaders and seducers of the rest. I was forced to take upon me, on this occasion, more than fell to my share, for I ventured to say, that those warrands would have had all the effect we desired in terrorem, if the brewers had not suspected or known that there would be some difficulty in putting them in execution, and that if the lords of the session layd aside those commitments, I thought they had nothing to do but to plead guilty, when the court met, to the indictment which Dundas had drawn against them, and which they burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Lord Royston and Milton supported me, and the president (not sorry, I believe, to see Newhall in the wrong box) declared that he would deliver out to the proper officer, warrants against those brewers whom I had named, and accordingly, I believe, they are now all in prison. They will immediately be charged with indictments for their conspiracy, and the tryals may begin after the expiration of fifteen days; I think their crime considered in all its circumstances, deserves a very severe punishment, but how far I shall persuade my brethren to go, I can't tell. I will in this, as well as every thing else, carrie my head as high as possible, so that the people shall either think I am playing the better of the lay, or that I am distracted.

Wenſday, Auguſt 25. We have already ſeperated ſome of the brewers from the combination, for on Munday laſt, theſe brewed, *viz.* Bailie Simpfon (who complied at firſt) Mrs. Elliot, Maggy Johnſon, Mr. Mackie, Mr. Angus (brews this night). Peter Campbell, the corn merchant, has hired a brew-houſe, and actually brewed on Munday, and will continue. I make no doubt but we ſhall get the better of this conſpiracy here, upon which all the malſters in Scotland depend; the Edenburg brewers are the choſen champions for the cauſe, and therefore *coute que coute* they muſt be ſubdued. I am no ways apprehenſive of any inſurrection here or any where elſe; the diſtreſs of this town is the only inconvenience I forſee in the proſecution of the preſent meaſures, I ſay *this town*, becauſe in all other places of Scotland, the publick brewers ſerve very few private families. As for the danger of wanting bread here, I have heard all that can be ſaid on that ſubject, and think it a mere jeſt, for bread can certainly be made without yeſt. I know how to do it myſelf, and as my friend Peter Campbell has turned brewer, I'll turn baker, if nothing elſe will convince them; the bakers here are well affected, and ſo I think there's nothing in it. If the want of ale turns into too great a grievance

Period III. to be supported, and that the combination does not cease, as I believe it will,
 1720 to 1727. the magistrates of Edenburg (who dare do little openly) have agreed to let
 1725. their officers connive at the importation, from the country around, of ale, not only without subjecting these country brewers for all they brew to the town's duty, but without demanding any thing for what they shall import. In this event, I believe the dragoon horses must fetch in the drink; for the neighbouring country places have been made to believe, that these brewers of Edenburg are so formidable, that they sent us word, that though they are willing to endeavour to supply the town, yett they dare not send their own servants and horses.

The state of Aberdeenshire is very extraordinary. I am informed from thence, that the earl of Rothes's clerk, who is likewise clerk to the justices of the peace, has suppressed these fourteen days the new commission of the peace, and that some of the malsters who at first allowed entrance to the officers of excise, now think fit to refuse. This latter part of the news I have from the board of excise. Thus it is that the king is served in this country, and these are the difficulties I meet with daily in other shapes, over and above that of introducing a new tax, which though unreasonably, unjustly, and extravagantly opposed here, yet is not the most popular thing to do in any place whatsoever, and am very much of opinion, that if things continue on this foot, with respect to the administration of Scotland being *felo de se*, neither customs nor excise, nor hardly any law will have force in this country. But let all that be as it will, as long as I have the law in my hand, and fifty men to support me, I wont give the least way to any insult, nor shall I boast of any merit in the matter, when there are so many of the king's subjects, who for sixpence a day (in point of firmness) do more.

One of the leaders of the brewers, who is now in the tolbooth, had the impudence to desire one to propose to me, that the lords of the session should privately agree to connive at three of their number suspending these commitments, and the justices of the peace should adjourn the consideration of the suit of the board of excise against them till the parliament met. I answered, that no three lords of the session durst suspend their commitment, and that I should, as a justice of the peace, this day declare in publick, that the brewers here were persons whose actions called more for the vengeance of the law than the least favour from the government, that I foresaw they would at last be compelled to beg for mercy when it would be too late. I have the prisoners disposed

disposed in different prisons to prevent their encouraging one another, or influencing the rest by any joint advice, and I'll endeavour to hinder any of the brewers having access to them. This afternoon the justices of the peace met, where the brewers who were summoned offered a petition, a copy of which I send to Mr. Walpole. We had about twenty justices present. I connived at the absence of the magistrates of Edenburg, who are in the commission, in regard to their approaching elections, though they offered to attend if I pleased: I spoke to the brewers, by way of answer to their petition, and there being present a vast number of people, I said every thing I could think of, not only for the sake of the brewers, but of the audience too.

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I must tell you one thing of the spectators, which I did not expect, nor indeed could have hoped for, which was, that they behaved themselves very decently during the whole proceeding, nor could I observe the least murmur or impertinence. One of the brewers mentioned the objection about the stock in hand, which I stated at large to my brethren justices, and they unanimously overruled it. All the excuse the brewers made for not giving bond for the duty, was their poverty, and that they must first pay their creditors, of whom they had bought their corn. We gave judgment against them for the double duty, and they have appealed to the quarter sessions, as they are allowed by act of parliament; foreseeing this appeal, and that six days are to be allowed them, between the first sentence and the appeal being heard; we yesterday adjourned the quarter sessions to Thursday fennight, at which time these judgments will be made final.

I had forgot one other defence the brewers made, *viz.* that the gaugers had not done them justice in measuring their malt, or rather that the brewers did not know whether the measuring was right, upon which Mr. Baron Kenedy told them, that he believed the board of excise would be so indulgent to them, as to order the malt to be gauged over again in presence of themselves or any they should appoint, and asked them, if in that case they would give bond for the tax; to which they answered, no, for they had not money. Mr. Dodswel, who is secretary to the excise, is extremely usefull and able in his business; if it were not for him, that board could do nothing; the two commissioners, however skilful they may be in the lower parts of their business, are far from being able to conduct the management of the excise here, which requires authority, spirit, and a proper behaviour, suiting an office that ought to carry respect with it in this country. Instead of all this, the whole town

knows

Period III. knows that they are frightened out of their wits, that they lie in different places,
 1720 to 1727. cording as the panic seizes them, and before this mutiny began, they had hired
 1725. a little hut jointly, for which they pay five pounds a year, and have deserted a
 shilling ordinary, because it was too dear. These are circumstances that may
 seem trivial, but in a country like this, where by a long series of no administration,
 the mere letter of the law has little or no weight with the people, it must
 be supported, by the concurrent influence of every thing that any ways tend to
 the dignity, authority, respect, and reputation of those in office.

August 26, Thursday. Our work goes on pretty well, I believe I shall
 have three more brewers light their fires to night, and one of them is the most
 considerable in the town, so that I make no doubt of dragging them all in very
 soon, and I hitherto persist in having no apprehension of publick disturbances:
 if any happen, they shall be too soon over to make any noise. I had this day
 a letter from Chelsea, by which I see my friends the brewers here, will in a
 little time be informed of the state of their affairs. Adieu.

They threatened so hard at Dysart, that if Logie or his brethren came there,
 they should be destroyed, so that Logie sent a protestation, and I could not
 desire gentlemen of distinction to go to be drub'd, or perhaps murdered. I
 am told they had gathered great numbers of people in and about the town to
 be ready for mischief as occasion should offer; I did not think it very safe
 to have any troops sent from hence in the condition we are in; besides they
 would have said, that the army was made use of to choose magistrates. There
 met yesterday eight of the other side, and though twelve was a quorum, those
 eight have presumed to have a magistracy elected, and have put them in pos-
 session; whether they should be proceeded against by a suspension here, or
 by complaint above, I have not yet had time to consider.

EARL OF ILAY TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Relates the means which he took to suppress the combination of brewers.

SIR,

Edenburgh, Friday, August 27, 1725.

Campbell
Papers.

I Forgot by the last post to inclose this petition of the brewers, which they
 offered at the late meeting of justices of the peace. Yesterday they made
 an application to the magistrates, desiring them to intercede with me, that their
 brethren might be set at liberty, and that nothing should be exacted of them
 before the parliament met. The magistrates were very sensible how imper-
 tinent

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inent this application was, but thought it better that I should return an answer than they: accordingly, I was this day attended by the magistrates and town council, when the petition was read. I thereupon acquainted the town council, that all mild methods had been pursued to induce the brewers to an obedience to the laws, but that now they had made so bad a use of the lenity of the government, that I would let them know that they should soon feel the consequence of their crimes, that this city was now in all the distress which their conspiracy could bring upon it, and I would take that time to show them how little I was to be intimidated; that instead of releasing those in prison, who would this day receive their indictments for their crimes, I would on Saturday have five more of the most criminal imprisoned and indicted, the nature of their crimes and their punishment, I should soon pronounce to them in another place; that their wicked designs had failed of success, for I had taken care that the town should be supplied with drink, and that already ten or eleven of their trade had submitted, and did brew: these I should probably recommend to the lords justices as proper objects of his majesty's mercy, but for the rest, who plead compassion even during the time of their criminal obstinacy, I thought it an insolent application, and that in compassion to the innocent, I would execute the laws against the guilty.

In about three hours after this, one of them lighted his fire, and fell to brewing, and two of the name of Campbell, whom I sent word to, that they should be more severely handled (if possible) than any others, promised to brew this night. I know for certain they are all disconcerted among themselves, and I think the neck of the whole plot is broke. This day at noon, there came some barrels of drink from the country, people came in the street, and desired to buy drink, upon which the fellow tap'd the barrels, and in a very little time retailed out all his ale, without the least disturbance, and to the great satisfaction of his customers. The rogues now are sensible that they can neither starve the town, nor raise any tumult, but blame me for letting ale come in free of the town's duty; I am forced to allow the magistrates to excuse themselves, by saying they dare not hinder it, for fear of me. I don't yet hear of above one baker, who pretends to be distressed for want of yeast, and he is one Hay, of lord Tweddale's family.

Upon the surrender of the seals, there will be an immediate necessity for a deputation here for the keeping the signet, because it is out of that office that all summonds's for law suits proceed. Before the union, the office of secretary

was

Period III. was constituted by commission under the great seal, and in it the office of
 1720 to 1727. keeper of the signet was inserted. I don't know whether the duke of Montrose

1725. and the duke of Roxburg had a separate commission for that effect, nor can I enquire here at present, lest they should know in the offices the reason of my enquiry, but the moment the news comes in form, and is public, I'll send you word. I would recommend one Reanold Campbell, one of the justices of the peace here, to be the deputy keeper of the signet, and though you may depend upon it, I shall not in the sequel of Scotch affairs, be partial to that name, yet upon this occasion, I industriously do it, as a measure useful. I send you inclosed a pamphlet written by Mr. Hugh Dalrimple, second son to the lord president, and with it an infamous copy of verses, privately handed about by the enemy: the Dalrimples, all but the earl of Stairs, and one sir John Dalrimple, concur zealously with me in every thing. Lord Stairs is in the country amusing himself with improvements of ground, gardening, &c. That sir John is one of the clerks of the session during life, and a jacobite: he had the impudence the other day, upon our giving orders in the quarter sessions of the peace, for letters to be writ to our absent brethren, to return a nonsensical impertinent answer. Lord Torphichen, whom you lately made one of the police (800*l.* a year) does not attend the justices of the peace, nor did he return any answer to his letter; I am not sorry for it, he having more from the government than his services can deserve, though he were on the right side. Mr. Campbell of Glasgow, a very rich man, and Daniel's enemy, is to come here next week, to talk to me about the affairs of that town: he is certainly a very honest man, and by letter has given me the strongest assurances of his friendship. I am afraid I plague you with tedious letters, but I cannot well otherwise give you any true notion of affairs here.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Suppression of the combination in Scotland, owing to the good conduct of lord Ilay.

MY LORD,

London, September 3, 1725.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

IT is with the greatest satisfaction that I give your lordship the following account of the present state of affairs in Scotland, and as this great happy turn is intirely owing to the industry, ability, and resolution of lord Ilay, I can never say enough in his commendation, or do him justice in relating his
 great

great dexterity in the conduct and management of this nice and difficult point. And that his majesty may be more fully apprised of the particular transactions in getting through this whole affair, I beg your lordship's patience, if I take it a little further backward, in order to explain it the better.

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Your lordship has been already acquainted that the resolution concerted was to begin with prosecuting the brewers before the justices of the peace, for non-payment of the duties charged upon the stock in hand, which was accordingly done, and the brewers thereupon, pursuant to their combination, leaving off brewing immediately, lord Ilay ordered, that four of the chief and principal offenders should be immediately committed upon the warrants of the lords of session, left in the hands of the president, for contempt and disobedience to their orders, and the authority of the court; and as soon as they were committed, directed inditelements and informations to be exhibited against them for their criminal combination, which now they had full evidence of, by having actually left off their brewing. And the town of Edinburgh was actually for about a week under all the distresses, that they could possibly put them, eight brewers only, by the management of lord Ilay, out of 65, continuing to brew, and the consumption of ale in Edinburg, is computed at least at 2,500 barrels per week. But for their further relief, lord Ilay prevailed with one Peter Campbel, an eminent and rich old merchant, to hire two very large brewhouses, and brew all that he possibly could, and compelled the magistrates of Edinburgh not to hinder the country brewers from bringing drink into the town, of which they had not benefit till the 27th of August, when ale was publickly retailed in the streets by country brewers, without any disturbance, and all that was brought immediately sold, and this was the condition of Edinburgh from about the 20th of last month, to the 28th.

On the 21st, his majesty's orders for dismissing the Scotch secretary arrived here, of which I sent an immediate account to lord Ilay that day, that he might have the benefit of that resolution as soon as possible, which I was very sensible he wanted, and persuaded he would find a very good account from. The express arrived at Edinburgh the 26th, on the 25th the brewers petitioned the justices of the peace, before whom they were summoned, and in a strong manner insisted, that all further proceedings should be superseded till the meeting of the parliament, when they hoped and questioned not to obtain redress. That application being rejected on the 26th, they applied in a body to the magistrates of Edinburgh to intercede with lord Ilay for the liberty

Period III. of their brethren that were committed. Lord Ilay took that opportunity of
 1720 to 1727. being attended on the 27th by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh
 1725. and did then publickly, in a full assembly, speak to them with a very becoming spirit, and seasonable resolution, and rejected their application for the liberty of their bretheren with scorn and indignation, which had that effect, that three brewers more immediately after lighted their fires, and fell to brewing.

On the 27th, late at night, upon the report of lord Ilay's rejecting this application in such a manner, the brewers sent a messenger to desire the quarter session of the justices, where the penalties for non-payment are to be levied by distress, might be adjourned to October next, to which an immediate answer was returned, that nothing would be accepted or heard, but an entire submission and an immediate return to their duty; upon which, in their assembly, they fell into debates, and various opinions began to arise among themselves, and at last unanimously agreed to be determined by a question, *Brew or not*. Which being put by the chairman, he began to take their votes *seriatim* at the right hand; but his right hand man, thought it an hardship upon him to be obliged to speak first, the left hand man thought so too, and they could get nobody to give his vote first. At last one Gray declared he thought they had nothing now left to do, but to return to their trades; that he would not be bound by the majority, but began the vote, and voted *brew*. He was immediately followed by another, upon which two warm ones hoped they would hold out, till their bretheren were set at liberty, but these not being supported, the assembly broke up, and such of them as had their things in readiness, fell to brewing that night; and on the 28th at noon, above 40 brewhouses were hard at work in Edinburgh, and ten more at Leith. Lord Ilay has since sent a peremptory order to the brewers, not to hold any more assemblies at their peril. The brewers under confinement have taken till the 31st, to consider what methods they shall take. It is expected, they will then comply with the order of session, and give security for carrying on their business, upon which they must be set at liberty, but the prosecutions for the criminal combination will still remain good, and I am at present of opinion, should be carried on, to make some examples, if lord Ilay is of opinion that can be done, without raising new mutinies and disorders; or at least, that after conviction, they should be obliged to the king for their pardon, if that is thought adviseable.

The trials of the rioters at Glasgow, and the conspirators at Edinburgh, will be put off for a fortnight, from the date of the last letters, upon some necessary

cessary precautions. But I think I may now congratulate your lordship upon seeing an end to a very troublesome and hazardous affair: the success is entirely owing to the last wise resolution his majesty was pleased to take, and it is plain to a demonstration, that without that alteration, all the art of man could not put at end to these disorders, which had their rise and support from the countenance and protection which they expected and received from hence. I forgot to acquaint your lordship, that I sent down 1,500*l.* to lord Ilay, to answer any expence that should be necessary to carry on his majesty's service. I am confident he will manage to the best advantage. By all letters from Scotland, the affair of the highlands is like to succeed to his majesty's wishes. Urquhart sends me word from thence, that there will be a total submission and surrender of their arms. I am, my lord, with great truth and affection.

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SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Warmly commends lord Ilay.

MY LORD,

London, September 3, 1725.

I Do not send your lordship copies of lord Ilay's letters to me, not only because they are very long, but as they are sort of diaries or journals of all his transactions; they contain many things, which from the circumstances, frequently varied, and would rather create confusion, than give you a clear idea of what has been done. But if your lordship observes any inconsistency in the accounts that have come from the duke of Newcastle and me, it is occasioned by his grace writing from such accounts as the advocate sent up to Mr. Delafaye, and his grace not having seen lord Ilay's accounts to me, and there having been some difference of opinion betwixt lord Ilay and the advocate about the methods of proceedings; lord Ilay preferring in point of time the more moderate measures to be first put in execution. We have had some difficulty to manage, without giving the advocate distaste, or discouraging of him by abating all that zeal and warmth, which he had engaged himself in; this made lord Ilay's correspondence with me, differ a little from the advocate's accounts, who was not previously let thoroughly into all the measures that had been concerted: but all is well, and the facts are as I state them in my other letter.

Indeed, my lord, I cannot say enough in commendation of lord Ilay; to set himself up in direct opposition to the spirit and wishes of the whole country, to throw off all popularity at once, and run the hazard of not succeeding, which

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Private.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} you may depend upon it, he had not done, if the duke of Roxborough had not been removed, was a desperate and resolute undertaking, and he has conducted it with admiration, and I think I can answer for him, he will not be unreasonable in his demands, or give the king or his servants any uneasiness by proposing unnecessary charges, or aiming to ingross the whole power of Scotland into his own hands. These matters have already been so fully explained betwixt him and me, that I think we need be under no apprehensions upon that account. There must be a deputation for a keeper of the signet in Scotland, under Mr. Tilson and Mr. Delafaye. Lord Ilay recommends very earnestly one Mr. Reonald Campbel, a justice of the peace there, that has now signalized himself upon this occasion, to that post, worth betwixt 2 and 300*l.* per annum. He says you shall not find him partial to that name, but says this will be of particular service, and indeed I think he should be gratified in it.

The surrender of Wood's patent has had so good an effect in Ireland, that the lord lieutenant promises every thing will go well there, but I have other accounts that I more depend upon, which give the same assurances; so I think we have once more got Scotland and Ireland quiet, *if we take care to keep them so.*

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

Highly commends his conduct and zeal.

MY LORD,

London, Sept. 4, 1725.

Campbell
Papers.

I Am favoured with your letters of the 26th of last month by the post, and of the 27th and 28th by expresse, and not only return your lordship my most sincere thanks for your successful endeavours in surmounting the great difficulties, which few men but your lordship would have dared to undertake, and fewer would have been able to accomplish; but do assure you, I have done you all possible justice in my accounts to the king of this whole proceeding.

I intirely approve the measures you have taken, and cannot but think you judged very rightly in beginning where you did; but I do not know whether you observe what I think I discover in the advocate's letters, that he rather wished you had begun with the criminal prosecutions, and seems to think there is an abatement of that zeal with which he started. But as he is to be managed, and by no means to be distastd, I dare say, your prudence and temper will conduct it so, that he shall not be dissatisfied, nor imagine that any
such

such intimation was given you from hence: to contribute all I can to pre-serve him in good humour, I write to him now, in a manner that I hope will please him. I have now wrote to lord Lauderdale, according to your directions. Tumults in
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1725.

I have commended Mr. Campbell to lord Townshend to be deputy seal keeper, in which the duke of Newcastle has joined with me; and I dare say it will be as you wish; and for your other recommendations, I think you have such a title to command me, that you may be sure I will take due care of them.

I hope you have wrote hither, as you hinted before, and pray don't be sparing in personal compliments. I wait your lordship's commands in the further progress of the great and difficult task, and think there can be no doubt but if some of the most guilty and leading offenders can be convicted and punished, without creating new mutinies and new disorders, that some example should be made, or at least, that they should be tried and convicted; and if afterwards your lordship should think them objects of the king's pardon, you may have the grace of procuring it, and the obligation be your's.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Sends warrants for secret service money to be signed by the king.

MY LORD,

London, September 7, 1725.

I Have nothing to trouble your lordship with this post, having no particulars from Scotland since my last, but general accounts that every thing is like to go on very well, and 'tis now hoped that the malt tax will be levied and collected without any further dispute. The occasion of my troubling you now, is to transmit to your lordship the three enclosed warrants and receipts for money to be issued out of the secret service, which will be wanted at Michaelmas, or at least no more of it shall be issued than shall be absolutely necessary. The unexpected sums that have been paid since his majesty's departure, which your lordship is acquainted with, make it necessary to send over these warrants, that it may be in my power to answer some payments that become due at Michaelmas, and to be able to answer any unforeseen services; but I hope the whole will not be wanted before the king's return. Be pleased, my lord, to present them to his majesty to be signed, the dates are left blanks, to be filled up at the times that the money shall be wanted. His majesty will remember, that the receipts are to be signed at the top with G R at bottom. You will observe,

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. observe, that I am preparing to get my business dispatched with an eye to
 1720 to 1727 some October hunting, or you had not heard of me so soon upon this account.

1725. I am very truly and affectionately, my dear lord, your lordship's most faithful
 humble servant.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

*Expresses a high sense of his obligations, and his inclination to follow his
 advice.*

MY LORD,

October 7, 1725.

Campbell
 Papers.

I Am afraid your lordship will think I have been a long time silent; but I
 hope you know me too well, or that I have more of your good opinion,
 than for your lordship to think, that any neglect proceeds from a want of that
 regard that is due to you, or a just sense of the services you have rendered,
 and the obligations that I shall ever own, you have in particular laid upon me.
 But I have forbore writing out of choice, and I wish you had not mentioned
 what your letter begins with; because it makes it impossible for me to ac-
 knowledge the receipt of a letter which I cannot produce.

I am fully convinced by the account you give me, that Mr. Burnett must
 not long continue a commissioner of the excise; but I think the alteration of
 that commission may wait our meeting together; and for me, I think, you
 have a right to direct me in all these things; which makes me confident, that
 you will not think any delay in the execution of your commands, is playing
 the minister. You shall find me sincere and ready to do what you think ad-
 viseable, and without a grain of more discretion than you shall think necessary
 from circumstances. I think myself authorised to act as you desire concerning
 lord Kirkubright, having spoke to the king on that subject before he left En-
 gland; and you shall have a list of our pensions. I wish you a good de-
 liverance in the great work you have undertaken.

I am, with a great deal of reason, and very sincerely, my dear lord, your
 lordship's most faithful humble servant.

1725.

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1720 to 1727.
1725.

SECRET CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, LORD TOWNSHEND, AND THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Remonstrates on account of the large sums of money drawn upon the exchequer for the purpose of gaining Sweden.

MY LORD,

London, July 20, 1725.

I Was no less surprized than concerned at the news which your lordship's dispatches brought us, and shall trouble your lordship no further about them, than with all possible deference and submission to offer my humble opinion to his majesty, about that part which more immediately concerns the office, I have the honour to serve his majesty in.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I observe your lordship has sent Mr. Poyntz orders to draw for 50,000*l.* or even 100,000*l.* I hope his majesty will be so good as to believe, I would not, upon any account, make any unnecessary difficulties, when his service or interest is concerned; but as I am convinced, that it is impracticable to answer such large sums, without very manifest and great prejudice to his majesty's service, I do hope I shall be forgiven, if I humbly beg, that immediate orders may be sent to Mr. Poyntz, not to exceed 50,000*l.* in the whole, and to be as cautious and sparing in drawing that, as 'tis possible for him to be. I am afraid, as the present circumstances of our revenue now stand here, this demand can no ways be answered, but out of his majesty's civil list revenues. The bank cannot by law make any public loans, but upon parliamentary securities, of which we have none, but tallies upon the land and malt tax, reserved for the payment of the forces, which cannot be deposited but by the consent of the pay-master, and are appropriated for the service of the current year. If the pay-master should make no difficulties in borrowing money upon these tallies, this transaction with the bank and pay office, would immediately make those apprehensions public, which 'tis thought adviseable should be kept private; and therefore the civil list alone, must certainly bear the whole burden

of

Period III. of this charge, be it more; and I think I need not make use of many words to
 1720 to 1727. prove that 50,000*l.* is as much as can possibly, without the greatest inconveniences and difficultys imaginable, be supplied that way. I have this day
 1725. accepted Mr. Poyntz's bill for 6,000*l.* which will be paid to-morrow, and with 4,000*l.* paid before, makes 10,000*l.* I hope I shall be forgiven, for presuming to give my opinion in this free manner, which proceeds from no motive, but an unfeigned duty and concern for his majesty's service and interest.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Expresses his concern, that his opinion about Sweden should be misinterpreted.—

Thinks it necessary to secure that kingdom at any expence.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

(Hanover, July 27, 1725.) I Don't wonder you was surpris'd at the intelligence I transmitted to the duke of Newcastle from Mr. Poyntz; for though we had always reason to apprehend danger from the czarina, with regard to Sweden, upon which subject I had the happiness of reasoning some hours with you at my owne house, before I left England; at which time, the point with relation to assistance by money, was very fully examined; yet I must own, till I received that very dispatch from Mr. Poyntz, I was not under the least apprehension of affairs in the kingdom taking the sudden turn therein represented. I am sorry you take offence at an expression in my letter, which may look like a complaint of our having been too frugal. I don't see how you could turn that, as if it was meant at you, since after that conversation we had together, the same orders you now complain of, were sent to Mr. Poyntz, with this only difference, that he was then allowed to draw in case of great danger or necessity in general; and in the last orders, he was tied up not to do it, unless the duke and duchess of Holstein came with the Muscovite fleet to demand admittance into the kingdom of Sweden, and the use of one or more of their ports for that fleet; and that the king and senate of Sweden had resolution to refuse that demand, and to implore the assistance of England.

These conditions were so strong, and the situation in Sweden seemed to be such at that time, that we could hardly flatter ourselves they would have courage enough to venture on such another denial, even with all the promises Mr. Poyntz could make them; and therefore you will give me leave, in my turn, to be surpris'd, that you could imagine that this money was already drawn for upon
 you

you. And I must assure you, that I think the point was so essential, of refusing entrance both to the duke and the Muscovite, in case it should have been demanded, that I would not for any consideration in the world, notwithstanding the difficulties you have represented, have been the author of recalling those orders, and of leaving it to be said, that Sweden would have refused that admittance, if England would have supported them with such a sum of money. But I think it needless to dispute about a matter, which is now entirely over. I always thought Mr. Poyntz was too frugal at first, for though he has drawn for 10,000 *l.* he has still near 8,000 *l.* of it in his hands, and our interest has increased in proportion to the sums he has distributed; and I am firmly persuaded, that the disappointment the czarina has met with there, is chiefly owing to his abilities and dexterity, and the sums he has disposed of. I laid your letters before the king; and you may depend upon it, I represented all you offered, as the highest care of doing the best for his majesty's service.

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1725.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Recommends Mr. Law.—Remonstrates against the expence of sending an ambassador extraordinary to Paris.

(London, July 29—Aug. 9, 1725.) Mr. Law has wrote to your lordship to desire that he may have some sort of commission from his majesty to any prince or state, not to be made use of, but to be kept as a protection in case of necessity. By what he says to me, I really think, he believes it may be of service to him, and I promised to use my interest with your lordship for the obtaining it.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Extra.
Copy.

I am sorry to hear you think of sending an ambassador extraordinary to France with a compliment. The expence to the king will be very great, and I think, of very little advantage to the person. The plate for an ambassador, and an allowance for equipage money, the quarters advance, and the weekly appointments, will, in a little time, come to a great many thousand pounds, which I think may as well be saved, and 'tis better for the king to give lord Waldegrave 2000 *l.* than to make an expence of three times that sum; out of which he cannot with credit save 1000 *l.*

Period III.

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DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Lays the articles of the treaty of Hanover before the lords of the regency, who approve the measure, and express their resolution to support and enforce it.

1725.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, September 10—21, 1725.

Walpole
Papers.*Very private.**Copy.*

I Had the honour of your lordship's very private letter of the 31 August—11th September, by Molloy the messenger, and I have endeavoured to execute his majesty's commands in the best manner I was able, and with the utmost secrecy and caution. I accordingly, in concert with sir Robert Walpole, appointed a meeting, which we had yesterday, with my lord chancellor, the earl of Berkley, and the earl of Godolphin, who, in the absence of the duke of Devonshire, who is out of town, were the only persons to whom we thought proper to communicate matters of so great secrecy and importance.

Before I acquaint your lordship with the result of our conference, and lay before his majesty the humble opinion of us, his servants here, upon the present situation of affairs, I must observe, that yesterday morning, before our meeting, I had the pleasure to receive from Mr. Walpole at Paris, a duplicate of Mr. Stanhope's letter to your lordship of the 4th instant, N. S. whereby I found that the language and behaviour of their catholick majesties, with regard to the king our master, and the continuance of the correspondence between the two nations, were very much altered, since Mr. Stanhope's last audience. Whether this change be real, or not, or if so, whatever may have been the occasion of it, as I thought it might be of consequence, in order to forming the opinions of the lords upon what I was to communicate to them, I did at last acquaint them with so much of Mr. Stanhope's letter as related to the disposition of their catholick majesties concerning the affair of Gibraltar, and the manner, in which they were now willing to explain the peremptory and extraordinary demand they had formerly made of it in Mons. de Grimaldo's letter.

I shall now proceed to give your lordship a particular account of our conference, which I begun by laying before the lords (having the letters before me, to justify my accounts) a particular relation of our present situation, with respect to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, and in it I endeavoured to shew, how unprovoked the behaviour of the latter was towards his majesty, and his people; and how it was intirely owing to the dictates and suggestions of the court of Vienna, whose resentment the king had drawn upon himself, upon no
other

other account, than his endeavours to procure for the court of Spain, the advantages they were justly entitled to by their treaties.

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1725.

I acquainted the lords, that no sooner was this separate treaty concluded, in that extraordinary manner, between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, than an offer was made by the emperor, of his mediation to accommodate differences between England and Spain, which offer, his majesty, with all the justice and reason imaginable, very peremptorily refused, there being no difference, but what has been since created by the court of Vienna itself, between the two crowns. That this offer (which appeared afterwards to have been the voluntary act of the imperial court) and his majesty's refusal of a mediation for accommodating differences not subsisting, and to engage his kingdoms in stipulations and guarantys not known, which, if guessed at, would be attended with consequences, that must be most fatal to the peace and tranquillity of Europe, was immediately followed by a peremptory demand of Gibraltar at the court of Madrid; and by such a behaviour and avowed discourses of the Spanish ambassadour at the court of Vienna, and even of the ministers of his imperial majesty, as could leave no room to doubt, but that the latter were taking all occasions to work up the court of Spain to come to an actual breach with his majesty. That the king had, upon this occasion, taken the most prudent measures to be informed of the true sentiments of the court of Spain, whether the extravagant discourses of Ripperda to every body that came near him, of the king and kingdom (and here I took particular care to inform their lordships of what he constantly threw out with regard to the pretender) were by order of his court or not; and though at first indeed their catholic majesties seemed to disown any thing said by their minister at Vienna, that was unbecoming, or might tend to a breach between the two crowns; yet at last, by a letter from Grimaldo, Mr. Stanhope was given to understand, not only that Gibraltar must be immediately restored, but, if it was not, the good correspondence between the two nations would be forthwith broken off, and all the concessions, with relation to our trade to the Spanish West Indies, would be set aside.

I did also, in as short a manner as I could, explain to their lordships the inducements of the court of Spain, which was solely under the direction of the queen, to act this extravagant and unjust part towards his majesty, which could be only the marriage of her catholic majesty's son, with one, if not the eldest of the arch-dutcheffes. I did not fail also to acquaint their lordships

Period III. with the orders that the king had, from time to time, sent to Vienna and Madrid; and the firmness that his majesty had shewn for the honour of himself and his people, by rejecting, in so peremptory a manner, the demand of Gibraltar.

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1725.

I must now do the lords the justice to say, that they received this communication with the greatest resentment at the ungratefull and unparalleled behaviour of these two courts, and at the same time expressed their gratitude for his majesty's firmness and resolution, which they thought, by the alteration that seems at present to be in the court of Spain, had already had a very good effect; and did not doubt but, if that court should return to their former mad way of talking, or, in pursuance of that, should put any of their wild schemes in execution, such prudent measures would be taken by the king, as would secure the honour of the nation, and prevent any mischief that might happen to his people. Their lordships were all of opinion, that the court of Spain, notwithstanding the suggestions of that of Vienna, considering the strict union there is between his majesty and France, the declaration that has been of late given by his most christian majesty, even with relation to Gibraltar, and above all, the great and powerfull alliances that the king is now forming, would not venture to come to an open rupture, by which, they must evidently see, that they themselves would be the losers; though it was yet uncertain to what cause, the present change of their catholick majesties, was to be attributed, or whether indeed, it may not possibly have been with a view only to amuse and prevent his majesty from taking such measures, as may effectually secure him and his subjects, against all attempts for ever; yet, considering the season of the year, and how rash the seizing any effects of our merchants in the West Indies would be, on account of an apprehension that court must be under of reprisals to be made upon them, it is the opinion of his majesty's servants here, that the utmost resentment that their catholick majesties will at present shew, will not go farther than resuming their former extravagant way of talking.

But as the king has been pleased to command us, to give our humble advice, what may be proper to be done for the security of his subjects, in case the madness of the court of Spain should carry them so far, as to make any attempt upon the effects of our merchants in the West Indies, or elsewhere upon his majesty's subjects; their lordships are, in that case, humbly of opinion, that immediate orders should be sent to make reprisals upon the Spanish galeons, and that without making a previous demand of the restitution of the effects

of our merchants. In this their lordships were all very clear, that such a proceeding would not only be justified every where, but was absolutely incumbent upon us. And upon this occasion, I acquainted them with what I had written to your lordship the 3d of September upon this head; but as I had not then presumed to give my opinion either for or against it, their lordships desired I would this day inform you of their sentiments upon it. My lord Berkeley acquainted us, that if the Squadron now in the West Indies was not thought sufficient for that purpose, two or three more ships might be sent thither, either now, or when his majesty pleased, without giving the least alarm, and only on the common pretence of protecting our trade. If the king thinks any attention is to be given to this notion of reprisals, I had the honour in my letter of the 3d instant, to acquaint your lordship in what manner lord Berkeley thought it might be done, without making any noise, or having any ill consequence.

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1725.

Their lordships were also of opinion, that if his majesty approved of it, it might be proper to send immediate orders to Mr. Stanhope, that in case the court of Spain should alter their conduct, and return to their former violence and extravagance, he should then declare to them, that if his catholick majesty should be induced to take any unadvised step, by seizing the effects of our merchants, or making any other attempt upon us, in that case they must expect the king would take the first opportunity of revenging the injuries done to his subjects.

Their lordships did also consider what you hinted with relation to the fitting out 15 or 16 men of war. My lord Berkeley acquainted us, that such a number of ships would always be got ready in a month's time, if it should be thought proper; and that, in any season of the year, they, or part of them might be sent away to the West Indies, if necessary. But as your lordship will see that the opinion of the king's servants here, is, not to wait for the demanding the restitution of the effects of our merchants, in order to make reprisals; one of the uses proposed by your lordship in fitting out this Squadron, will, in their opinion, be better answered, by sending to the commodore of the king's ships in the West Indies, to make reprisals, in case any of the effects of his majesty's subjects should be seized by order of the court of Spain. However, in case of a breach, which the lords think will actually be made, when once the effects of the merchants are seized, it may not be improper to order such

Period III. such a squadron to be fitted out, which both my lord Berkeley and sir Robert
 1720 to 1727. Walpole said, might be done without much expence.

1725.

Thus, my lord, I have acquainted you with the sentiments of the king's servants here, upon the subject of your letter, and upon the advices which were communicated to them. If, notwithstanding that, his majesty should think any other measures more adviseable, I am sure, that their zeal for the king, as well as their resentment for the injuries threatned by the court of Spain, is such, that they will, with the greatest chearfulness and unanimity, execute and support whatever his majesty shall think proper to have done.

I must also do them the justice to assure your lordship, that they have the most gratefull sense of the early concern that his majesty has shewn for the security of his subjects, against all events that may possibly happen; and they are also of opinion, that nothing more can be done now, nor even till the next spring, than what I have had the honour to lay before your lordship. I must beg leave, as from myself, to add, that it would be the highest injustice to impute any thing, that might possibly happen on the part of Spain, to his majesty's absence from hence, or to imagine, that every thing has not been done on the part of the king for the security of his subjects; when on the contrary, those that are informed of the great success that has attended his majesty's endeavours abroad, in the forming the best and strongest alliances for the preservation of the publick peace and tranquillity, must reckon it a very happy incident, that the king should be at this time, where this great work could be best accomplished.

I must now return your lordship my thanks for the communication of the several papers you have been pleased to send me. Nothing sure could be properer, than the manner in which you proposed to induce the states general and the king of Sweden to accede to our treaty. I find by Mr. Walpole's letters to your lordship of the 4-15th instant, that they are in the main approved by France, tho' monsieur de Morville made some difficulty with relation to the communicating the separate article about Thorn, to the Swedes and the Dutch, which I very much wonder at, because that must, in my opinion, be as agreeable to them as almost any part of the treaty.

As to the manner proposed in France of transacting with the king of Sardinia by a separate treaty, I cannot, for my own part, see the necessity of it; tho' on the other hand, provided that prince be secured, it is not very material

rial* which way it is done. Count Maffei shews a very good disposition, and by the accounts I have had of him from Mr. Walpole, I doubt not but he will do what he can to bring in his master. Period III.
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1725.

As to the elector of Bavaria, I cannot but think the securest way to gain him, will be, to send back monsieur St. Saphorin to Munich, who, during his short stay there, was able to begin that negotiation with so much success.

The only circumstance in all our affairs, which I dislike, is what Mr. Walpole mentions of a defensive alliance between the emperor, Portugal, and Spain. It would have been very lucky, if we could have prevented any coalition of this kind; however, nothing can be stronger than the orders which have been sent to Mr. Dormer on that head. I shall write to him on Tuesday, to inquire whether there is any foundation for this news, and to use his utmost endeavours to prevent that crown from entering into any new engagement without the concurrence or participation of his majesty. The difference between that court and France, has been an unlucky incident at this time: that added to the new alliances that are forming between the families of Portugal and Spain, I conclude has been the occasion of this new step, if it be made.

I was sorry for the account Mr. Walpole gives of Cederheim's discourse to monsieur Gedda at Paris. It cannot be true in all its parts; but what he mentions of the negotiation between the emperor and the czarina, may have a good deal of foundation. However, as we have secured Prussia, if we can get Sweden, I think his majesty need be little concerned at whatever measures may be taken by any other powers in the north.

I beg your lordship's pardon for troubling you with so long a letter, which my desire of being as exact as possible in my relation, has been the occasion of.

P. S. As I find by Mr. Walpole's letter to your lordship, that the Dutch minister at Paris, has again complained of major Hargrave's behaviour at Gibraltar, I believe it may be proper to send orders to colonel Kane, who is now upon the spot, to inquire into the affair of the Dutch prize, which was carried into Gibraltar, and to send a full account of all the circumstances of that transaction, as well as to examine into the other complaints that have been made against major Hargrave, by either the Spaniards or the Dutch.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

1725.

Hopes to secure the accession of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel to the treaty of Hanover.—Sends an intercepted letter from Petersburgh, which seems to prove that a scheme is in agitation between the czarina, the king of Spain, and the emperor, to support the pretender.—Farther proofs of the project.—Is convinced that the emperor is deeply engaged in it.—Proposes to send more ships to the West Indies.

MY LORD,

Hanover, October 4, 1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Very private.

Copy.

I Received the honour of your grace's private letter of September 14, by Randal, the messenger, this morning, which I immediately laid before the king, who was extreamly pleased to find, that your grace and my brother Walpole concurr so entirely with his majesty's sentiments in relation to the measures to be taken in order to engage the landgrave of Hesse to accede to the new alliance. I fear prince William of Hesse, and Mr. Diemar have not found his highness so forward to accede upon the terms they proposed to me, as they imagined they should, for they have not yet been able to obtain his final consent. I received, however, on Tuesday night, a very comfortable letter from baron Sparre, whom the landgrave sent for to consult upon this occasion; in which he assures me, his highness will certainly consent to Diemar's proposal, and only waits to know the sentiments of his son, the king of Sweden, upon it. Your grace and my brother Walpole, may depend upon it, I will be as good a husband of the money as possible, and will draw as sparingly as the necessity of the service will allow.

The copies of letters from Muscovy, which I sent you last Tuesday (and which I can assure you are genuine) compared with the advices we have received all this summer from Vienna, Madrid, Stockholm, and very lately from Mr. Walpole at Paris, open a scene, that, I am perswaded, you will agree with me, might not only have been dangerous, but even fatal, if it had not been discovered in time. I don't know what to do with the person that putt these papers into our hands. He was sent by the jacobites with letters of consequence to Petersburgh, and recommended by them to be placed in the army there, but not liking the country, was sent back with those dispatches to France and Spain. But by the letters I have received from the chaplain of the factory at Petersburgh, I have intelligence, that they had begun to suspect his fidelity, before he

he failed from thence, and had sent to seize him after he was aboard. However, they missed their aim, and the man is now at Amsterdam, where he delivered the letters of which I sent you copies. But I am afraid he can scarce be of any further use to us in betraying their correspondence. Nevertheless, I have given him 100*l.* and promised him a pardon, and further rewards, provided he can give us any information, how we may intercept their letters; assuring him, that if he dares go on himself, and deliver the originals, and put the answers into our hands, he shall have a reward suitable to so great a service.

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1725.

Your grace will observe, that one of the letters is from sir Henry Sterling, who has been the pretender's known agent at Petersburg these several years past. There is very little cant used in the letter. By *goods* he certainly means arms, and by the *factory*, the court of Petersburg. The three first ships are those, who touched at the island of Lewis, and I cannot but think they left part of their cargo there. The not intending to attempt any thing at present, but to have every thing ready against next spring, is exactly conformable to what Bassewitz and Cederheim the Swedish minister at Petersburg write, as your grace will have been informed by letters, of which Mr. Walpole will have sent you an account in his of September 13-24, and what is said in those extracts of the czarina's resolution not to break off the negotiation by giving a flat refusal to the proposal made by us and the French court, with regard to the reconciliation and alliance, but rather to amuse us with the hopes of agreeing, that they may gain time until their measures are taken, agrees perfectly with that part of the letter, where sir Henry assures *them of the unalterable good wishes of the factory* (i. e. the court of Petersburg) *who, says he, are as desirous to contribute to establish your trade, as may be, and admonishes them not to neglect the least time to sett all engines at work against the next season, and tells them, that the factory have given their ill wishers no provocation as yet upon which they can lay any stress; so that he hopes their goods may pass without any treacherous designs.*

Count Golowin, the Muscovite minister at Stockholm, is one of the most noted jacobites of all Russia; the captain of the ship that brought him, is one Surocole, who was in the rebellion with the late lord Marr. But what gives me the greatest apprehensions, that sir Henry Sterling is not quite in the wrong as to their strength in Sweden, is looking back upon Mr. Poyntz's letters of the 9th of June, and 6th of July, which were writt not long after the

Period III. three Russian men of war passed the Sound. I believe your grace will judge
 1720 to 1727. from them, that there is great reason to think, that not only Mr. Reichell, the
 1725. Holstein minister, but even the Swedish secretary Mr. Hopken, is deeply engaged in this scheme. I send your grace extracts of those letters, least you should not have them by you. As to William Heafs, who is mentioned in this letter, he is one, who has been long employed in carrying messages for the jacobites. Your grace must have seen his name frequently in the Leyden correspondence. What sir Henry says about prince Kurakin, and prince Dolgorucki, I dare say is true, for your grace may remember, that a little before the czar's death, prince Kurakin had orders to solicit the court of France for their assistance towards restoring the pretender, and had likewise a credential letter from the pretender. Tho' this letter is directed for Messrs. Butler and Kelly, yet I verily believe it is writt to the duke of Ormond; for in the close of it, where sir Henry speaks in commendation of the bearer, he says, *he would have been provided for here, but the desire he has to be near your favours, makes him refuse the offers made.* Which last words make it probable, that the letter is addressed to some person of credit and authority.

The great sum mentioned as requisite to carry on the work, shews not only, that sir Henry's correspondent is a person of some consequence, but likewise that there are considerable powers engaged in the scheme; for besides the money paid for the arms already carried to Cadiz on board the three men of war, he requires 120,000*l.* more at least. The powers concerned are without doubt, the emperor and Spain; and a proportion of the vast summs Spain has remitted to Amsterdam within these few months, is certainly employed in this service. I have had frequent advices from good hands of their having remitted four millions of crowns, but I have all the reason in the world to believe, that they have a credit for above half that sum, with one Andreoli, and another banker at Amsterdam.

There can be no doubt, but that Spain is deeply engaged in this scheme. These letters, and the whole conduct of the king and queen of Spain shew it. The great civilitys that are paid to the duke of Ormond; their seizing Cammock at this juncture, to be sure, upon suspicion of his being a spy of ours; the three ships already sent, and the two others, which it appears by these letters the czarinna is sending thither upon the jacobite account, besides the impossibility that any power, except Spain, should furnish the sum of money required, leave us no room to doubt that they intend, in conjunction with the

czarinna,

czarina, to make an attempt upon us next spring. And I am convinced, that the modest stile in which the queen of Spain talkt last to Mr. Stanhope upon Gibraltar, was intended only to amuse us, and to avoid coming to a rupture immediately.

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1720 to 1727.
1725.

As to the court of Vienna, we may certainly conclude they have their share in this project, since Spain is so evidently engaged in it; the queen having done nothing for some time, but by their directions. It is not, however, from this general way of reasoning only, that I am convinced the emperor is concerned in it. For I have been for some months thoroughly perswaded that Spain and the court of Vienna, when they concluded the late treaty, entered into a strong engagement in favour of the pretender, by a secret article. I acquainted your grace some time ago with this intelligence, which I had from so good hands, that I no more doubt the truth of it, than if I had actually seen the article.

Your grace will communicate what I now write to you, to my brother Walpole, and to him alone. We have six months before us to take all proper measures for defeating the wicked intentions of our enemies, but it is of the last importance, that this discovery should, if possible, be kept an absolute secret. His majesty must endeavour, while he is in these parts, to gain Sweden; if we can secure that kingdom to our interest, and the Dutch, and the landgrave accede to our treaty, we may, in my opinion, laugh at all these designs. The only thing, that will be necessary for your grace to do at this juncture; will be to send particular orders to general Wade, that the strictest search be made in the highlands, and in the island of Lewis for the arms that the Muscovite ships are supposed to have left there. You will likewise press him to sett all hands at work to get the barrack of Killiwemen and that of Inverness in a good posture of defense. Your grace will take care to do this without discovering to the general the particular reasons, that move his majesty to desire that these works may be finisht with all expedition.

His majesty has further commanded me to acquaint your grace, that, since this discovery, he is more inclinable to come into what was proposed by some of the lords of the council in relation to the sending three or four ships more to strengthen the squadron commanded by captain Scott in the West Indies; being sensible that it will be no great expence to the public, and at the same time that it will be a great check to the Spaniards. If your grace and my brother Walpole are of the same opinion, his majesty would have you acquaint

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} my lord Berkeley, that the king has altered his sentiments upon that head, and that he would have three or four ships gott ready as soon as possible, and sent to the West Indies. These ships may, before they proceed upon that voyage, be made use of towards seizing the two ships mentioned to have been at Petersburg, when these letters were wrote; if we can gett notice of them as they pass the sound, for I fancy they are not yet out of the Baltick. Your grace sees they are the czarinna's ships, she lends them, and it is probable, by the accounts given of them, that they are men of war. We may perhaps meet with them upon our coast, or upon that of Scotland, but it will be, in my opinion, to little purpose to send any ships out to cruise for them, till we have had some previous notice of them; such a step would alarm, and would not be attended with any success or advantage. I am, &c.

Intercepted letter from sir Henry Stirling, agent of the pretender, at Petersburg, superscribed to messieurs Butler and Kelly, merchants, at Madrid.—Enclosed in the preceding dispatch.

SIR,

St. Petersburg, July 25, 1725.

I'VE the favour of your's of the 23d of May, inclosed by our friend in Paris, with an account of his receiving the contents of my bill of the 28th of April, which gave me pleasure. I hope the remainder will be as carefully answered: when required, you shall be furnished with most part, if not all the goods required before the latter end of the season. I hope the three first ships and goods are arrived without damage; there is one more ready to sail, and two preparing, which will be clear before the end of this month. I have already assured you of the unalterable good wishes of this factory, who are as desirous to contribute to establish your trade as may be. I cannot but repeat, that you must not neglect the least time to set all your engines at work, and answer the next season. It is required, that a proper person be immediately sent to Stockholm, who will meet a sure friend of our's there, sent by this factory, who will facilitate the accomplishment of the needful; as soon as I have an account of his being on the way, I'll meet him. There must be one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling at least, ready to be answered where required, to do matters effectually, besides the price of the present goods required. This I think proper to hint, for one of our factors from there, signify'd such to me; and it's proper, whoever you send, be advised on this point.

William

William Heas goes away from this for Stockholm immediately, to view the goods there, which are in good order, as I am told. Matters are carried on here with all imaginable discretion, but the guilty conscience of our ill wishers, gives us just reason to apprehend dangers, yet as they have no provocation to lay any stress upon, I hope our goods may pass free from any treacherous designs.

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Prince Dolgoruky and prince Kourakin have instructions to close with such as you appoint to treat with them. Our friend Thomas Gordon inclosed my letter of the 4th of last month, to be forwarded by his friend in Bourdeaux: nothing else besides the aforesaid, seems necessary at present to be inserted. The bearer can acquaint you with some remarks; he has answer'd the character you writ of him, and would be accordingly provided for here, but the desire he has to be near your favours, makes him refuse the offers made, for which reason I think he deserves the greatest esteem. I conclude with my best respects to you and yours.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Proposes to send a spy to Peterburgh, under the appearance of a jacobite.— Objects to the intercepting Russian ships under the bare suspicion of carrying arms.—Deprecates a war, which nothing can justify but the dread of an invasion in support of the pretender.

MY LORD,

October 2—13, 1725.

YOUR lordship's letter to the duke of Newcastle of the 14th instant N. S. came to us last night, and I agree with you so intirely in your reasonings about the intercepted letter from Petersburgh, that I had resolved to give you my thoughts upon the subject, and in the same way of thinking before we received your's. This discovery is of the last importance, and I think, if this channel of intelligence is lost, nothing should be spared to secure some other method of being informed of what is doing.

You observe, that part of their security is, that we have nobody at Peterburgh, and as we have six months before us, if we could settle an intelligence, we may certainly prevent the mischiefs that are intended. The Russian factory, I understand, are all jacobites, and upon that principle, were so easily induced to join in the clamour against captain Dean, but we may from thence infer, that they are, or some of them to a degree informed of what is doing.

May

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. May I try fir Nathaniel Gould (governor of that company) with all possible caution, whether he can procure any intelligence from thence, or whether any body could be sent as upon the companies affairs, who might take the character of a jacobite, and endeavour to dive into the secret. Something at least, I think, should be attempted.

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I was very clear in my opinion, not to order any ships to be fitted out and sent to the West Indies. The season of the year, when all the trade in those parts is expected to come home, the time for making any reprisals upon Spain in these seas, being so far off as May, when the flota or galleons are soonest expected, and the impossibility of preventing the alarm, and giving lord Berkeley a supposition that there is some secret concealed from him, convinced me, not to give any orders liable to those objections, which I think at the same time can be of no service, and we should rather keep our naval force at home, than send it abroad. I take it for granted, that by this time some more of the ships may be come away from Russia; and if they should be intercepted, without farther evidence or satisfaction to the world, I am afraid to seize or stop Russian ships trading to Spain, or sailing under that pretence, with all their proper documents to that purpose, would be such an act of hostility, as would make us deem'd the aggressors, in case of a rupture, and that is one thing, I think, we should avoid. And if *we are to be engaged in a war, which I most heartily deprecate, 'tis to be wished that this nation may think, an invasion by a foreign power, or an evident design of such an invasion, the support of the pretender, and the cause of the protestant succession, are the chief and principal motives that obliged us to part with that peace and tranquillity, and the happy consequences thereof, which we now enjoy.*

I begin now to think with his majesty's leave, to go into Norfolk, which I hope I may be permitted to do about the 20th of this month; it would be of some service to know by that time, when we may expect the happiness of seeing his majesty here, and about what time 'tis proposed that the parliament shall set.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Thirty or forty ships of the line will be ready next spring.—Is convinced that an invasion is designed.

MY LORD,

London, October 12—21, 1725.

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1720 to 1727.

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Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

THE duke of Newcastle and I dined yesterday with lord Berkley, where we communicated to him the contents of the last intelligence, and discoursed fully upon the subject. The result was to give orders to the commissioners of victualling to contract for and provide victuals for 10,000 seamen, which will be declared in council on Thursday to be the number of men for sea service for the year 1726, and as the orders for victualling have been for the same number of men for several late years, and the quantity of victuals reduced only by private intimations, this may and shall be done without giving any alarm, or notice taken, and when this quantity is provided, it will be very easy at any time betwixt this and the latter end of January, to make up the complement for 2 or 3000 men more, if necessity shall require.

I have procured a list of all the navy, with such ships mark'd as are ready or may very soon be ready to put to sea, and it may certainly be depended upon, that 30 or 40 ships of the line of battle may be easily got ready to put to sea in March or April next, without giving any new orders before Christmas, and lord Berkley was very explicitly of this opinion, so that there is no occasion to give any orders now, or for his majesty to determine at present, for what service, or in what seas the fleet shall serve, in which there will be many inconveniences. For as I fear there will be no difficulty in fitting out a fleet, but in procuring men, this difficulty will increase, if 'tis known that the fleet is designed for the Baltick, so great an aversion have all the sailors for that service. There will be likewise time to consider in what other parts any other part of the fleet may be most usefully employed, according to intelligences and circumstances of time and things.

I must confess the apprehensions of some design next spring, obtain so much with me, that I think it deserves the greatest attention, and we cannot be too watchful to trace and discover all that can possibly be known. The design at present appears to me in this light: the difficulty that Spain is under to furnish ships or to equip them, has made it necessary for Russia to supply the ships, and at the same time to send with them such quantities of naval stores, as may be sufficient to equip such ships as may be had in Spain. For I do not apprehend that the three Russian ships that touched in Scotland, did land, or designed to land any arms or warlike stores in Scotland.

The movements and disposition that had lately been made in the Russian fleet, by sending so many ships to Revel, has the appearance of a fleet's being designed:

Period III. 1720 to 1727. designed to come early from thence, and to sail at the same time with the embarkation design'd from Spain, one probably for Scotland, the other for the west of England; and if the emperor engages in the design, the land forces, that must have the greatest share in the execution of this project, must be had for Flanders, by way of Ostend, and these are the events which it seems to me, are chiefly to be guarded against; and if any thing, like this, is the scheme, the conclusion seems very plain, that a sufficient fleet, sent early enough to the Baltick, and another to be employed in our own seas, as occurrences shall direct, and to guard our own coast, may probably defeat the project. But if in the mean time, any measures could possibly be fallen upon, that might divert the attempt, that is of all things to be most wished for and desired.

* Afterwards
lord Edge-
cumbe.

LORD CARTERET TO RICHARD EDGE CUMBE.*

Makes overtures of friendship to sir Robert Walpole.—And offers his best services to forward that end.

SIR,

Dublin Castle, September 29, 1725.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I Return you my most sincere thanks for your letters of the 21st and 23^d instant, in which you give me so good an account of your proceedings in the affair with relation to your friend, which I recommended to you, and which I have extremely at heart. If I was not fully bent upon cementing that friendship, I would never have applied to you about it; I know your just and tender attachment to the person concerned; I know your penetration likewise, so as not to venture to impose upon you, if such a thought had been in my heart; but I trusted to that relation of blood which subsists between us, and to that uninterrupted civility and acquaintance, that has been between us ever since we appeared in the world; and that you would be glad to facilitate my coming into that friendship, which you yourself are so happily engaged in. It was upon this foundation, that I applied to you, and I will give any tokens of sincerity that you shall require, and think proper for me to do. I find you mention—*the only measures that can create a confidence, &c.* If I knew specifically what they are, I would answer with the utmost frankness, being resolved not to let this opportunity slip, upon which I must regulate my future conduct. If that friendship can be obtained, I shall think myself happy, and be for ever faithfull to it; if not, you will bear me witness, that I endeavoured it. As I know it will be agreeable to you to do good to us both, so I desire
you

you will continue to cultivate the disposition in your friend, that you mention; and I will, on my part, do what you shall think becomes me to convince him of the truth and sincerity of my intentions to establish a lasting amity between us. I hope to hear from you again.

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Our matters here, as to the parliament, go on very well, but as that body is always to be watched, and never to be answered for, I can only say, that I have no reason as yet to apprehend any disturbance. The state of Prat's account, will be closed before the commissioners, so as they may report upon it on Saturday next; and people here grow much cooler, since it is probable, as Gardiner told me to day, that the deficiency upon Prat's account, will not exceed 35,000*l.* to which his estate and security having been applied, hardly any thing will remain deficient. I shall use my best endeavours to quiet all noise and clamour, and I think I shall succeed, for the king's service, and the future quiet of this country Prat's account will be brought down to the day of his dismissal; and he has a notion, that his friends, when the public business in the parliament is over, may have weight enough to get 10,000*l.* remitted to him. I think this very chymical.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Encloses the preceding letter to Mr. Edgumbe.—Carteret makes overtures of friendship and union, which he judges it prudent to accept.

MY LORD,

October 12—21, 1725.

I Am now to give your lordship an account of a transaction, which being carried so far, I thought necessary to acquaint you with it, and hope, considering all things, you will think I have done right. Upon Mr. Edgumbe's return from Ireland, he came commissioned from lord Carteret to make me the most ample tender and offer of services, that words could express, and recommended it most earnestly to him as a common friend to do all the good offices he possibly could, to procure a good understanding and reconciliation betwixt us, upon such assurances of sincerity as nothing can exceed. And altho' in the report of two different and very long conversations upon this subject, I did not observe many things new, but rather a repetition of what his lordship had frequently said to all of us upon the like occasion, the manner in which he broke this to Mr. Edgumbe, the earnestness with which he pressed him to undertake it, and his beginning thus by a third person, a formal

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

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negociation, to which I was under the necessity to give some answer, prevailed with me so far to receive and entertain his proposal, as to send him a civil but very general answer, which I did not then know but might end there. But the last post brought a letter from his lordship to Mr. Edgcumbe of which I send your lordship a copy inclosed. By that you'll see and judge how much he is in earnest, or how desirous at least he would be thought to come to terms and temper with us.

Upon this, I was of opinion, that I should encourage him to hope for our friendship; and as you will see by the words he has mark'd in his letter to Mr. Edgcumbe, what my first answer was to him, I now explained that, that upon condition he would enter cordially and sincerely into the king's measures in conjunction with us at present in the administration, and without any reserves, I was ready to agree with him, and as he knew with whom I was so far engaged as to do nothing but in concert, this must be understood to extend equally to those with whom I was engaged; and that to render this reconciliation more perfect, I would by the first opportunity acquaint your lordship with it, and did not doubt of your concurrence upon the same conditions. By this means, my lord, we shall hinder him from entering into any engagements with Roxborough, Pulteney, &c. we shall have the use of him and his assistance in the house of lords next winter, where his behaviour may make him so desperate with them, that he may have no resource. I say nothing of his sincerity, so as to answer for it; but we know him enough to watch him, and be upon our guard. I think the stroke of Roxborough has frightened him into this temper, from which he sees we could do, what he thought we could not; and if we keep him and Berkley, who both reason and talk alike from the last measure, I think we have all that are worth having of that clan. You'll let me know what you think of this transaction.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Intrigues of Spain and the emperor in favour of the pretender.

MY LORD,

Gohrde, November 4—15, 1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Private.

I Send your grace by this messenger, a copy of Mr. Poyntz's dispatch, and of the advices sent by Cederhielm from Petersbrough to Stockholm. Your grace will see one article among those advices which confirms, in the strongest manner,

manner, the design mentioned in the letters intercepted from Petersburg, and all our suspicions in relation to the intrigues of the courts of Vienna and Madrid in favour of the pretender. Your grace will likewise find a very extraordinary article in the circular from Madrid, which I received yesterday, relating to the three Muscovite ships at Cadiz. Their sending them now to Ireland can be in no other view, than preparatory to the Spaniards beginning their attack upon us in favour of the pretender early next spring. His majesty thinks that no time should be lost in sending proper orders privately to lord Carteret to take the most effectual care, that those ships upon their first arrival in any ports of that kingdom, be seized and searcht with the utmost exactness and rigour; and that the officers employed do take care to secure all the small arms they shall find aboard, and likewise all papers that do not appear to relate to trade; and to prevent as much as possible those on board having any correspondence with the people of that country.

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The ships being ships of force, and our not knowing to what port they are designed, will make the execution of the orders to be sent difficult, and their success precarious. Your grace will therefore consult lord chancellor, lord Berkley, and such others of the regents as you shall think proper in this affair, and take care that without loss of time, such orders be sent to the lord lieutenant in particular, and such directions in general given, as shall appear to them proper for the seizing and searching the abovementioned ships, and securing all the small arms that shall be found on board them; as likewise all papers that may be of any consequence to his majesty and his government.

If any other pretence could be found for giving these orders, so that the true reason might yet be kept secret, it would be of infinite advantage. However, if that cannot be done, your grace and the other lords will see the importance of having the orders themselves kept a secret, and every thing relating to them transacted with all the privacy the nature of the thing itself, and the good and success of the service will allow of.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Imputes the bad state of affairs in Ireland to the Brodricks.—Makes a few observations on the draught of the king's speech.—Stocks affected by rumours of war.—Recommends caution.—Opposition.

Period III.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, Nov. 29—Dec. 10, 1725.

1720 to 1727.

1725.

Walpole
Papers.*Copy.*

I Believe your lordship is not at a loss to account for my long silence, being in form'd that I have been in Norfolk, where the fineness of the season detained me a week longer than I propos'd, but I have now taken my leave of all rural diversions for this winter.

Your lordship's letter, with a draft of the king's speech, came to us yesterday. I will certainly consider it in the best manner I am able, and be ready to give you my poor thoughts upon it by letter, or upon your arrival. But it is necessary that I should suggest to your lordship, that if the parliament is to be opened in that manner, and the measures are to be put in execution, which seem resolv'd by the tenure of your lordship's several dispatches transmitted to the duke of Newcastle, which I have perus'd since my return from the country, it will be adviseable, if his majesty can order his affairs accordingly, that the parliament should set about the middle of January. For the opening of the parliament in that manner, will immediately affect the credit in some degree, which in such cases being always worse at first, than after a little time and consideration, may probably make it necessary for me a little to vary my schemes of the supply, and not venture upon the strength of credit, which I have hitherto depended upon.

This leads me to tell you, that the rumors of war begin now to obtain pretty much, and have their effects upon the stocks, which, as 'tis unavoidable, we must expect and provide accordingly, but at the same time, not to take any steps which are not immediately necessary, and which in point of time, will be as effectual to all intents and purposes. I speak this in regard to fitting out ships, and manning squadrons, for 'tis most certain, that in three months, all that can possibly be wanted, may as certainly be got ready as in twelve months; and one or two such squadrons as are talk'd of, may certainly be had and got ready in all particulars, except seamen, which will at all times be an unequal difficulty, as well, altho' delayed till the beginning of the next year, as if orders were immediately given.

It is fit you should likewise be acquainted, that the Pultney's build great hopes upon the difficultys they promise themselves will arise from the foreign affairs, and especially from the Hanover treaty. I had a curiosity to open some of their letters, and find them full of this language. The last foreign mail brought a letter from count Staremburg to William Pulteney, giving him great expectations of the materials he should furnish him with, when it might

be

be done with safety, and very strong in general terms upon what is transacting with you. *Wife Daniel* fills all his inland correspondence with reflections of the same kind, and gives all their fools great hopes of doing wonders: their two only topicks are the civil list and the Hanover treaty; but I cannot learn, they have gained a man but righteous sir Joseph.* I am, with great truth and affection.

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* *Jekyll.*

If great care be not taken, the vacancy of the see at Chester will make an irreparable breach betwixt our two governing prelates, of York and London. The first in the strongest terms espousing Dr. Gilbert, the other most determined against him.

Lord Townshend's Sketch of a Speech for the ensuing session.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THOUGH the state of my dominions abroad, made it necessary for me to pass some months in those parts, yet I hope you will find, that I have not been less attentive to every thing that may tend towards supporting the honour and interest, and securing the peace and tranquillity of my kingdom.

The distress'd condition to which some of our protestant brethren abroad are reduced, the engagements entered into by some powers, which it is justly to be feared, may deprive my subjects of very considerable branches of their trade, in prejudice of the rights and privileges long since acquired to them by the most solemn treatys, made me think it a duty incumbent upon me, to lose no time in concerting proper measures with some neighbouring powers; and I have accordingly made a defensive alliance, which I hope will, with your support and assistance, be an effectual security against the encroachments that are daily made upon our trade.

I have already given the necessary orders for laying this treaty before you, and I doubt not but that I shall soon be able to acquaint you, that more powers have acceded to it.

I have reason to believe, that the pretender (who is ever ready to sacrifice to his own views all the most valuable interests of this kingdom) is using his endeavours, and not without some prospect of success, to obtain the assistance of some of those very powers who have enter'd into engagements so prejudicial to the trade of this nation.

It is the farthest from my intentions to put my subjects to an expence, by taking any unnecessary precautions. I have an entire confidence in the af-

fection

Period III. fection of my people, and in the fidelity and bravery of my army. I must, ^{1720 to 1727.} however, recommend it to you, to enable me to have a strong fleet at sea early next spring, which you must all be sensible, may not only be necessary towards preventing or defeating any attempts from abroad, but will give me a proper strength and weight in all foreign negotiations.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Inculcates the necessity of vigorous measures in order to reduce the emperor to reason.

DEAR BROTHER,

Hanover, December 7—18, 1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

I Have received the favour of your's of the 29th November, and am glad to find you have had so much good weather, so fine a season, and so much diversion in Norfolk.

I was perfectly aware of the objections that would occur to you upon the rough sketch I sent you of what I thought proper for his majesty to say at the opening of the parliament; it may be softened as to some expressions, but I am persuaded I shall be able, when we meet, to convince you that nothing can prevent a war, in the present state of things, but vigorous resolutions on the part of our parliament, which cannot be, unless occasion is given from what the king shall say to them from the throne.

The emperor's views at this juncture are as extensive and as dangerous to Europe in general, and to our country in particular, as ever those of Lewis the 14th were; and if we do not in time shew the world that we are determin'd to oppose him, if he does not depart from them and grow reasonable, and resolve to live with his old friends as formerly, we shall be involved in difficulties and expences, and perhaps in engagements which may carry us too far. A war will be inevitable, and we left alone with France to bear the weight of it, according to such proportions as the French shall think fit to impose upon us: whereas shewing a spirit now will secure us friends, prevent Portugal and other powers from joining with the emperor and Spain, and consequently convince the imperial court of the folly and madness of their scheme, and bring them once more to their right senses.

As to the Pulteneys, with regard to our treaty, I think we need not be much afraid of them; they will not be able to reason better against it, than those

those do from whom* they have their instructions, and you see all they can say in the two memorialls given in at the Hague by the imperial minister there. Period III.
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The affairs in Ireland are in a very bad way, but I shall not trouble you with my sentiments upon them till we meet. I intend to leave this place on Friday next, in order to pass four or five days at the Hague, before the king gets to Helvoetsluys. His majesty has not yet fixed the day he intends to set out from this place, but I believe it will be the 28th or 29th instant, N. S. I am, with the greatest truth and affection, &c.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD MIDLETON.

Opposes Daniel Pulteney's motion for appointing a committee to examine the public accounts from 1714.

(Feb. 10, 1725-6.) YESTERDAY came your's of the 26th of last month. I think it very plain that what passed the first day of our meeting by the claim laid in of examining minutely into the several estimates had its very full effect: for upon delivery of them, we were told that the calculations were made as low as possible, and so it proved, for I really think a thousand pounds could not upon the whole with colour of reason have been excepted against, so that by common consent, they were allowed, so trivial a sum not being worth contending. A very long debate happened yesterday upon a motion of Mr. D. Pulteney (which you'll see in the votes) for appointing a committee to examine the public accounts from the year 1714, to which a negative was given by a majority of a great many above a hundred. I was with the majority, though some of my best friends (from whom I seldom differ, divided for the question) because I thought it extremely ill timed, though the thing in itself (generally speaking) is highly reasonable; taking it in either view, was what I formed my judgment upon, supposing no debt should have been incurred in that time, which could possibly have been avoided, the enquiry was of no use. Taking it in another view (which I believe would have been the case) I thought it very improper

Middleton's
Papers.

* Alluding to the emperor and his ministers, with whom the Pulteneys kept up a constant correspondence.

Period III. to shew the world our nakedness. People abroad would naturally conclude us
 1720 to 1727. very willing to ruffle the government whenever wee had opportunity for soe
 1725. doing, and might from such a notion bee induced to goe into a war, which they
 would nott have adventured, uppon any other consideration. Credit has for
 some time passd been in a sinking condition, and in my opinion would have grown
 worse; lett people think what they will, this is our main support, take that
 away, our case will bee bad. I suppose I shall be sayd to bee turned courtier,
 butt I despise every suggestion of that kind. I never was for a minority, be-
 cause they are soe, nor will I bee against them as such, which to deale plainly,
 was in my opinion, the foundation of this matter. I contented myselfe with
 giving my vote, without speaking in the debate: the torys were generally with
 the minority, some few, butt nott many whigs. You may perhaps bee sur-
 prized by our votes, which you have and will see, whereby it will appeare wee
 raise above three millions, till you understand the matter, for above one third
 of itt is onely turning as much which wee owe into another shape, and this al-
 teration is apparently a great saving to the nation: 'twere too long to enter into
 the detaile of itt, butt assure yourself 'tis soe.

I am told by an eminent merchant, whose correspondence is great, and
 very good, that they are of opinion, that there is noe likelyhood of the empire
 or Spaine going into a war this yeare, whatever they may doe hereafter, for
 which they give this good reason, that they are in noe measure prepared for itt.
 I am fully perswaded we shall nott bee the aggressors; for 'tis very plaine, that
 whatever our house sayes, wee are nott inclinable to itt, and I thinke 'twill bee
 in noe bodyes power to reconcile a majority to itt. Whenever it happens, I am
 confident Portugal will not bee partyes; they will find great advantages by a neu-
 trality, and are not over fond of rendering Spaine more considerable then itt is.
 The Dutch had long under consideration the same point, wherein their lost
 trade turned the ballance. The attorney general told mee, that there last Irish
 bills were to bee reported this day. I thinke we are winding up our bottoms
 as fast we can.

Since writing, I have been in company with a very knowing and consider-
 able tory (but a Hanoverian) who desired mee to explaine the motion, which
 I did, and told him what induced mee to vote as I did. His answer was, this
 is a very ticklish time, I thinke you judged the matter perfectly right, for itt
 could now be of noe use, butt might be attended with fatall consequences,
 especially for that the commencement of the enquiry was to bee from the
 king's

king's accession to the crowne. This was in my mind during the debate, and if I had spoake, I should have mentioned itt, butt considering how apparent it was what might be the successe of the question, I was unwilling to say any thing of this kind, considering that some whoe had argued for the question, are I am very sure, as heartily in his majesty's interest as any subject hee has.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1725.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO BISHOP FREJUS.*

* Afterwards
Cardinal
Fleury.

Congratulates him on his elevation to the office of first minister.

MONSIEUR,

à Londres ce 8—19, de Juin, 1726.

J'E ne doute pas que la justice que sa majesté très chrétienne vient de rendre à votre excellence en se reposant sur elle du soin de ses affaires, ne soit applaudie de tous ceux qui sont zélés pour le bien public, et pour la gloire de la France, et je vous supplie de croire, que c'est avec un plaisir extrême, que je prens cette première occasion pour vous en faire mes complimens très sincères.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

Mais l'estime particulière que j'ay pour votre personne, et la haute idée que j'ay conçue de votre merite ne tirent pas leur origine d'un événement de si fraîche date: il y a long tems, monsieur, que je sçay avec combien de zèle, et d'application vous travaillez pour la tranquillité de l'Europe, et pour la gloire, et l'union des deux couronnes, qui, dans cette conjuncture delicate, en est le plus ferme et solide soutien; et la grande marque de confiance dont sa majesté très chrétienne vient de vous honorer, m'assure que la reussite en fera gloieuse, et que le succès de vos soins repondra à leur assiduité.

J'ose vous assurer, monsieur, que le roy mon maître prend beaucoup de part à votre avancement, et sa majesté se promet d'un ministre aussi droit et éclairé que votre excellence la continuation et même l'accroissance, s'il est possible, de cette bonne intelligence qui regne si heureusement entre les deux couronnes, laquelle seule, peut être, pourra tenir en respect des puissances, qui veillent avec une attention très vive, pour profiter de notre disunion. J'ose promettre que rien ne manquera de la part de sa majesté pour resserrer les Noeuds de cette amitié encore plus étroitement.

Voilà des sentimens, monsieur, que je croy avoir en commun avec toute l'Europe sur cette occasion, mais l'amitié et la bienveillance dont vous honorez mon frère me mettent en droit de m'interresser encore plus particulièrement, et plus sensiblement en tout ce qui vous régarde, et je prie votre ex-

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} cellence d'être persuadée, que nous tâcherons, l'un et l'autre de nous en rendre dignes par une affection pleine de reconnoissance et d'un attachement très sincère.

1726.

INTERCEPTED LETTERS FROM SEVERAL FOREIGN MINISTERS, WHICH PROVE THAT THE KING'S GERMAN MINISTERS WERE CABALLING WITH THE EMPEROR AND THE OPPOSITION AGAINST THE TREATY OF HANOVER.

COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

Bothmar disapproves the treaty of Hanover.—The king averse to the English ministers.

Walpole
Papers.
Official trans-
lation.

(London, April 23, 1726.) IT is the general opinion here, that the ministry has put itself into a necessity to effect the recalling of the patent of the Ostend company, or its being transferred to some other place, or else to resolve upon a rupture, because they have too much obliged and engaged themselves to the parliament. Count Bothmar himself, who continues still to be for a good understanding between the king and your imperial majesty, laments the violent proceedings. He believes that in case it had been possible to prevail with your imperial majesty to come to some temperament upon the affair of the commerce of Ostend, before the parliament had taken cognizance of it, it would have never gone so far, and possibly means had been found out for accommodating the whole affair; but at present, he thinks that it will be difficult to compose this matter.

The king himself does in my humble opinion not much like (or is much disheartened with) the conduct of his English ministry, but he is got into their hands in such a manner, that he is obliged to conform in every thing to their will, and it would perhaps please the king, if by a natural consequence of events he could get rid of that subjection.

POZOBUENO * TO RIPPERDA.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

Embarrassments and alarms of the king of England lest his German dominions should be attacked.—The Hanoverian party averse to the treaty of Hanover. —Encourage these alarms.

1726.

* Spanish
embassador.Orford
Papers.Translation.

(London, May 16, 1726.) THE king of Great Britain suspects more and more, that if the king of Prussia conceives that the treaty concluded at Vienna between the emperor, Russia, and Sweden, will be prejudicial to his interests, he will recede from the treaty of Hanover, and on this event, the king's German dominions will be exposed to invasion should a war be occasioned by the treaty of Vienna. This reflection has considerably agitated the king's mind; for it is evident, that his wishes tend to the preservation and augmentation of his electorate; and his inclination is so great, that he cannot dissemble it. To this inclination may be attributed the resolution which, it is said, he has taken, that at the least cause of suspicion from the king of Prussia, he will instantly repair to Hanover, to keep Frederic William to his promises, and to place himself at the head of his troops, should any invasion from the emperor or the czarina render it necessary. It is feared that the czarina will form an enterprise in favour of her son-in-law the duke of Holstein, and it is added, that the duke of Mecklenburgh will command the Russian troops at their debarkation.

Besides these subjects of disquiet, the king of England feels no less chagrin in having lost the confidence of the emperor, whom he so much loves and esteems, considers the treaty of Vienna as offensive and prejudicial both to the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, and to the British commerce; and if his inclination first leads him to preserve his hereditary dominions, yet his interest obliges him to endeavour to maintain the commerce of England, which is his chief wish, the loss of which he is convinced would effectually prove the ruin of all.

The king is no less troubled with the suspicions which he entertains, that the emperor is resolving to annul the treaty of Hanover, as opposite to the constitution of the Germanic empire. The Hanoverian party here encourage these suspicions, and insinuate that an electoral assembly will be convened, for the purpose of declaring the treaty unconstitutional and of exhorting the king and Frederic William as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg to retract it,

Period III. and in case of refusal to put them under the ban of the empire. The confidential friends of the king speak with regret of this convocation of the elector assembly, which is threatened to be called in the month of July; and a hint thrown out by the empress in a letter to the duchess of Kendal, that it appeared from the treaty of Hanover, as if the king had no longer occasion for the emperor's friendship, has tended to confirm the king in this opinion, that he has lost the emperor's confidence.

POZOBUENO TO RIPPERDA.

Orford Papers. (London, May 23, 1726.) THE account I transmitted to your excellency last week of what passed between the king and the duchess of Kendal, lord Townshend and sir Robert Walpole in regard to the letter from the elector of Germany, has been confirmed to me from another quarter. I all know by the same channel, that Fabrice, chamberlain to the king as elector's favourite, told the imperial resident that the king was uneasy on account of the situation in which he stands with the emperor, and he added, that Fabrice after abusing lord Townshend as overbearing and violent in his resolutions, declared that he would never speak to him in future. The resident attempted to appease his anger, but in vain, for Fabrice protested that he feared no one because in all he did and said, he consulted only the interest of his master, and he requested the resident to furnish him according to his promises with those papers, which prove the ill consequences of the treaty of Hanover in regard to the emperor and empire, and which give the reasons that induce the emperor to protect and support the Ostend company; and promised not to omit the first opportunity of laying them before the king in the same manner as he had done those which the resident had before entrusted him with.

He also proposed to the resident an interview with the duchess of Kendal in which interview he might give his reasons, which would be well received and might produce good effects. For he was well informed that the duchess desired peace, from an apprehension of being exposed to certain misfortunes which threaten her; her principal care is to prevent those misfortunes from happening unexpectedly. To obtain that end she would use all her effort for, if a rupture with the emperor should take place, she would be precluded from carrying her designs into execution, which is to retire into Germany, and convey away the large sums of money which she possesses in England. Fabrice

concluded that the motive which induces the duchess of Kendal to lean to the opinion of Walpole, to avoid a war, is not, as she declares, because it is the interest of England, but from self-interest. That the misunderstanding between Townshend and Walpole daily increases, and that it was for some concealed purpose that Walpole lately paid a visit to Pulteney, his antagonist in parliament; after having been three times refused. Fabrice imagines that Walpole is so desirous of getting rid of Townshend, that he is capable of reconciling himself with Pulteney, and of placing him in Townshend's post. Fabrice insisted that the resident should determine on dispersing the papers which he intended publishing; he dwelt on the favourable consequences which would result from it, and even went so far as to hint, that in consequence of the misunderstanding between Walpole and Townshend, and the publication of these papers, out of 240 members, who now voted for the court, 200 would join opposition in the next parliament. He promised to inform him what the king would propose to the parliament at the opening of the next sessions. The conference continued two hours. I have not been able to discover, if the proposed visit was consented to by the resident, but I will make enquiries, that I may inform the king as soon as possible. It appears that this conference was occasioned by the altercation which passed between Townshend and Fabrice last week. Fabrice in concurrence with several persons of distinction having endeavoured to prevail on the king not to confirm the sentence of death, lately passed on a criminal, but to commute it for some other punishment; the king consented and declared his inclination to Townshend. But Townshend opposed this resolution; and observed that the criminal did not deserve pardon, because in addition to the offence, for which he was condemned, he had committed several other crimes. Fabrice spoke warmly in favour of the criminal; and insisted that as it was the king's inclination he should be pardoned. Townshend broke off the conversation abruptly by saying, that neither himself nor Fabrice could settle the dispute; and he afterwards stated the sentence to the king as conformable to the laws of England, and represented so strongly the bad consequences that would result from the pardon, that the sentence was confirmed.

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1726.

POZOBUENO* TO RIPPERDA.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1726.

* Spanish
minister.

Walpole
Papers.

Translation.

The duchess of Kendal corresponds with the empress of Germany.—Mentions the misunderstanding between Townshend and Walpole.—Palm's cabals with Pulteney.—Cause of Walpole's visit to Pulteney.

(London, May 30, 1726.) A Few days after the departure of the last post, I happened to meet with the imperial resident, and, without making the slightest inquiry respecting the conference he had had with M. Fabrice the preceding week, he imparted to me all I wrote to you in cypher, and added, that, although he had yielded to Fabrice's proposal of paying a visit to the duchess of Kendal, he had thought proper to inform him, that he should not pay it very speedily, because the frequent conferences of the English ministers and the French ambassador, with the Prussian minister, had given him cause to entertain some suspicions. Upon which Fabrice had assured him that he might make his mind perfectly easy, for he was well informed there was nothing in these conferences. * * * * He then proceeded to communicate to me, that he had learned from a safe, and certain quarter, that the duchess of Kendal had copied afresh a letter to the empress, dictated by the Hanoverian minister (which she had previously written in presence of the same minister) omitting the clause inserted in the first letter by the advice of lord Townshend, respecting the abolition of the Ostend company, and that this letter had been sent by a different route, unknown to lord Townshend. The resident also spoke to me of the division subsisting between Townshend and Robert Walpole, which he described as very great; and attributed to it the apprehensions entertained here, that the Dutch will not accede to the general terms of the treaty of Hanover. For though assurances were given last week that they would now dispense with the condition, relating to the Algerines, yet England and France, will not, by any means admit of that article, or of another, more essential; namely, that the Dutch shall be at liberty to go to war, or not, even after the conclusion of a general accession; it is considered as certain, that the republic will not accede to the measures of the two crowns. These arguments are very current here, and have produced a great emotion in the public mind; nor is that emotion diminished by the information that Sweden will maintain the treaties of Vienna. For although general Diemar, produced here, last Saturday, a letter from the king of Sweden, declaring that his minister at Vienna had exceeded his instructions, in signing

signing the emperor's act of accession, and that this step could not affect the good understanding, and treaties with his Britannic majesty; this declaration is not sufficient to hinder a belief from prevailing, that he will accede to those treaties: a circumstance which augments the general suspicion is, the fear which is entertained, that the czarina will go from Petersburg to Riga, next June. For whatever care ministers may take to conceal every unpleasant fact, and to keep a guarded silence, even with their greatest intimates, yet the nation is apprized that whatever hostilities arise in the north, they will pay dearly for them. They observe that most of the facts disclosed to them respecting our treaties with Vienna, are not truly stated, and that even the treaty of Hanover has not produced the effects they were so liberally taught to expect; they even shew displeasure at the facility with which the parliament has permitted itself to be led by the influence of the minister.

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The resident also told me, that Mr. Pulteney, the oracle of opposition, who is very intimate with him and Staremborg, had given him this information. Pulteney also took great pains to inform him that he was using every exertion to publish a work, before the sitting of parliament, in which he will prove, by the clearest evidence, the misconduct of the present government; taking up the subject previous to the taxation of the catholics, and accusing Robert Walpole of mismanagement of the public money, and official malversation. He will also display the state of the national debt, and the violent temper of lord Townshend, which has reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, and whose manner of acting, he says, seems to shew a design formed by him and Walpole, to sacrifice this king and raise the pretender to the throne.* Palm fur- * See p. 226. ther says, that Pulteney afterwards treats of the restitution of Port-Mahon and Gibraltar to Spain, without entering into the difficulties which he knows are made respecting it by the present ministry, rather for their own private ends, than on account of the impossibility of his Britannic majesty's fulfilling his promise, which he says, might be done with the consent of the nation, provided the present ministry were changed. I would not enter into any dispute with Palm on this subject, or shew any curiosity respecting Pulteney's intrigues. I contented myself with praising the address Pulteney shews in attacking his antagonists, with the very same arms they use in their defence.

I have endeavoured to discover the reason why Walpole went to visit Pulteney, and I have learned that it was in order to tell him that he, Walpole, having received information of a design to set his house on fire, it was neces-
sary

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fary for Pulteney, who was his neighbour, to be on his guard, but Pulteney answered, he was under no apprehensions, because the threats did not apply to him, but that if his house sustained any damage by the conflagration of Walpole's, he should rely on the parliament, and on Walpole himself to indemnify him,* and thus ended the visit which made so much noise, and which having been renewed three times, though Pulteney had been denied, gave rise to many observations similar to those of Fabrice.

COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

Lord Townshend has the principal direction of foreign affairs.—Always opposed the emperor.—Palm consults with opposition.—And at their instigation, advises the emperor to contradict the assertions that he intended to assist the pretender.

London, December 13, 1726.

Orford
Papers.

Official trans-
lation.

In cypher.

IN the present circumstances, when the violent proceedings of the *English ministry* against the Spanish court, have the appearance of an almost inevitable breach of the peace with that court, and when it is to be feared that all Europe may be plunged in a destructive war, I, urged by my duty and zeal, have endeavoured to learn 1°. how the nation is inclined on that head, and 2°. who it is in reality that labours to blow these coals. As to the first, it is most certain that the greatest part of the nation, nay, as I have been told by people of good experience and knowledge, even two thirds of it are discontented at the present ministry, and not only abhor the war with Y. I. M. and Spain, but also the strict alliance and union with France. As to the second, it is no less manifest, that the cause of these measures, so precipitate and tending to a dangerous rupture, can be imputed to none else but the *English ministry*, that is to say, to my lord Townshend. For the king as to himself, is of a peaceable disposition, and not to be brought to proceedings of that nature, unless he has been induced to it by such misrepresentations and false suggestions as have been able to create a suspicion and hearty fear in him.

I have just now said, that the nation is not inclined to a war, especially against Y. I. M. and it is very well known to the publick, that the Ostend commerce is a grievance industriously enhanced by the ministry, to animate the nation, and make them cry out against Y. I. M. fancying that you might

* See an account of this visit in (Pulteney's) "Answer to One Part of an Infamous Libel," p. 45. thereby

thereby be induced to gratify them (the ministry) as well in this point directly, as indirectly in other affairs.

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In some of my former, but especially in my reflections upon the answer given to the Spanish court, I mentioned how great a mistake the ministry were guilty of in that answer, and how they committed so false a step, that it is almost impossible for them to make it consist with their honour and security not to make a war. But who is the *primum mobile* in the ministry, 'tis very well known to the whole world, that it can be but my lord Townshend. For his brother R. Walpole, tho' his power and credit be far greater, yet he properly does not meddle with foreign affairs, but receives accounts of them in general, leaving for the rest, the direction of them entirely to lord Townshend. As for others, there is none that has any share in those affairs, besides the duke of Newcastle only. But then it is also known to every body, that this latter is nothing but a figure of secretary of state, being obliged to conform himself in every thing to lord Townshend, who is *proprié autor et anima negotiorum*. Now, as long as his lordship continues in his post, it does not appear how one may expect from England a sincere good understanding and undisturbed alliance; for the known principles of this minister, as well as the present condition of affairs, hurried by him to the brink of a rupture, are an obstruction to such an amicable composition as might be relied upon. As for his principles, it is known that he has always been against the system of Europe, as settled by the quadruple alliance; for he has told upon that head, that had it depended upon him, he would have ordered it so, that the advantages your imperial majesty got by it, should have cost you dearer. (Those were his very expressions.) Since he came to the ministry, experience has convinced that he has, almost upon all occasions, acted against your imperial majesty's interests; of which the steps taken in the face of the whole world, both at Cambridge, and since, are evident proofs, and shew his real disaffection. Besides this, nobody is ignorant of what he said in parliament, for in his speeches, he ran into such excesses, that all impartial people could not hear of them without horror. In this situation, it is probable that we can never promise to ourselves any good from him; for should we even resolve to forget his audaciousness and indiscretion, and should he disguise his natural opinion and inclination, yet all that could be negociated with him, would not be lasting, but we should ever run the risk, upon every proffered occasion, of his returning to the *maximes* formerly used by him, and entirely suitable to his genius.

Period III. As much as this man is an obstruction to a general quiet and reasonable
 1720 to 1727. agreement, as easy as it would be to arrive at it, were he no longer in the way,
 1726. and removed from the direction of affairs. For the nation in general hates him, and the king himself is not well inclined to him by his own choice, but he only keeps himself in power and credit, because he and his brother have in a despotick manner rendered themselves masters of all affairs. It is true they have the parliament on their side; but that is not to be wondered at, for upon the foot that matters have been carried on within these few years, when the members, and consequently the majority are bought with great pensions and employments; it is no great skill to have gained the parliament. But then I have been assured, *from a very good hand*, that if it should be once perceived, that the ministry are not deep in the king's favour, and that his majesty should out of dislike to them, make some shew of changing them, in that very moment there would be a turn, and most of them upon whom the ministry chiefly depend, would pull off the mask, and declare against them. But as long as this does not happen, it is not so much as to be supposed, that the parliament will oppose the government, unless the kingdom should come to be plunged into some visible ruin or danger; for tho' more than the third part have actually opposed, and will still oppose it, yet this can have no effect, because the ministers will always get the better by their purchased majority. The nation itself is not satisfied with the parliament, because every body knows that there has not been one time out of mind, in which the ministers have been so corrupted and devoted to the court.

For though the parliament has approved the measures and engagements taken with foreign powers, and particularly with France, yet the nation in general, high and low, are of a contrary opinion; the close understanding with France, and the hostile proceedings towards your imperial majesty, being disapproved by them. Now, as long as the ministry can produce nothing to convince the nation, that it has reason to fear any hostile act from your imperial majesty, or your allies, that opinion will not be altered, and all the blame returns upon the ministry. From which one may conclude, that as long as your imperial majesty and your allies design nothing in favour of the pretender, and *will make it known so to the world*, the imputations invented on that head by the ministry, will do hurt to none but themselves. For the nation must clearly see how ill they are led on by the ministry. *Some eminent subjects, who are well inclined to your imperial majesty's service, and extremely*
opposed

opposed to the present maxims of the ministry, have assured me, not only that the said ministry *are extremely putt to it*, but also, that if your imperial majesty and the king of Spain *should continue with the same steddiness as hitherto*, and the nation be convinced besides that all is false and groundless, which they are told in order to prejudice them against the treaty of Vienna, and to render it odious, then the ministry would not long be able to blind the people, and play their cheating tricks: and a declaration of this *made to please the nation*, and the most sensible part of the people would, in due time, produce a good effect. Now, therefore, to promote this point and your imperial majesty's service, and deprive the ministry of all strength and credit, which they so mightily endeavour to preserve both at home and abroad, *the opinion of the well intentioned is*, that besides the *aforementioned steddiness* of your imperial majesty and Spain, a true state of the present matters should be fairly, and with convincing proofs, laid before the king: as to the nation, it may be done by publishing in print, and by word of mouth-information to *such as have most credit and influence among them*. And to the king, it should be done by a confidential channel; then, if his majesty were thus retrieved by better informations and assurances from his false impressions, and convinced that his English ministers intended to lead him on in so dangerous a way, there is no doubt but he would apply to better councils, and then *there would be found some people who would enforce such good dispositions*, and break the neck of the present ministry. I know most certainly that the king loves to learn some things in *materiâ negotiorum publicorum* by other hands than by his ministers; which it may very well be, proceeds from a suspicion he has, that his ministers do not acquaint him with the true circumstances of matters. The king has many times had such informations conveyed to him, which he has taken as kindly as one could expect from a mind so prepossessed as his is, and this gives reason to believe, that what one would desire to convey to him in that manner, would have a good effect.

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COUNT PALM TO THE EMPEROR.

Courts Pulteney, as the great and popular leader of opposition are inclined to favour the imperial interest.—Opinions and conduct of the duchess of Kendal and the king's German ministers.—Employs Fabricius to infuse into the king sentiments of aversion to the English ministers.

Period III. (London, December 17, 1726.) BY my last P. S. I told your imperial
 1720 to 1727. majesty the several opinions of the king, the ministry, and the nation; by the
 1726. present I have to mention something more upon that subject. Amongst the
 In cypher. several considerable subjects in this country that are very well inclin'd for
 Official trans- your interest, William Pultney is the chief and the weightiest. This man is
 lation. very rich and experienced, and as every body knows these his eminent quali-
 ties, and believes that he will sometime or another come to the direction of the
 affairs, he has a very great party amounting to near the third part of the house
 of commons. He is also beloved by the common people, and makes so great
 an opposition to Walpole in the house of commons, that they have often en-
 deavour'd to gain him, but it has been to no purpose, because he is dissatis-
 fied with the maxims pursued at present, and not only insists upon a constant
 alliance and good understanding with your imperial majesty, but also is entirely
 against the close understanding with France. He had formerly a considerable
 and pretty profitable employment about the king, but he freely and from his
 own motive resigned it, when he saw that the ministry acted contrary to the
 system introduced formerly; and he being besides rich and considerable, and
 caring for no employment, he has aim'd at and acquired the name of a true
 English patriot. His party consists in the richest and most considerable peo-
 ple of this nation: nay most of those who at present enjoy posts and pensions
 from the court, and are oblig'd to behave as creatures of the court, are his in-
 timate friends, who very frankly own to him, that they are as little satisfied as
 himself, and only dissemble for their interests sake, but that if the [present] mi-
 nistry shou'd once totter, they wou'd then soon and willingly throw off the
 mask.

Now those who are properly his opponents [or adversaries] as well as the
 basis of the present conduct of the English court, are none but Townshend and
 the family of Walpole, which however, is not so considerable as to be able to
 support themselves by their own strength; and are besides this, for the most
 part, if not all of them, hated by the nation and the common people.

This aforesaid person [Pultney] therefore, I have thought indispensably ne-
 cessary for promoting your imperial majesty's present and future interest to
manage by all ways and means, and he has assur'd me from time to time, that
 these are his constant principles: *that this nation ought to be at all times in a*
close alliance and confidence with your imperial majesty; for this reason, there-
 fore

fore I have, pursuant to the 8th article of my instructions made him sensible of what [really] passes, shewing him at the same time the falsity of those reports, and the poyson of those imputations insinuated to the nation by the ministry, to the no small prejudice of your imperial majesty; by which I have gain'd so much, that the suspicious and dangerous views of the ministry [in setting forth those reports] have been of but small effect, the well affection'd having been confirm'd in their good opinion. He has often protested to me, that were the king, for his own person, once brought to other thoughts, and if he did not suffer himself to be thus lead by his ministry, the violent conduct of this court wou'd soon change, and the present dark clouds of discord wou'd disperse with the change of the present ministry, the first step to which [latter] wou'd be to make the king sensible of his real interests, and of the bad measures taken by his English ministry. It seems to be difficult to effect this; for the king is quite captivated and besieg'd by his ministry: he gives credit to most of their sinister impressions, and loves quiet too much to go upon a long search and examination; for which reason it will be vexing to him when he is to rid himself of his ministry.

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The dutchess of Kendal talks nothing upon such subjects with him, partly fearing to hurt his health; and partly too, because she keeps great measures with Walpole and Townshend; she having besides her yearly *pension* of seven thousand and five hundred pounds sterling, another secret pension, as also further perquisites, which latter as well as the chief pension is payd or not payd, according as she behaves well towards the ministry. Her niece the lady Walsingham has indeed great credit with the king, and more spirit than the said dutchess; but as there is no body to represent the affairs to her with vigour, nor she being any ways prompted on [to speak] she is not much talk'd of, and yet I have been confidently told, that she, at a certain time, oppos'd the opinion of the ministry, and sincerely told the king what was his real interest, according to her capacity.

Amongst the king's German ministers, there is none who has credit and resolution enough to exhort him [the king] with vigour. Count Bothmar's inclinations indeed are good, but then he fears lord Townshend and Walpole too much: it also seems partly that he cannot represent matters to the king as it ought to be done, or else that the king does not put sufficient faith in him. The grand marshall of Hartenberg's credit is likewise but small, and tho' the ministers despise him, yet he has no courage nor power to oppose them, and to
make

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. make the king sensible of the truth. The third German minister, Hattorff, is indeed belov'd by the king, and dos him good services; but he never enter'd into such affairs, nor will he ever undertake to do it.

720 to 1727.
1726.

But then there is another person whom the king likes pretty much, and whom he sometimes talkes to with great confidence: this person is the king's *lord of the bed chamber* [or chamberlain], Fabrice, who frequently takes an opportunity to speak of the conduct of his English ministers, and is so well listen'd to, that the king even told him, he shou'd be glad to be sometimes entertain'd by him with such informations. This person is mightily belov'd at court, and by all the English, Townshend only excepted, with whom he dos not stand well, but the king knows of it, and privately gives him right, in so much that tho' Townshend has done all he could to thrust him away, yet it has been to no purpose, he still continuing in the king's affection and confidence. I have often made a secret use of this person to represent to the king how false all those imputations are, that are sett forth to the prejudice of your imperial majesty, and your allies, and that they tend to nothing else but to break the friendship and alliance still subsisting between your imperial majesty and the king, and to create difference and mischief.

Formerly, and when the ministers still promised to the king, that they wou'd fortify themselves, and that they shou'd be in a condition to execute their designs, the king being then likewise full of the receiv'd bad impressions, those representations [of Fabrice] were but of little effect, but at present when his majesty sees plainly that, shou'd it come to a rupture, the situation of foreign affairs wou'd be dangerous for him, it seems as if he listens with more attention to these exhortations, and that he harbours a suspicion against his English ministers, notwithstanding that they wou'd insinuate to him beforehand, that even tho' it shou'd come to a rupture yet he had nothing to fear for his German dominions, because it wou'd never come to a general war by land, but [that the war wou'd] only consist in burning some Spanish ships, and in some warlike operations in the West-Indies. Thus much I cou'd at present easily judge from Fabrice's discourse, as well as otherwise, that the ministers do all they can to prevent the king's coming to the knowledge of matters.

SINZENDORFF TO PALM.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1726.

Denies the offensive alliance concerning Gibraltar.—The proposed marriage between don Carlos and an archduchess.

(Vienna, December 21, 1726.) WE see plainly by the proceedings against Spain, that England seeks by all means to compell Spain by force, in order to break with us, as St. Saphorin gives out, in pursuance of their alliance. This arises chiefly from hence, because the ministry cannot support themselves otherwise than by troubling and confounding matters. We must wait to see whether the nation will suffer themselves to be lead away blindly any longer. Do they say that there is a secret engagement entered into in the offensive alliance concerning Gibraltar? that is the greatest untruth; as the treaty itself shews. Do they say that an agreement is made concerning the pretender? that is likewise the greatest untruth that can be imagined. Let them ask all the jacobites whether they have heard one word from us or from Spain, that could be construed to mean such an enterprise, so long as we don't enter into a war; but then, we shall help ourselves as well as we can. In short the mad English ministry shall never bring us to any thing thro' fear: our measures are so taken, that certainly we shall be able to oppose the aggressor.

As to the commerce of Ostend, we have already made such steps as shew the peaceable desires of his imperial majesty, and we are ready every moment to go farther. Do they talk of a marriage between an archduchess and don Carlos? 'Tis very wonderful that they would prevent by a war now, a case that is so far off from happening; which would not be avoided by a war, were it intended; which is a case put, but not granted. What danger can Europe undergo by that? this only, that this being a prince of the house of Bourbon, the strict union between France and Spain and this house will be promoted. But if France itself, as it seems, opposes this, and don't care that a cadet of that family should rise so high, then this fixes a disunion between France and Spain, which was attempted to be fixed by so long and bloody a war. What then is the cause and reason for making war? the augmentation of 30,000 men goes on; and we are sure of many friends.

Orford
Papers.

Official trans-
lation.

RIVA TO THE DUKE OF MODENA.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1726.

Pozobueno the Spanish minister at London on the point of retiring.—Fabricus endeavours to set the king against the English ministers, and to shew that their measures may prove the ruin of his German dominions.

Orford
Papers.

Official trans-
lation.

Decyphered.

(London, 27 December, 1726.) POZOBUEÑO has published, that whoever has any demands upon him, on applying to such a banker, shall be satisfied. This step encreases the fear of a rupture. I saw him yesterday at Palm's, with whom I dined with other company. I told him that your highness had thoughts of sending a minister to Madrid, to renew that good correspondence which your highness's situation had interrupted only in appearance. He answered, that ever since I made him, four years ago, this overture of your good intentions, he remembered he had told me, that a minister from your highness would be well received at his court, and that he would be so, especially now that his king is so good a friend of the emperor's.

Fabrice, a Hanover gentleman, and in high favour with the king, has told me in confidence, that he has had the courage to tell his majesty, that the animosity of the English ministers engages him in affairs, which may prove the ruine of his states in Germany; and that if war should be made, France might, with the money of England, conquer the Low-Countrys, in which case there will be a necessity to make a new war in conjunction with old friends to take out of the hands of the French the said Low-Countrys; and that France does not, for the sake of England and Holland, shew so much eagerness for a war, but for her own. Fabrice has confidentially told me, that he spoke in this bold manner to the king, and that his majesty gave great attention to it, ordering him to speak freely to him of affairs, as he had already begun. I cultivate the friendship of this person, because I can by that means *brevi manu* learn many things that come from the fountain-head.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1727.

1727.

SIR CHARLES WAGER TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Regrets that he has missed the Spanish flota.—Purposes that Portobello, Panama, and other places in Spanish America, should be attacked.

SIR,

Kent, about 15 leagues from Cape Spartel, the 14th March, 1726—7.

I Doubt not but you will hear with both ears, that admiral Castagneta is arriv'd at Cadiz, with eight millions of pieces of eight, and that all the rest of the flota is arriv'd at one port or other, notwithstanding I was sent here on purpose to intercept them. I think admiral Hopson is very lucky, that I came in so good time, to take the blame from him. As to my selfe, I must bear this misfortune as well as I can: but I confess it is a great mortification to me, tho' I am not conscious to my selfe, of any one wrong step, that I have taken, but so much the contrary, that if it were to do again, I don't see how I could do it better. For I find that I judg'd perfectly right in altering the cruising station, from off Cape St. Vincent, to 20 leagues, W. S. W. from Cape Spartel, for I knew, that they used to escape formerly, by coming about that distance from the coast of Barbary, and that was certainly Castaneta's track now, as near as the wind and weather would give him leave; and tho' that often puts us out of our designed station, as also chasing of ships; yet I happen'd for two or three days together, at the time he pass'd, to be in as fair a way, as I could now choofe. He might go by in the night, or as it was then thick blowing weather, he might pass by, at no great distance, tho' not near eno' to be seen. But I need not say so much to you, for I am satisfy'd that I am so much favoured with your good opinion, that you do not suppose, that this misfortune proceeded from any neglect or want of care in me: but I believe I had better have been at Parsons Green, looking after my garden, for I know, that people generally suppose, that it is as easy to intercept ships at sea, as to stop a coach at the end of a street; however, I must bear it as well as I can.

We met with a ship from St. Andero, that was order'd to come in the same track, and avoid the capes, for fear of our squadron: she is a ship of 46 guns, and 280 men, built at St. Andero, and bound to Cadiz, where they seem to

Orford
Papers.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727} be endeavouring to make up a squadron. But as I suppose most of the ships from the Havana are got into Vigo, or the Groyn, as it is reported, I shall endeavour to prevent their joyning, if possible, tho' if they will attempt it, they will have a chance to escape as these had. I send you inclosed a list of what ships the Spaniards have, or are like to have, according to the several accounts I have had, and I beleive it is near the truth. As to the ships that are said to be now come from the Havana, they may want some refitting, tho' several of them not much, having been clean'd (I beleive) at the Havana. But as I presume they will take no certain resolution till they see what they can make of Gibraltar, in which seige, I am told by a French man that came from thence two days ago, they make but little progress, he says, they make a great fire, but do little damage, but four or five men having been kill'd, and no breach made; that an engineer, and several martroffes, were arriv'd for Port-Mahon, which were much wanted, and I hope the Torbey is not far off, with the Ordinance storeships (they were a little too backward) but I hope will come in good time, as well as the troops from Ireland, who I am told put back. I pick'd up two of their transports, which had three company's and a halfe on bord, and sent them to Gibraltar.

I am very sorry now, that I sent the two seventy gun ships to admiral Hoffer, who does not want them; for now he has nothing to look after, but the galleons. Some discreet man, with four or five ships, to the South Sea, next winter, may do strange things; the companys at New York and other places with a little help, might be carry'd to Portobel, by the squadron in the West Indies, take that place, and march over to Panama, meet your South Sea squadron there, and be carry'd to Lima, or any where on that coast: these things have been formerly in my head, and that, I suppose, makes them come again now. But you may justly bid me mind my own business better, and not trouble my selfe to make projects for other folks, therefore I ask pardon, and hope that if you find the Spaniards should get a squadron together at Cadiz, superior to what I have (not looking upon a 50 gun ship for a line of battle) I may be reinforced: I have mentioned this to lord Berkeley, and have sent to the duke of Newcastle, and to him the same list I send herewith to you. The Spaniards are generally slow in their motions, so hope they will not have this squadron ready presently, tho' they labour very hard at Cadiz, I hope to no purpose. Perhaps if they find, they cannot easily take Gibraltar, they will turn the seige into a blockade, and proceed on some other project: tho' there does not seem
any

any appearance of any imbarcation for an army. But I forget that you have not time to read long letters; but hope you will excuse this from, fir, your
 most obedient servant.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1727.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Parliamentary proceedings.—Pulteney's opposition ill supported.

(Paris, May 22, 1727.) AS to our domestick politicks, when I was in England, and I hear of no alteration since, they went as well as could be wished. All questions were carried with a great majority, and with a good will on the part of the whiggs, who have been in a manner unanimous, excepting some few, but very few, not amounting to ten at most, who followed Mr. Pulteney, who has had no success in his opposition, and gott no other reputation than that of endeavouring to sacrifice the publick good to his own private resentment, which resentment against my brother Walpole, is founded upon pique and prejudice unaccountable to us all, as well as to you. My brother Walpole has been extreamly ill of a violent looseness, but I had the satisfaction not to hear of his illness, but at the same time of his being out of danger; the parliament is just at end, and the king preparing to go abroad.

Poyntz
Papers.*Extract.*

SIR CYRIL WYCK* TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

* Resident at
Hamburgh.

On the death of George the First.

MONSIEUR,

Hambourg, Juin 27, 1727.

VOUZ sçavez aparemment déjà la nouvelle tragique du decès du roi, qui mourut le 22 au matin à Osnabrugge d'une apoplexie qui faisoit sa majesté le jour auparavant en chemin, entre Delden et Osnabrugge, où my lord Townshend arriva le 23 de grand matin; mais ayant trouvé le roi mort, son excellence reprit d'abord la poste pour retourner à Londres.

Poyntz
Papers.

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Original Correspondence and authentic Papers.

PERIOD THE FOURTH.

From the Accession of George the Second to the
Resignation of Lord Townshend.

1727—1730.

1727.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Condoles with him on the death of his father, and congratulates him on his accession.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Osnabrug, June 13—24, 1727.

Period IV. **A**T the same time that I take the liberty of condoling with your majesty
1727 to 1730. upon the unspeakable loss of your late royal father, I beg leave humbly
1727. to assure your majesty, that you have no subject in all your dominions, who
Townshend wishes more cordially than I do, that your reign may be as prosperous and as
Papers. glorious as any of your greatest and most renown'd predecessors. I came
Draught. hither, hoping I might be of some use to your majesty's service, and being
likewise

likewise desirous to pay this mark of respect to my deceased sovereign. I shall return to England with all expedition, in order to lay myself at your majesty's feet, being with the utmost duty and veneration, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1727.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THOMAS ROBINSON.*

*The king happy to receive the king of France's professions of friendship.—
Writes to the cardinal.*

SIR,

Whitehall, June 20—July 1, 1727.

YOU will have received in Mr. Walpole's absence, my two letters to his excellency of the 16th instant, and I doubt not but, in pursuance of his majesty's commands therein contained, you will have delivered into the proper hands his majesty's letter of notification to the most christian king, and that you will also have given the French ministers, and in particular the cardinal, the assurances which the king has directed, of his majesty's firm resolution to maintain, in its full extent, the present union between the two crowns.

Walpole's
Papers.

This being his majesty's intention, the king was glad to receive from Mr. Walpole the same strong professions on the part of the most christian king; and has so just a sense of the obliging manner in which the cardinal, in his letter to Mr. Walpole, has expressed his regard for his majesty's person and government, that the king has been pleased to honour the cardinal with the inclosed letter from himself, which you will deliver to him, and make him sensible of his majesty's great esteem and affection for him, in having condescended to give him this early mark of it.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Uncertain state of the ministry.—The king determined to pursue the same measures in regard to foreign affairs.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, June 20—July 1, 1727.

IN the great concern and hurry we are in here, I am sure you are so good as to excuse my not having wrote to you by the last messenger. We can yett make no certain judgement what turn things will take here: the king is extremely civil to us, and as to foreign affairs, I firmly believe determined to

Waldegrave's
Papers.

* Secretary to Horace Walpole, and secretary to the embassy during his absence.

Period IV. go on in the same measures, as he has assured the court of France, and particularly the cardinal in a letter from himself. He mightily approves your staying att Paris, till we know where the preliminaries are to be new signed. You will have a new full power sent you. I think it would not be amiss for you to write a letter to the king. If ever it is in my power, you may depend upon me. Lord Townshend and Horace are your humble servants, and I am, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Ministry continued.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, June 26—July 7, 1727.

Waldegrave
Papers.*Private.*

I Had yesterday the honour of your kind letter, with the enclosed for the king, which I delivered in the best manner I was able, and have the pleasure to assure you, that the king received it extream kindly, and order'd me to make his excuses to you for not answering it himself. His majesty was pleased to exprefs himself in the most affectionate manner possible towards you, and said he had a great love and regard for you, and the best opinion of you imaginable. This gave me very great pleasure, and I really believe you are personally extreamly well with the king, for he has also talked of you in the same kind manner to lord Scarborough, who has been very much your friend. Every thing here goes on as well as can be desired, and much to the satisfaction of all your friends. Lord Townshend begs his compliments to you, and hopes you will excuse his not writing. The parliament meets to-morrow: we shall have a short session for the civil list, and then a new parliament will be called, which there is no doubt, will be att least as good as the present. Harry and the ladies are very much your servants, and I hope you believe me, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Successful opening of parliament.—Cardinal Fleury writes to lord Townshend.

MY DEAR LORD,

Newcastle House, July 29—August 9, 1727.

Waldegrave
Papers.*Private.*

I Hope you will excuse my not having sooner returned you my thanks, for the favour of your letter in your own hand, but you may easily imagine, we are not in a little hurry here. The good news you have sent us, has made the

the opening of our parliament very successful, and I think we have now a prospect of getting out of our affair, and surely the sooner the better, and therefore if the declaration could be signed at Paris, we should like it extremely. I have the pleasure to see both king and queen, prodigiously pleased with your conduct, and indeed it is without a compliment, what every body commends, 'tis impossible to do better, or with more prudence. The king, the other day, talking of the lords of the bed chamber, said, when you came home, he should do something very good for you, alluding, I am persuaded, to the government of Barbadoes. Your behaviour abroad, encreases the esteem and affection of all your friends, which I hope you will think is no small satisfaction to me. The cardinal *has done my lord Townshend the honour to write to him*, and my lord did not know your servant was to go this evening, or he would have answered it, but he will do it by the first opportunity. All the advice I can give you, is to go on, as you have begun, and tho' you have many friends and servants, be assured nobody is more so than your's, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1727.

Minutes of a conversation with Mr. Scrope, secretary to the treasury, relating to the arrangement of the new ministry on the accession of George the First.

SIR Robert Walpole waited on the king at Richmond with the account of his father's death. The affair being urgent and important, he was awakened from his afternoon's nap. He came out in great hurry with his breeches in his hand: when Walpole informed him of his errand, he did not believe its reality. The express was then produced. In return for such surprising and agreeable news, Walpole had the very mortifying direction, to send Compton to the new king, in order to be consulted with, as to the proclamation and future business.

Etough's
Papers.

My informer went the next day to sir Robert Walpole, who with the chief of the late king's servants were at the duke of Devonshire's. When it was known where he was, he had an immediate invitation to make one of the company. He found nothing there pleasing and agreeable. All hopes and expectations were given up by every member. Either the next, or the day after, the same person attended on the desponding minister. He bid him hope. But before his encouraging reasons were offered, he insisted on no enquiries being made after his authority. He then proceeded, that he had been well informed

Period IV. informed, that the present queen had formerly employed all opportunities of ^{1727 to 1730} teizing her father, and talking politics. At chapel, subjects of the most important kind were comonly discussed. Either the last or the time before of the late king's going to Hanover, she told her father necessity would oblige him to disband the greatest part of the Hanover troops. He replied, the case was not so; for Walpole could convert stones into gold. As the queen's aversion to Compton was hearty and real, there remained no doubt but this had been urged and reported to Walpole's advantage. He added, his having the strongest assurances, that the queen would improve every method and opportunity to disappoint Compton. This roused up the knight, and more than his most sanguine expectations were soon answered.

My sagacious intelligencer's opinion is, that Compton voluntarily contributed to make Walpole's continuance in his station, so quick and easy. He was frightened with the greatness of the undertaking, and more particularly as to what related to money affairs. As he thus declined it himself, he had no one else to recomend. It was well for the public that such were his then apprehensions: he afterwards thought difficulties about money affairs, to be neither very considerable nor formidable.

NOTES FROM LORD TOWNSHEND TO GEORGE THE SECOND, WITH THE KING'S ANSWERS.

It is remarkable that not one of these notes is in the hand-writing of lord Townshend, but in that of his son Thomas Townshend, or of the under secretary of state. The king's replies are uniformly in his own hand-writing, and generally written on the same paper, which contained lord Townshend's notes.*

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend Papers. (July 2, 1728.) FEARING I should not have an opportunity of laying the inclosed draught to lord Chesterfield before your majesty at your arrival here this evening, I take the liberty of sending it now, and in case it should

* The reason probably was because the hand-writing of lord Townshend was very indifferent, and sometimes almost illegible.

have your majesty's approbation, I propose to send it to night to lord Chesterfield.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

YOU will have seen by lord Chesterfield's letter, that the pensionary reasons in the same way, as I always did, both in relation to the provisional treaty, as of the fear he is in of the princes of the empire submitting to the math,* in case we should not shew all sort of vigour in opposing it. I think, my lord, you should tell him more strongly, that it is my opinion, and as you conclude this letter, desire his sentiment how to bring those princes into our measures, and how to make every body concern'd in this affair act with the spirit they ought to do.

* Match.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(July 26, 1728.) I have not seen the duke of Newcastle's dispatch, and therefore cannot tell how he may have executed your majesty's orders; but if your majesty approves of the inclosed letter, I will send it privately to Mr. Walpole, so as the duke of Newcastle may know nothing of it.

Townshend
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this letter very well, with an addition of some few words at the end of it.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(Sept. 20, 1728.) I Have drawn a declaration in concert with monsieur Hattorff. If your majesty approves of it, I humbly propose that it should be sent to Mr. Walpole, with orders to communicate to the cardinal the conversation he had with count Bassewitz, and the terms that were offered by him, and that as your majesty would do nothing without the cardinal's advice, your majesty had thought fit to desire it particularly in this case. By this step I conceive your majesty will have advantages; that if the cardinal advises your majesty to go this length, and desire this declaration, your majesty will be sure that the cardinal is determined to do something in favour of the duke of Holstein; and that it is in such case for your majesty's interest not to be left single; and if the cardinal is of opinion that your majesty should not hearken to

Townshend
Papers.

Period IV. these propositions of count Bassewitz, your majesty will find plainly that
 1727 to 1730. France has no intention to recede in the least from their guaranty, or give offence to Denmark. In the first case, Mr. Walpole may have orders with the cardinal's approbation, to talk to count Bassewitz as from himselfe, and to propose his giving a declaration of the nature of the inclosed, in order to procure your majesty's friendship and good offices. And in the second case, that the cardinal appears indifferent as to the duke of Holstein's satisfaction, Mr. Walpole may drop the whole, and take no further notice of count Bassewitz's proposals.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

(Sept. 24, 1728.) I Send your majesty the inclosed draught of a declaration to be made by count Bassewitz, to which I have added the clause mark'd with dots underneath. By the former paper, the duke of Holstein would not have been obliged to renounce his pretensions upon your majesty, unless the whole satisfaction were obtained. But as it is now turned, the renunciation will be immediate upon your majesty's engaging to act in concert with the most christian king to those purposes therein mentioned. And as it is proper the duke should renounce those pretensions, which really can never avail him any thing, upon your majesty's promising your good offices in his favour; so your majesty is engaged to nothing but in concert with France. And if that crown joyns in obtaining a competent satisfaction for the duke, your majesty will be undoubtedly quit of all shadow of pretension on the part of that prince. And if France should not be hearty and active in that matter, your majesty by your readiness to join, will have deserved this declaration from the duke; which will always stand as a proof of your majesty's goodness towards him, and of the little ground he has for any pretensions upon your majesty; so that in all events, whatever the success of your majesty's endeavours may be, if the duke makes this declaration, he will have quitted all claim upon your majesty for any part of the equivalent for Sleswig, and all pretension to Bremen and Verden.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this form of a declaration much better than the first, and if it is to be obtained, it will entirely secure the possession of Bremen, and free me from any obligation of an equivalent.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

(November 6, 1728.) I Have put together in the inclosed a few hints for Mr. Walpole, which if your majesty shall approve, and think proper, may be sent to him by the messenger that goes to France this night. The last clause for a general scheme, may, in my opinion, be of great use to your majesty's service, if France will open themselves.

Townshend
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe all you propose may be of very great use, and as there is no likelihood of an accommodation with the emperor, I think it right to be in as great a friendship and intimacy with France as possible; I desire only all this may be kept very private.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

I Beg your majesty's pardon for sending you my thoughts upon the affair of Meclenburg in so loose and undigested a manner; but I was so much concerned at that part of the plenipotentiary's letter, that I could not sleep till I had thrown my notions together in the loose way your majesty finds them. But if your majesty thinks they may be of any service, I will communicate them to-morrow to monsieur Hattorf; and the duke of Newcastle may have orders to write to the plenipotentiarys, and without acquainting them with your majesty's sentiments upon the provisional treaty in general, direct them to communicate to the cardinal the inclosed paper, and insist upon his procuring the declaration in the manner desired in it. As to the affair of Sleswig, I have not had time to put any thing in writing upon that head, but will be sure to do it to-morrow morning.

Sydney
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this draught very well, and wish you would communicate it to Hattorf, for to see whether any thing more may still be added. I'll speak to-morrow to the duke of Newcastle, whom I have appointed to be here early, to write on this subject to the plenipotentiarys, without declaring my opinion yet as to the provisional treaty.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

German affairs.—Particularly Mecklenburgh.

Townshend
Papers.

I Am humbly of opinion, that the enclosed papers and extracts should be sent to Mr. Walpole by the first opportunity. I cannot but apprehend from the extracts, that Chauvelin is preparing materials in relation to Sleswic, with a view, that may in the end prove prejudicial to your majesty's interests, if not prevented by a seasonable interposition, and application on the part of your majesty to the cardinal. Chauvelin seems to wish that their minister at Stockholm would find means to encourage the senate to insist upon giving satisfaction to the duke of Holstein, and that the Swedish ministers should be instructed to concur with France as to this particular, in whatever they shall think most expedient and right for settling this affair; and in one of his letters to Pouffin, he seems to say that the duke's success in this affair, will depend upon the manner in which he is supported by the emperor at the congress.

Mr. Walpole, therefore, should have orders to talk with the cardinal in a calm but serious manner upon this point, and to shew how dangerous a step it would be for the two crowns to enter into this discussion at present; that France having given her guaranty to the king of Denmark for Sleswick, can no more insist upon his giving the duke any equivalent for it, than upon his restoring the dutchy itself, and of what fatal consequence any thing done at this time in favour of the duke of Holstein may be in Sweden, by the strength it would add to his party there; and how inevitably such a step must loose us Denmark, and the advantages the emperor would make of these two events.

That in case he finds the cardinal does not take this general way of reasoning, but still continues to be desirous of getting some equivalent for the duke; he should then let him know, that your majesty speaks only out of concern for the common cause, and for the interest of the two crowns; for that you do not look upon yourself as any way particularly interested in that affair, the king of Denmark having in truth no right to make a demand upon your majesty, with regard to any equivalent to be given for Sleswick, as Mr. Walpole will see by the inclosed paper markt A. And Mr. Walpole should do his utmost to induce the cardinal to declare that your majesty shall not be in any manner affected by any thing that may be done in favour of the duke of Holstein, or given him as an equivalent for Sleswick.

I far-

I farther humbly submit to your majesty's consideration, whether it will not be proper to send the inclosed letter marked B. to Mr. Walpole, with orders to communicate it to the cardinal, that his eminency may see the power the emperor is arrogating to himself over the princes of the empire in the case of the duke of Mecklenberg, by declaring him by his own authority to be mad, and consequently incapable of governing, and by putting the administration of his country into another person of his own naming; and that the court of Vienna intends to introduce the king of Prussia into Mecklenburg, who has already the expectatives of that country. His eminency must be sensible of the dangerous consequence it must be to the Swedes at Stralsund, to the duke of Holstein, and even to the king of Denmark, if ever the king of Prussia should get any footing in Mecklenburg; and the absolute subjection to which the princes of the empire will be reduced, if the emperor is suffered to proceed in this manner, must in the end produce very bad effects even with regard to France itself, as well as to all the rest of Europe. Mr. Walpole will observe to the cardinal, that Bassewitz has been the great negotiator of this affair at Vienna.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Agree entirely with you, my lord; in what you think of the designs of Chauvelin, and I believe the best way to prevent it, will be to let Mr. Walpole be informed of all these transactions, and to let him have all the copies you have sent me for his instruction. I think it will be right to, to warn Deik-saw from speaking too freely, and opening himself too much for the future to the French minister in those things that relate to the affairs of Sleswic.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

I Humbly submit it to your majesty, whether the letter, which I have the honour to send your majesty inclosed, be not of consequence enough to be sent immediately by an express to Mr. Walpole at Paris, that the cardinal may see it as soon as possible, and be informed of the king of Prussia's intentions.

Townshend
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Shall see you to-morrow, and talk this matter a little over. I am afraid pressing France too much, when we know how cautious they are, when they think

Period IV. think it is to come to extremities, may rather frighten them than make them
 1727 to 1730. forward: my German ministry have given very private orders to Bothmer at
 Copenhagen, and to Dieksaw at Stockholm, to try those kings, what they will
 do in case the king of Prussia should use force in Mecklenbourg, and whether
 the king of Denmark can be prevail'd with, to send some of his troops under
 some pretence into Holstein. If you speak to Hattorff, he'll communicate
 to you those letters.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers. (December 3, 1728.) IN order to induce monsieur Schleinitz to joyn with
 your majesty's ministers in bringing France to make the declaration propos'd,
 I have writ the inclos'd letter to him, which if approved by your majesty, I
 hope will have a good effect; it being in my humble opinion, of the utmost
 consequence to obtain such a declaration, which will undoubtedly put a stop
 to those affairs for some months, and at least give your majesty time to turn
 your thoughts towards other expedients, if necessary.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THIS letter can be of no use at all, monsieur Schleinitz not being impowered
 to act from his master in this particular point, and so it will be necessary to
 press the duke first, to give him directions to concur with the plenipotentiarys
 in this demand.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. DE SCHLEINITZ.

(Inclos'd in the preceding note.)

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall le Decem. 1728.

Townshend
Papers. QUOIQUE le grand poids d'affaires m'avoit presque oté l'espérance de pou-
 voir vous écrire par cette occasion, cependant je ne voulois pas laisser par-
 tir le courier sans dire un mot pour vous remercier de l'honneur de vôtre lettre
 du 28 du mois passé, avec les papiers, qui y étoient joints. La correspond-
 ence avec une personne de vôtre distinction m'est trop pretieuse, pour n'y pas
 donner toute l'attention possible. Et le roy mon maître est si sensible aux
 services que vous luy rendés, et que vous pouvés encore luy rendre dans ses
 affaires publiques, aussi bien qu'en serrant de plus en plus l'étroite union
 entre

entre les deux Maisons, que sa majesté est tout disposée à vous donner des marques réelles de sa bienveillance. Le roy a bien reconnu par les trois papiers Period IV.
1727 to 1730. que vous m'avez fait tenir, votre habilité et votre génie supérieur à mettre cette affaire de Meclenbourg dans son véritable jour pour faire toucher au doigt à la cour de France toutes les mauvaises suites de cette manoeuvre dangereuse de la cour impériale. Mais à l'égard d'un plan pour prévenir les inconveniens, qui en sont tant à craindre, sa majesté aimeroit mieux de suivre celui qui fut dressé par monsieur de Hattorff, et que j'ay envoyé il y a quelque tems à son excellence monsieur Walpole. Et les plénipotentiaires du roy vous pourront expliquer les raisons qui ont porté sa majesté à choisir plutôt ce plan, que celui que vous avez proposé.

J'envoie à nos ambassadeurs plénipotentiaires les sentimens du roy sur une déclaration à faire à l'empereur par la France sur l'affaire de Mecklenbourg, et qu'ils ont ordre de vous les détailler amplement. Sa majesté vous prie de vous joindre à ses ministres en portant le cardinal à faire faire la déclaration requise. Et sa majesté espère que son eminence ne refusera pas à vos instances unies cette demande, qui est si juste et si bien fondée, et qui ne manquera pas d'arrêter les procédés des impériaux à l'égard du Mecklenbourg, pourvu que la France y parle d'un ton convenable, comme garante des traités de Westphalie. Le roy se repose beaucoup sur votre concurrence dans cette affaire importante, ne doutant pas que vous ne soyez prêt à vous joindre dans toutes les mesures nécessaires à empêcher les entreprises de la cour de Vienne dans le Mecklenbourg.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(April 13, 1729.) YOUR majesty will pardon the liberty I take in humbly submitting to your consideration, the inclosed paper which contains what I think will be proper to be written to Mr. Walpole upon the subject of the letters which came lately from Berlin. Townshend
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like this letter very well, and it may go by a messenger to-morrow, when the rest of the dispatches are ready.

Endorsed

Period IV. Endorsed—"Lord Townshend to the king, and his majesty's commands."

1727 to 1730.

Townshend
Papers.

BEING under great anxiety upon the present situation of affairs, I have not been able to forbear putting my thoughts together, which I here submit to your majesty, with utmost duty and humility.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Have read over with great attention your opinion about the present situation of our affairs. You know I have a great while ago been uneasy to see them drawn into such a length. You can remember, I very often wish'd to have a time fixt, by which every thing should be settled, and in case of a refusal, to force our enemies to it. I am entirely of opinion the cardinal should be press'd to take these resolutions, and to execute them with vigour, and all possible means should be us'd to persuade him to do it, without which nobody can foresee the consequences of this next session, and what influence the disaffected may have in this parliament.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

THE inclosed account of what passed yesterday in the conference I had with the count Kinski, I propose to send if your majesty approves of it, to the duke of Newcastle and to Mr. Walpole, and lord Waldegrave in confidence.

THE KING IN REPLY.

IT will be very right to send this account to those abovementioned, and I don't know whether it might not even be communicated to lord Chesterfield, for to lett the pensionary and Greffier know the behaviour of the court of Vienna.

LORD TOWNSHEND'S CONFERENCE WITH COUNT KINSKI.

Sent to the king, and endorsed—"Account of what passed in a conversation between count Kinski and lord Townshend on Sunday the 8—19th of June, 1729, being the day after the count's arrival at Hanover."

Weston
Papers.

COUNT Kinski arrived here yesterday about noon, and this morning made me a visit. He began, after the usual compliments, to tell me, I was without

without doubt informed of what had passed in England between him and fir Robert Walpole, but that he supposed the state of affairs was now so much changed by what had passed of late between his majesty, France, and Spain, that what he had to say, would be out of season. I told him I did not well know what he meant, but could assure him the king had made no proposition to Spain, but jointly and in concert with his allies, and that nothing had been as yet proposed to that crown, but what was perfectly agreeable to the quadruple alliance, the preliminary articles, and even to the provisional treaty, and that as yet we had not received an answer to the letters sent by the courier Banieres. Upon my saying this to him, he answer'd, that he was glad to hear matters had gone no farther; that by the letters he had received, he found his court still doubted of our sincerity as to renewing of the antient friendship with his imperial majesty. That as to myself in particular, the part I acted in parliament, as well as every where else, gave them reason to suspect my intentions as to them; and that their advices from foreign ministers residing in England, confirmed them in those apprehensions. That, however, his court had, upon his representations, given him full powers to transact with me, but that I must in the first place enable him to say, that I thought this place more proper than the congress, or the court of France, for adjusting all matters in dispute between our courts. To this last, I answer'd, that I was by no means a proper judge of that, and therefore could not say I was of that opinion; for to be able to know at what court the negotiation might be carried on with the greatest prospect of success, one must be previously informed, in which of them the emperor and his ministers placed the greatest confidence; that the negotiations had hitherto been carried on by the *entremise* of the cardinal, and the king my master was entirely satisfied with the conduct of his eminence, and therefore would not be brought to take any step towards taking it out of his hands; that the king would do no one thing without the privity and concurrence of France and the states, but that if he, count Kinski, had any thing to propose to me, I could assure him, no use should be made of it against the emperor: but that, in case it was such as the king my master thought might conduce towards establishing the publick peace, he would acquaint his allies with it; and if it should happen to be such as, in the king's opinion, would not tend towards this desirable end, whatever he might say should remain as entirely a secret as if he had never mention'd it. He then said he had nothing to propose on the part of the emperor, but had full powers to settle and agree

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Period IV. things jointly with me, and even to sign the provisional treaty, provided other
 1727 to 1730. matters might be explain'd between us at the same time; and that he thought we should begin with the disputes that subsisted between us and Spain, and with what related to the succession of don Carlos; that as to the disputes between the emperor and the king as elector, they might be settled after those relating to England were adjusted. To this I answer'd, that the quadruple alliance, which was confirmed by the preliminary articles, and by the project of the provisional treaty, and which the emperor himself had made, as it were, the basis and foundation of the treaty of Vienna, had sufficiently regulated the measures to be taken for the succession of don Carlos. He said, in a very broken and unintelligible manner, that the emperor was not bound to stand by the quadruple alliance upon any other account than as it was confirmed by the treaty of Vienna; but I hope I convinced him he was in an error as to this point. Upon the whole, I told him that I was persuaded his majesty would freely and candidly open his sentiments to him upon whatever points he thought fit to propose, but that his majesty could neither propose nor agree to any thing on his part without first consulting the cardinal and the pensionary. That I should be ready to give him his majesty's thoughts in writing to whatever he should suggest to me in the same manner; that by taking this method, all mistakes might be avoided; but he did not seem to relish this. And by his whole behavior, I am persuaded, that the hint lord Chesterfield gave of his having received orders, whilst at the Hague, not to open himself any farther, is founded; that he will dispatch a courier from hence with what pass'd here, and stay till he hears from Vienna, before he says any more.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

(October 5, 1729.) I Send your majesty inclosed the draught of an answer which I have prepared to Mr. Dubourgay's dispatch, in which he sent the plan of accommodation deliver'd to him by Mr. Knyphausen, together with some remarks which I have made upon the said plan, in my own name. For as I can't think it at all right, that your majesty should declare yourself upon this affair, during the present dispositions of the court of Prussia; as this letter and remarks are suppos'd to contain my particular sentiments only, and to be written without your majesty's privity, and your majesty will have this advantage from them, that you will be inform'd of the real intentions of
 the

the court of Prussia, without having engaged yourself to any thing. I flatter myself that the use I have made of Mr. Knyphausen's notion concerning the guaranty of Sweden and Denmark, and what I have grafted upon that proposal, may, if it be accepted by the court of Prussia (considering the great inclination of the Swedes to see themselves again masters of Stetin, and what they have lost in Pomerania, and considering the rank your majesty has upon Denmark with regard to the affair of Sleswick) facilitate any views your majesty may have upon any part of the country of Mecklenburg. I send your majesty likewise inclosed a letter from count Plettemberg, in which he desires the use of your majesty's house at Osnabrug for the elector his master.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

I send your majesty the letter to monsieur Chavigny, that your majesty may see whether the alteration which I have made in the article concerning Mecklenbourg be to your satisfaction. If your majesty does not approve of it, that part of the paragraph may be entirely left out, in the manner that your majesty will find it mark'd in the inclosed.

THE KING IN REPLY.

IN the letter to Chavigny, I believe it will be better to leave out the whole paragraph, as you struck it out. As to the desire of count Plettenburgh of my house for the elector of Cologne, I am very willing to make him the compliment of it. But as to the answer to the proposals that Knyphausen has made, I think there is several points about which I must speak to you, before it goes. I believe the rights of the princes of the empire are not enough preserved, and as to the match, tho' I should be very glad to take care of the prince of Prussia* in case he should take his refuge to me, I am not willing to have it made a condition of the marriage, that I should maintain him.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(August 20-31, 1729.) MY lord Waldegrave coming to me just as I was dispatching monsieur Dubourgay's servant with the letter I sent your majesty this morning, and my lord having read Mr. Dubourgay's letter to me, which

Townshend
Papers.

* Afterwards Frederick the second. He was desirous of marrying the princess Amelia, but the king his father insisted on his marrying the princess of Bevern. With a view to avoid this marriage, and to espouse the princess Amelia, he proposed escaping from Prussia, and taking refuge in England.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} lay upon my table, to which mine was an answer, seem'd very uneasy and express'd a good deal of concern, saying he very much apprehended that Kniphausen having undertaken to get this dispute referr'd to two princes (the landgrave of Hesse, and the duke of Wolfenbuttel) who were known to be in such strict friendship, and under such close engagements to your majesty, your majesty's refusing such an arbitration would occasion great discontents in England, and would be attended with very ill consequences there, should your majesty be forced to send for any assistance from thence; and that the more your majesty appeared to be in the right, as to the present dispute, the less reason, they will say, there was for your majesty to refuse the arbitration of the two princes known to be so much your friends. What fell from my lord Waldegrave upon this occasion, had so much weight with me, that I thought it my duty to delay sending the answer till I had acquainted your majesty with his sentiments upon it, being in my own opinion convinced that there is great reason in what his lordship said. I send your majesty the same rough draught, which I took the liberty to lay before you this morning, with those places marked, which must be altered, in case your majesty should approve lord Waldegrave's way of thinking.

THE KING IN REPLY.

TO shew the world, that I am willing to do every thing that is reasonable on this occasion, I consent this letter should be sent, but at the same time, care should be taken, that I may have an answer soon; for the moment this matter is quite over, I intend to write to England for my yachts, which I shall not do, as long as there is any appearance of disturbances here.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

(December 8, 1729.) I Was last night with the French ambassador, and read the letter which I had drawn by your majesty's order to him. I never saw him so uneasy, and so much out of temper in my life. He complained of the article relating to the elector of Mentz, as not being explicit enough, and desir'd it might be alter'd in the manner I have done in the inclosed paper.

All that I could say to him about the article relating to the subsidies, could not appease him; and finding I would not say any thing more to him on that head, than what was contained in my letter, he told me, he must desire an audience

audience of your majesty this morning. I have therefore drawn up a paper, which I have communicated to monsieur Hatorf, and which I submit to your majesty, as the substance of what your majesty may say to him at his audience, and order me afterwards to give to him in writing, for the avoiding of mistakes. Your majesty will see that I have not touch'd upon the subsidies, thinking the turn to be given to that matter, had better be done by your majesty as in confidence to him, that your majesty seeing the impossibility of complying with what France desires on this head, either out of the money arising from the civil list, or of even getting it from the parliament, had sent to Hanover to know what could be done there, and that you expected an answer either the latter end of this week or the beginning of next; and that it was impossible for you to say any thing decisive on that point, till you had received the information you had sent for from your treasury there, your majesty having made it the rule of your life, not to enter into any engagements without being previously sure of being in a condition to make them good.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Am very sorry count Broglio would not be satisfied with the reasons you gave him, as to what relates to subsidies being given from Hannover: it is a thing not to be done, it would be a very ill precedent, and I told count Broglio already, when he made me such a proposal in his last audience, that it was with great difficultys, and a great charge to the country, I could keep up my own troops, and it would not, I believed, be required of me to disband my own troops to keep strangers.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(December 8, 1729.) I Am under the greatest concern to see that your majesty should imagine from what I wrote, that I had the least thought of your majesty's engaging to count Broglio, that you would pay the subsidys for Hanover. What I propos'd for your majesty to say to him, was not design'd by me or monsieur Hattorff, to lay your majesty under any obligation of that nature, but was only, as we both thought, the most proper expedient, and such a one as cannot possibly be attended with any inconvenience, for gaining your majesty a fortnight's time before you returned a positive answer, which delay is, in our opinions, of the utmost consequence to your majesty's affairs at this critical juncture. All which is humbly submitted to your majesty.

Townshend
Papers.

LORD

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Townshend
Papers.

(February 8, 1729-30.) THE inclosed is the draught of my letter to Mr. Dubourgay. I have shewn it to Villa, who thinks nothing else will be necessary, but that her majesty should be graciously pleased to write a letter to the queen of Prussia upon her illness, confining it to that subject, and not taking any notice of any thing that the king has done, or of the hard usage which either her Prussian majesty, or the prince royal has met with.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THOUGH I am very much affraid, that my sending somebody to Berlin, will give suspicion both to France and Spain, and that this step will prove useless even with the king of Prussia himself, and will only make him more violent, and think himself more important and of greater consequence, I will for this time, condescend to it, but for the last time of all. The queen will write in the terms you propose. Hotham must be told that his commission is to last but two or three months, that he is to hear, but take all what is say'd or offer'd ad referendum. He must not yield to any impertinent proposal, allways act with vigour and spirit, and declare from the beginning that he is to stay but a short wile there. He must be cautious in not trusting du Bourgay in any thing, try as much as he can to gain the prince royal, and assure him of all my endeavours to assist him. You will order his private instruction to be drawn in this way, and I intend to speak to him myself in private before his journey, to tell him what may be omitted here. I desire you to have three or four different cyphers prepared for him, that he may not so easily be discovered, which he must upon no account communicate to du Bourgay.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

UPON receiving your majesty's sentiments upon the remarks I sent you last night, monsieur Hattorf and I have review'd both this morning and last night the said paper of remarks, and are both of opinion that your majesty's observations upon them are very just, and that they are deficient in the several points your majesty mentions, and I take the liberty to transmitt to your majesty a paper of additions to be made to the said remarks, which we hope will answer your majesty's views in every particular.

THE KING IN REPLY.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

I Think with the alteration I have made, this article may pass; but in relation to the succession of Juliers, if I should give any promise to the king of Prussia, I shall lose entirely the hopes of getting the four electors of the Palatine family, which will be of much more consequence to me than the other. So it is impossible to flatter him of my being either neutral, or favouring his pretensions.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(February 8, 1729-30.) I Take the liberty to lay before your majesty with the greatest submission, what, in my opinion, may be proper to be written to Mr. Poyntz, and to the pensionary, with regard to your majesty's intention of sending Sir Charles Hotham to the court of Berlin. Townshend Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe it is very necessary to communicate to the pensionary and cardinal, Hotham's commission, as far as it relates to the ill usage of my sister,* but as yet no mention should be made as to the marriages, it being very distant and uncertain, and France wishing as much to hinder them as the emperor himself. It will be better, whenever he will be there, and proposals are made to him, to communicate them at such a time, that it may not seem, that I am to be led as they please, whenever they have a mind to it. Besides in the way this person has been sent, it will always be in the power of those who have sent him, to disavow him as they have done last summer du Bourgay.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

(February 19, 1729-30.) THERE being a cause relating to the magistracy of a burgh in Scotland, upon which the whig interest, as to all future elections there depended, I thought it for your majesty's service to go to the house, which prevented my waiting on your majesty this morning. However, I acquainted the duke of Newcastle with my sentiments upon Lord Harrington's instructions. I beg to have your majesty's orders upon Mr. Dubourgay's Townshend Papers.

* Dorothy, wife of Frederick William the first, king of Prussia.

Period IV. letter, and to know whether it is not your pleasure, that I should send him positive orders to get the declaration on the part of France made to the king of Prussia as soon as his Prussian majesty returns from Dresden.

1727 to 1730.

I have spoke to several lords about the bill relating to pensions, and find them all zealous against it; but they do insist that it should be opposed in the house of commons, alledging, that since it relates intirely to the members of that house, our friends there ought to shew the utmost dislike to it, in order to justify the lords in throwing it out; and the lords I have spoke to, assure me they will, in that case, join heartily, should it pass the commons, in throwing it out of our house at the first reading.

I send your majesty herewith the draught of a letter in answer to that I received from Mr. Woodward this morning.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Have no objection about the time of the declaration of the French secretary's to the king of Prussia. I approve very well of the letter to Woodward. I am glad to find the lords zealous against the bill that is coming from the house of commons. If there is a possibility or likelihood of throwing it out, I am of opinion, to have it opposed there, but if there should be no hopes of it, it would certainly fix those who are for it against us in other points, and they must be as little used to it as possible.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

I Send your majesty a copy of a letter, which is just now decyphered, from monsieur Chauvelin to count Broglie; and humbly submit it to your majesty, whether it might not be sent to Mr. Walpole, in a letter from Mr. de la Faye, a copy of which I also inclose; and whether another copy should not be given to my lord Chesterfield, to send to the pensionary, that he may see how averse the French are, to the giving a guaranty of the emperor's succession; and that therefore what your majesty proposes, is all that can be done at present.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THE intercepted letter you sent me, is of the utmost importance. The letter de la Faye is to write to the ambassadors is very proper, as well as your thought of sending a copy of the intercepted one by lord Chesterfield to the pensionary. In the main, I am very glad to see things come to this pass, that
France

France must court England, after the long time we have been in the same condition towards them.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

DR. Willis has just decyphered, and brought me the inclosed letter, which, notwithstanding the affected obscurity in some parts of it, is most certainly from Seckendorff.

Townshend
Papers.

The bill concerning places and pensions, being to be brought up to the house of lords, I shall be obliged to be there early in the morning. As we expected to have had it yesterday, I thought it necessary to attend then, and was by that prevented from having the honour of waiting upon your majesty. Sir Robert Walpole and the other members of the house of commons, who were at the meeting at my house, together with the lords, the night before last, were of opinion that we ought to let it be read the first time, and endeavour to throw it out at the second reading. We have therefore agreed upon this method of proceeding, and I shall accordingly endeavour to get the second reading of it appointed for to-morrow,* and then to throw it out.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THE letter you sent me is not from Seckendorff, but from the prince of Bevern. As to this villainous bill, I have seen a great many lords who are all zealously against it, in every part of it. I don't doubt but you will tear it to pieces in every particular, not only in relation to the gratuities, but also to the oaths, and pensions, knowing very well, that if all the different clauses of it are abused and run down, the commons won't attempt it another time; and the sooner it is thrown out the better.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

I Have ordered Mr. Tilson to send this privately by the messenger that goes to France to-morrow, if your majesty approves of it.

Townshend
Papers.

* The pension bill was thrown out on the second reading on the 20th of March, 1730, which fixes the date of this note.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THIS letter is as I could wish it. You have seen by du Bourgay's letter how the king of Prussia puts himself in readiness for an attack. You will too have taken notice of what Woodward writes as to the surprize of a town which can be no other than Brunsvic. I saw Mr. Horace Walpole, and he told me he had seen this letter, and he is to make use of this as of an argument to bring the cardinal to give me the guarantie I have desired of him. This thing nettle me a good deal. The Prussians can be at this place in two days march. There is but four battalions to guard it, which, with the want of fortifications, which are not altogether finish'd, make it very liable to be surpris'd. Should the D. of W.* be informed of this, and he desire any troops for his assistance, it would be impossible to stay for an answer from France, nor right for me to refuse him, both as to my own security, and to the engagements I am under to the duke. So that every way I shall be now under difficulties, except France gives me very soon a positive declaration, and I see my troops in possession of that town.

* Duke of
Wolfenbut-
tel.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Townshend
Papers.

YOUR majesty has seen that I intended to send Mr. Dubourgay's letter to Mr. Poyntz, but only for his private information; my view being at present to bring the cardinal into the forming of a plan for your majesty's security, under the notion of doing it for the security of the Dutch, and for keeping them attached to the alliance; and when the cardinal has consented to form such a plan, then I humbly think it may be a proper time to take particular care of what your majesty mentions, and to urge these advices as a strong argument for providing against any attack upon your majesty's dominions in Germany, and therefore with humble submission I offer it to your majesty, whether Mr. Walpole should at present make use of that argument to the cardinal. In the mean time if the advices mentioned by Mr. Woodward come confirmed, your majesty may make good use of them with the duke of Wolfenbittel.

THE KING IN REPLY.

WHAT made me speak to Walpole upon this subject, and wishing it may be done now is, because, if such a surprize should be intended, the winter will be

be a proper time for it, because of the frost. And should this be delay'd, a great deal of time may be lost, particularly when I consider the slowness and irresolution of the cardinal, who is always prepossessed against any thing that looks like war, and who has Chauvelin about him, who is always willing to stop any thing that is for my advantage. Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THIS dispatch I have prepared to be sent to the pensionary this night, if your majesty approves of it. Townshend
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THIS letter is writ in the best stile in the world, and hope will have a very good effect. I wish you would only add a word, of the satisfaction I have about the declaration the pensionary has made about Bremen and Verden, and desire him to be steady in this point, as well as those relating to this kingdom, which you have represented very strongly to him.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THE inclosed is a petition from Hyam the Jew, who was condemned at Kingston, for clipping and diminishing broad pieces of gold. As the man is to be executed this morning, I thought it my duty to lay this petition before your majesty as soon as possible. The crime for which this person is condemned is of so heinous a nature, that I believe your majesty will think proper to let the law take its course in this case. Sydney
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

THE ill consequences of this crime are so bad, that I am of opinion it deserves no mercy.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

THE inclosed are draughts of two letters to lord Waldegrave. In case your majesty approves of them, I will have the ostensible one putt into French, that there may be no mistake in translating it. Townshend
Papers.

Period IV.

1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Like these letters very well, with a small alteration that you will find in one of them.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Harrington
Papers.

I Am humbly of opinion that the inclosed letter* ought to be sent to your majesty's plenipotentiaries at Paris, to be communicated to the cardinal, not as intelligence to which your majesty gives any credit, or to which you should be averse, if it were true; but only that his eminence may be acquainted with the reports that are spread. Your plenipotentiaries should take this occasion of sounding the cardinal's sentiments as to the king of Poland, and how far he thinks it might be of use to gain him; and whether king Stanislaus's pretensions to the crown of Poland have not so much weight in France, as to make all thoughts of bringing the present king of Poland into the interest of the two crowns impracticable.

I am likewise humbly of opinion, that the plan of operations ought to be settled previous to all other deliberations; and that your ministers at Paris ought to insist upon this in the strongest manner; and that the settling the said plan ought to be made the condition of your majesty's complying with the alteration desired by the French in the secret declaration to be given about Berlin and Juliers. It is not pretended by the French, that this declaration can be signed by your majesty, till the treaty with the four electors is concluded. Could your majesty get the plan of operations settled, I am entirely of opinion, that this single step would free you from all your present difficulties and your ministers will have the assistance of those of Spain towards making the cardinal act a right part as to this particular of the operations. I am firmly persuaded, that upon the first news of this plan being fixed, the king of Prussia would submit, and will not wait till the declaration proposed be made to him, and when the emperor shall have lost him, and shall see your majesty and your allies in a condition to make good their engagements, he will think it agreeable to his honor as well as to his interest, to accept of any declaration that shall be made him in the name of your majesty and your allies.

* Referred to in the duke of Newcastle's letter to lord Harrington of March 24—April 4 1729-30.

But if your majesty suffers the negociation for forming the plan, and that of the declaration to go hand in hand, I very much fear that considering the temper and disposition of the cardinal, as well as of the Dutch, no plan of operations will be formed; and in that case any declaration to be made at Vienna, will rather be insulted than agreed to. And your majesty will be next year at the meeting of the parliament under the same difficulties you at present labour, not only with regard to Prussia, but likewise in regard to the affairs in general, and one may easily foresee the evils that must attend such a situation.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Agree with you in every thing contained in this letter, and desire you to communicate your opinion either to the duke of Newcastle or Horace Walpole, that the instructions to the ambassadors may be sent according to your opinion.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

COUNT Broglie having chosen rather to send an express with his last letters, than to write by the post, I very much fear he may not have made a true report of what passed between us. Therefore, as I am to see Chamorel to-morrow morning, I most humbly submit it to your majesty, whether I should not communicate to him the answer I gave to count Broglie, and endeavour to induce him to transmit it to his court.

Townshend's
Papers.

THE KING IN REPLY.

I Believe it will be very right to inform Chamorel, of what pass'd between you and count Broglie, upon this subject, that he may give a true account to his court.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Endorsed 6 May, 1730—"Account of conference with count Broglie."

THE cause in the house of lords went this day in favour of the protestant interest in Ireland, without one dissenting voice.

Townshend's
Papers.

Monfieur Broglie has been with me, and communicated to me the letter he received from Chauvelin. I told him that I was extremely surpris'd at monfieur Chauvelin's writing him such a letter, and that I was perswaded your majesty would

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} would be so when I should acquaint you with the contents of it; that your majesty's conduct had not deserved either the reproaches, or the insinuations contained in that letter; that if we were to compute the expence of fleets and armys, your majesty had born at least your full share of it ever since the Hanover alliance, and that your majesty's ready compliance with the quota proposed by the ministers of France and Spain, must convince the cardinal and garde des Sceaux, that you were still in the same intentions of doing all that could reasonably be expected from you; that your majesty never made their agreeing to the particular plan of the year 1727, the condition of your consenting to leave out the words "*cussi bien que*" in the treaty with the four electors, but that your majesty did indeed insist upon having either that, or some other plan of operations settled, because that being previously done, your majesty could better judge of what use or service the four electors could be to the two crowns. That your majesty, by insisting to have a body of French troops ready to come to your assistance, in case your German dominions were attacked, could not be supposed to intend to leave the defence of those countrys wholly upon France; that the garde des Sceaux must be very well acquainted that your majesty has in those countrys and in the neighbourhood full two and thirty thousand men ready to march; but as those countrys are open and exposed, and as the emperor, and perhaps the king of Prussia, might out of revenge, in case of a war, fall with a great part of their forces upon those dominions, your majesty might insist upon it, not as a favour, but as a right and justice due to you, that France should keep a body of men ready to march to your assistance.

I concluded with telling him that this letter of Chauvelin's seemed to me to be calculated to let us see that France was determined not to enter into a war in support of the engagements taken by the treaty of Seville, or, in case they should be prevailed upon by Spain to engage in a war, to burthen your majesty with so great a proportion of the expences, that it would be impossible for you to support them. That your majesty was determined to do all that could reasonably be expected from you towards supporting your engagements, but if France thought fit to insist, in any project that might be formed, upon laying a greater load upon your majesty, either in troops or money, than you could bear, it would be their fault, and not your majesty's, if nothing were done, and the affairs of the allies of Seville, run into confusion. Monsieur Broglie agreed with me in every thing I had said, and to convince me that he had
not

not given occasion by any thing he had written to the garde des Sceaux's writing him a letter in such terms and style, he shewed me his two letters, to which this was in answer, and I promis'd him at parting, that I would acquaint your majesty with all that had passed.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

1727.

1727.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Rumour that lord Chesterfield is to succeed him at Paris, and be appointed secretary of state.—Thinks him improper to fill the embassy in France.—Recommends lord Waldegrave for that station.

DEAR BROTHER,

Paris, August 9, 1727.

I Am infinitely obliged to you for your letter of the 25 past O. S. with so clear and succinct account of matters, in which I think you have shewn all imaginable prudence and address, it is certain that you must continue to go on in the same way, and I hope a little time will render your business more easy, and not so dangerous to your health, which is the chief thing you should be attentive to.

Walpole
Papers.

Private.

It is already in the Dutch prints that lord Chesterfield is to come hither, which together with what his lordship publishes abroad himselfe, will, I suppose, make the cardinal ask me a thousand questions about his temper, views, and principles, which will be difficult to answer, considering he will stand in the eye of the world, as the person designed by his majesty to be hereafter secretary of state. His thoughts of coming hither, I must own, puts me under a great dilemma; because although as soon as the great affairs of Europe are settled, I shall be desirous of returning home; yet I am sure he is the most improper person, if I rightly know him, to succeed me, upon a foot of having that confidence which is between the cardinal and me, and which is absolutely necessary to be maintained even after I leave this embassy. I most earnestly desire you will continue from time to time to inform me of matters as what will be necessary for me to put things in a proper light, against the various surmises that are sent from England or made here.

P. S.

Period IV.
 1727 to 1730. P. S. Lord Waldegrave is indeed designed for Vienna, and I think must
 1727. goe thither as soon as we hear from Spain; but his temper and prudence
 would doe extreamely well at this court, as it is constituted at present.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Hints that lord Chesterfield would be appointed secretary of state.—The cardinal's concern at lord Townshend's illness, and mentions the difficulty of replacing him.

DEAR BROTHER,

Fontainbleau, November 11, 1727.

Walpole
Papers.Private.

MR. Robinson, the secretary of the embassy has read to me a paragraph in a letter from his eldest brother, who tells him that a friend of his who knows well the situation at court in England, has lett him know, that if lord Chesterfield should go abroad, and particularly to France, it is in order to be secretary of state, in which case, he, Mr. Robinson the secretary, must serve under his lordship, supposing he can contrive to doe it handsomly with regard to others. As I seem'd to Mr. Robinson to take little notice of it, I did not ask him many questions about it, nor desire him to read it to me a second time. But as this letter is lately received, I thought it might be worth your knowledge, not upon my account, because you know how indifferent I am grown to all service; but it is possible poor lord Townshend's state of health may have given occasion for new caballs among the ambitious. I hope his lordship is not so bad, as I find the ordinary letters make him, because you have never mentioned it to me; but few people that write about him, think he can gett over his illness. Should any thing happen, the replacing of him will be of vast consequence to the management of affairs at home, as well as to the credit and influence of the government among the foreign powers. I can assure you the cardinall mentioned it to me this morning with the greatest concern, but I comforted him, by telling him that I did not doubt but his lordship would recover, tho' I can't say that he agreed with me in that opinion. I am, &c.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND. Period IV...

1727 to 1730.

Condoles with him on lord Townshend's danger.

1728.

DEAR TOMMY,

Houghton, Thursday 12 o'clock.

Sydney
Papers.

I Suffer too much on account of poor lord Townshend to know any satisfaction in being at this distance. I have now sent for horses to meet me on the road, which will bring me almost as soon to town as if I did set out tomorrow. I hope to be with you on Monday by noon. Surely that providence or good fortune which has so often stood us in stead, will once more interpose and save the man, without whom *all* must fall to the ground.

I would not preface any ill tidings; but be assured, dear Tommy, that your own merit and the merit of being descended from such a father, will secure to you and all your unhappy family, whatever is, or can ever possibly be in my power, to soften, what nothing can repair, the loss of such a father, friend, and Englishman. But I will hope still, that this time of trial is far distant, and that it may be so for reasons infinite, believe me, dear Tommy, is the most ardent and most sincere wishes of your's most faithfully and affectionately.

 1728.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Instructs him to obtain the cardinal's assent to the form of signing.—Meeting of the parliament.—General good will of the commons.—Acclamations of the people as the king went to the house.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, January 24, 1727—8.

I Would not let Mr. Charters return to Paris without assuring your lordship of my sincere respects, altho' I have no news to send you, since you will have been so fully informed from the duke of Newcastle by the messenger that set out last night of all matters: I shall only add in confidence not to be mentioned in the dispatches; that your lordship should use your utmost application and interest with the cardinal that the form for signing the declaration transmitted from hence should be followed, as being plain and simple, and making

Waldegrave
Papers.

Period IV.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, February 15, 1727—8: O. S.

1727 to 1730.

1728.

Waldegrave
Papers.

I Am honoured with your lordship's letter of the 18th instant, N. S. and have seen what you write in your dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, the 18th and 21st, and it is impossible for me to express how much his majesty and his ministers are satisfied with your lordship's conduct, at which I am not at all surprized. The uneasiness of the French court about the pretended difficulties and delays in agreeing to the declaration on the part of his majesty were very groundless and unreasonable, and I find some had worked up the cardinal to great warmth upon it, for besides what he said to your lordship he wrote a more serious and stranger letter to me than ever I received from him, full at the same time of great compliments personally to me of which I have taken proper notice in my answer, which I leave open for your lordship's perusal; but you will not in delivering it or sending it to him take the least notice of it. You have likewise inclosed at the same time another letter in answer to one which his eminence wrote to me upon a private affair. We had yesterday in the committee of supply a debate about continuing the Hessians another year in his majesty's pay, which called me up, and altho' the debate did not last long, yett the opposite party would come to a division, and we were 280 against 86, and I reckon that our dispute about foreign affairs is as good as over, and by what the king said to me this morning, I believe it will not be long before I shall have the honour to see you at Paris. I am, with the greatest affection and respect.

P. S. My compliments to marshal Berwick, the dutchess, and all their family, and let them know that his majesty has agreed to make the usual allowance of bounty to lady Sophia Bulkeley; but the affair about allowing the Irish regiments to be recruited in the manner proposed has mett with some difficulties on account of an act of parliament, but I am in some hopes of overcoming them.

DE LA FAYE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

*Debate on the national debt.*Waldegrave
Papers.

(Whitehall, February 22, 1727—8.) YESTERDAY as sir Robert Walpole was giving an account to the house of commons of the state of the sinking fund, he acquainted them that since the year 1716, it had paid off of the nation's debts a certain sum (I think six millions and seven or eight hundred thousand

houſand pounds) but that by the contracting of new debts the debt of the nation had upon the balance been leſſened (as I remember) about two millions and half only. Mr. Pulteney answered him, and averred that the debt of the nation inſtead of being at all leſſened was greatly increaſed ſince 1716, and that tho' he was not now prepared to prove it, he would undertake to do ſo in two or three days, and put his reputation upon it. Sir Robert put his reputation upon making out the truth of what he had advanced. In the debate mention having been made of the book publiſht about a twelve month ago, as was thought by Mr. Pulteney's direction, called a State of the National Debt, fir Nathaniel Gold ſaid he had carefully examined that book, and would undertake to prove it very fallacious. So it is expected there will on the next proper occaſion be a formal debate upon this ſubject; but ſome ſay they remember that ſome ſuch challenge was formerly given by the ſame gentleman, but not ſupported. I am, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1728.

GEORGE TILSON TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Debate on the ſtate of the national debt.

(Whitehall, March 7, 1727-8.) I Was glad that what my lord directed me to write about the parliament was ſo uſeful to your lordſhip. There was laſt Monday a great battle in the houſe of commons, carryed with the uſual majority of above 250 to go and odd; but it was a domeſtick point, wherein our neighbours take no very great part. It was the diſpute Mr. Pulteney raiſed about the vaſt increaſe of our debt, more than was paid off by the ſinking fund. It appeared clear to the houſe, that above fix millions had been paid off by that fund ſince 1716. To day is appointed to debate the other part of the queſtion, how many new debts are incurred ſince that year; and it is generally ſaid, that it will be made plain, that with the debts properly ſaid to be contracted for ſervices within that time, at leaſt two or three million will have been paid off. For the purchaſing the long annuities, the army debentures, and ſuch deficiencies as have been provided for, are ſtrictly ſpeaking, debts contracted before 1716. I ſhall be very glad to ſee this clearly determined, for 'twill ſtop the clamours of thoſe who have all along been aſſerting that we run in debt continually; and that our ſinking fund does not ſuffice to pay exceedings annually contracted; with other ſuch general accuſations, that, like throwing of dirt at random, ſtick with many.

Waldegrave
Papers.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

DE LA FAYE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

News of the signature of the convention with Spain arrives in the midst of a debate.

Waldegrave
Papers.

(Whitehall, March 11, 1727-8.) I Received this morning the honour of your lordship's letter of the 6—17th instant, which I put into my lord duke of Newcastle's hands, who charged me with his best and most hearty compliments to you. Your lordship was very good in detaining Bynham from us as little as possible. The poor man to do him justice, performed his journey exceedingly well, for on a computation (allowing him two days and half for his journey to Versailles, his wayting at Calais, and his passage by sea) he was but eight days and half coming from Madrid hither. The news he brought, your lordship may believe, was not less acceptable here than at Versailles; it proved, I dare say, a more efficacious cordial to lord Townshend than all that Grimes's shop had afforded him, and it came very seasonably to sir Robert Walpole in the midst of a debate, and, as I have been told by some that were present, made him go on with fresh spirit and vigour. Your lordship will see by the letters that go by this messenger, which will probably reach you at Paris, that monsieur Penterridter threatens us with fresh difficultys at the congress: there may be a little gasconade in his discourse; however, it furnishes an argument, as your journey does an opportunity for endeavouring to prevail with the cardinal to open his budget, and let us know what he thinks is farther to be done, and how the allys are to proceed, which I hope will be in perfect concert together, otherwise *divide et impera* will be the play of our antagonists. I heartily wish your lordship a good journey and good success at Vienna, where I hope you will find the ministers more tractable than they would have been to St. Saphorin, who will prove a good foil to one that has none of those failings by which he had made himself most odious to that court, and had in a manner destroy'd the use of those abilities; and that knowledge, and experience which he must be allowed to possess. I shall be glad to hear of your safe arrival there, and beg that I may still, tho' not in your province, preserve some share in your favour, which I shall always study to deserve by being with the greatest sincerity and respect.

SPEAKER ONSLOW'S REMARKS ON VARIOUS PARTS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S CONDUCT, AND ANECDOTES OF THE PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION. Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Although some of these remarks and anecdotes relate to the reign of George the first, and others to the later periods of Walpole's administration, yet it was thought proper not to separate them; but to print them as they were written, in a continued narrative.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

On the opposition of sir Robert Walpole to the peerage bill.

WE have often heard of men who have left one party to join another, without any change of principle or inclination avowedly, and only to force the crown, by distressing the administration in parliament to bring themselves back to, or to obtain those seats of power they had lost or quitted, or fought after, and without designing to continue any longer with their new friends than should be sufficient for that purpose. A practice that has tended more to corrupt and debase the minds of men that use it, and to distress and confound the affairs of the public than any other public evil this age has produced. And however strange and offensive such tergiversations must appear to men of strict minds, and of little acquaintance with the world (for to such only they can appear strange) yet there is nothing more certain than that by some fatal darkness of understanding, or imbecility of heart, many persons otherwise of great probity and honour, have suffered themselves to be made instruments and supports of these factions, and have been brought to believe (what is in truth the common band of all party unions, and only justifiable where the constitution is really in danger, from the settled plan of an administration for that purpose) that they might very honestly act against their conscience in particulars, in order in general to pull down one man they did not like, and to set up another they did, nay to make it a point of honor and fidelity to their friends so to do.

Upon this foundation partly (I mean of distressing the administration) I have reason to think that Mr. Walpole (afterwards sir Robert) exerted himself so eminently and effectually against the bill to restrain the making of peers. I have told you before the nature of this bill, and that it was much approved of by very many of the whigs. What occasioned them to like it so well,

was

Onslow
Papers.

Period IV. was the recent memory of the extraordinary creation of twelve peers at once, ^{1730 to 1730} and of a sudden, under the administration of Mr. Harley, earl of Oxford, and lord treasurer, done as it was supposed, to save him from some disagreeable attack he expected in the house of lords. It was, I remember, universally disapproved of, and by the whiggs so much detested that it was one of the principal subjects of their clamour against him, and afterwards one of the articles of his impeachment. When this bill, therefore, which had the plausibleness of preventing such an abuse for the future was first brought in, the opposing of it looked so like a contradiction in the whiggs to what they had said and done on the former occasion, that it was thought by the malecontents to be too strong a point, and would be of too much reproach for them to set themselves against (the lords among them perhaps somewhat biased by the advantage the bill brought to their body) and at a meeting of the most considerable of them, it was the opinion of all except Mr. Walpole to give into it.

But he dissented so vehemently and passionately to the so doing, that after much altercation and heat they yielded to his opposing it in the house of commons, or rather because they found that he resolved to do it, whatever they had said or should do upon it. He told them it was the most maintainable point they could make a stand upon in the house of commons against the ministry. He was sure he could put it in such a light as to fire with indignation at it every independent commoner in England; and that he saw a spirit rising against it among some of the warmest of the whigs that were country gentlemen, and not in other things averse to the administration. That the first discovery of this to him was from what he overheard one Mr. * * * * member for * * * * say upon it; a plain country gentleman of about eight hundred pounds a year, of a rank equal only to that, and with no expectations or views to himself beyond what his condition at that time gave him. But this person talking with another member about this bill, he said with heat and some oaths (which was what Mr. Walpole overheard and caught at)—“What shall I consent to the shutting the door upon my family ever coming into the house of lords!” This, Mr. Walpole told the company, struck him with conviction, that the same sentiment might easily be made to run through the whole body of country gentlemen, be their estates then what they would. And so it proved, to a very thorough defeat of the ministers in this instance.

His performance in this debate, I have heard, for I was not then come into parliament, was very great, and had as much of natural eloquence and of ge-
nius

nus in it as had been heard by any of the audience within those walls. His topics were popular, and made for those he hoped to bring over, from the story I have just now told you. He talked of the honours of peerage as the constitutional reward of great qualities and actions only, in the service of the commonwealth, and to be kept open for that purpose. *That the usual path to the temple of honour, had been thro' the temple of virtue; but by this bill it was now to be only thro' the sepulchre of a dead ancestor*, without merit or fame. In this strain he bore down every thing before him, even against very able performances by many very considerable persons who spoke on the other side of the question.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Speaker
Onslow's
remarks.

ON OPPOSITION. CHAPTER II.

Walpole's conduct in the prosecution of bishop Atterbury.—Motives for laying a tax on papists and non-jurors.—Impropriety of multiplying oaths.—Walpole's art in confounding the Tories with the Jacobites.—Anecdotes and characters of Daniel and William Pulteney—Sir William Wyndham—Sir John Barnard—Sir Joseph Jekyll—Lords Carteret—Chesterfield—Bolingbroke.—Conclusion.—Observations on Sir Robert Walpole.

A Remarkable event happened at this time, 1722, which contributed very much to the fixing Mr. Walpole's interest and power then with the king, and manifesting fresh proofs of his abilities and usefulness as a minister. It was the management of a discovery made by the regent of France to the government here of a plot in favour of the pretender, formed and carried on principally by Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a man of great parts, and of a most restless and turbulent spirit, daring and enterprising, tho' then very infirm, and capable of any artifice; but proud and passionate, and not of judgment enough for the undertakings he engaged in. His views were not only to be the first churchman, but the first man also in the state, not less than Wolsey, whom he admired and thought to imitate; and found he could only succeed in this, by the merit of his overturning the present government, and advancing that of the pretender in its stead. He had been long projecting this revolution; but went now upon the foundation of the discontents in the kingdom, arising from the South Sea transactions in the year 20, which were still fresh in the minds and hearts of the people, especially the sufferers, many of whom imputed their losses to the government, as designing by a fraud to deprive them

Period IV. them of their property, and propagated this notion, with too much success,
 1727 to 1730. among the people in general.

When this intimation was given from the regent (who, it was said, did it on condition that no one should die for it) the difficulty of getting to the bottom and fixing the evidence of it still remained; but when that was effected, in a great measure by Mr. Walpole's dexterity, who had the chief part in unravelling this dark mystery, the prosecution was as difficult to manage as the other, from the want, in most of the cases, of legal proofs to convict the criminals at law, and from the necessity not to let them go without some degree of punishment that might be a security to the government against the like attempts for the future, and worthy of the notice the government had taken of this. This he also undertook and carried through in parliament with great skill and clearness, and made it serve another purpose too he always aimed at, the setting the whiggs against the tories as jacobites; which all of them gave too much handle for on this and many other occasions, and making therefore combinations between them and any body of whiggs to be impracticable: and it had that effect for some time. In the proceedings in the house of lords against the bishop, he appeared as a witness for the government to some things which had been solemnly denied by the other: the bishop used all the art his guilt would admit of, to perplex and make Mr. Walpole contradict himself, but he was too hard for the bishop upon every turn, altho' a greater trial of skill this way, scarce ever happened between two such combatants. The one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal. The expectation of people in it, as they were differently inclined to the parties; and the cause and the solemnity of it from the place and the audience it was in, made it look like a lifted field for a combat of another sort, and the joy of victory as great as there. To say the truth, the bishop sunk under the weight of his guilt, and indeed the whole of his defence, as made by himself, was not adequate to his real abilities.

He grounded also upon this, what was more politick as I thought, than just, the submitting the estates of the papists in England to a tax of 100,000*l.* under the name of a composition for their recusancy, altho' it did not appear, that any, or at least but very few of them were engaged in this design. But he did it to terrify 'em, from giving any countenance to such undertakings, and to make them to stop, which they were most likely to be able to do, all such from proceeding, by showing them, that let what would happen, they as a body of men should pay for it; and altho' the levy fell very short of the sum im-

posed,

posed, yet it has with the since mildness of the government towards them, very probably been the means of keeping these people quiet from this time. He answered the objection of injustice in it, not by contending that they were in this particular conspiracy, but this 100,000*l.* was but a part of what they had already forfeited, which was a third part of their estates, from the time of their recusancy, and therefore due to the government, tho' not taken; and as the government now took but this small proportion, it would rather be a favour to them to let this compound for the whole; and a provision was inserted in the act for that purpose. But all this appeared farce to me and some others, and which I shall show you in what I shall say elsewhere upon this subject.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Speaker
Onslow's
remarks.

Another thing which arose from this last, did not do the government so much service as this: it happened by accident; but he took it up and pursued it with his usual party spirit, and it was this; somebody in the debate of the other matter, said it ought to go to protestant non-jurors as well as to papists, and the rather because they were both already liable to a double of the common land tax. This appeared so plausible, that it was generally given into; but then to do it with any justice, every body was to have an opportunity of swearing to the government; and, to do it with effect, every body was to be obliged to swear; that thus the real non-jurors might be known, and register their estates, for this or any future imposition of the like sort, or to keep them in dread of it.

I have mentioned this last to you, not so much for the sake of the thing itself as for the extraordinary effect and operation it produced. People in general were so terrified with the apprehensions of not only forfeiting their estates in possession if they did not take the oaths, but also what they had in reversions, limitations ever so remote, or the least relation to or expectation of any, nay with regard to their money or effects of any sort, that the whole nation almost, men, women, and children capable of taking an oath flocked to the places where the quarter sessions were holden, that they might by swearing to the government free themselves and their families from the danger, as they thought, of losing their fortunes to it. I saw a great deal of it, and it was as strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding to give a testimony of their allegiance to a government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it; and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the king and his family arose from it than from any thing which happened in that time. It made the government to

Period IV. appear tyrannical and suspicious, than which nothing can be more hurtful to a
 1727 to 1730. prince or lessen his safety.

Upon this occasion, which indeed was one of my reasons for relating this fact to you, I cannot help observing of what little use to a government the imposition of oaths to it has ever been. It's very true that nothing in the constitution is more ancient. It was the practice among our Saxon ancestors, continued after the accession of the Norman race, and enforced often by particular oaths under several of the following kings, but never prevented any revolution that either reasons of government or ambition could bring about. To come nearer to our own times, oaths were made to Charles the first, but did not save him. Oaths were taken to the parliament and common-wealth, but the same people forgot them or broke them under Cromwell, and all at the restoration swore allegiance to Charles the second. They swore the same to king James, and the success of the revolution made the same persons almost take the same oaths to king William and queen Mary, and to queen Anne: many in the rebellion of 1715, had sworn to king George the first, and more who wished it success. After all this, who can think these bindings of any security? It may torture the minds of people, but never influences their actions.

A government is never secure of the hearts of the people but from the justice of it, and the justice of it is generally a real security. A good government, therefore, does not want these oaths to defend it, and a bad one the casuists say, frees subjects from the obligation of them, and is a doctrine the people in all times have given into. Some particular men may possibly be influenced by them, but I speak of the generality of the people; and, with regard to them, it has ever been found at least useless. But this practice is, in many respects, generally very dangerous. Princes are apt to trust too much to it in evil government, and are too much encouraged to that by it. Charles the first was deceived by it, and it deluded his son James into the extravagant attempt he made upon the religion and liberties of his subjects. Besides the minds of men are often corrupted by this to a slight of the obligation of an oath in general, either by taking these oaths unwillingly, many times against their consciences, and only by compulsion. Others swear what they do not comprehend, as was the case of nine in ten of those who took the oaths on the occasion I have been speaking of, and then the evil is, as was observed by a great man at that time, that when men habituate themselves to swear what they do

do not understand, they will easily be brought to forswear themselves in what they do understand. The like danger is from the frequency of oaths that is here required, which always takes off from the awe of 'em, and consequently their force. Indeed no oath should be imposed where it is possible that the interest of the person taking it should induce him either to break it or swear falsely; and, in my opinion, no oaths at all should be appointed but in judicial matters; which as they are necessary in those cases, should be kept for them only, that they may thereby be the more solemn, and consequently the more forcible there, where only they are really wanted, or can be of any true use in society. To conclude this digression, I have often wonder'd that men do not see the unreasonableness and danger of making people swear where there may be an interest to tempt them to forswear or afterwards break their oaths, from that uniform practice of courts of justice not to suffer any one to be put upon his oath in judgment, when he is either to get or lose any thing by the event of that cause in which he is brought to be a witness.

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But to return: notwithstanding the imprudence and folly of thus swearing the whole nation in the manner I have described, yet was the same thing continued by a subsequent act of parliament deliberately made against the advice and admonition, and to the great scandal of many wise men, who wished the best to the government, and saw the prejudice it would do to the king and his family. But as parties are generally factions, and the chief business of factions is to annoy one another, those men have always most merit with their party who contribute most to this humour; and to that, as this was designed to affect the tories, must this silly zeal of the whiggs then in parliament be imputed: and it is most certain, that on too many occasions it has been thought, he was the honest whigg-friend to the government; who did most to make the tories enemies to it, which many of them from resentment to the whiggs, and being deprived of power, did but too much incline, and give into.

But however distasteful this was to several serious men among the whiggs, Mr. Walpole enjoyed and encouraged it all, as pursuing his plan of having every body to be deemed a jacobite who was not a professed and known whigg. When he had thus, by the unravelling of this plot, and punishing the principal offenders, established his own credit with the party in general, and as he hoped with his master too, he believed himself to have a fair prospect of establishing his own power, which, as he built upon a whigg-party bottom only, he laboured all he could to unite those to him who had been peculiarly de-
pendant

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pendant on my lord Sunderland. Some he succeeded with, but not with all, and of them several remained in their employments, whom he could not remove, or did not dare to attempt, because of the interest they had with the king, thro' the means of the Germans; and this body of people, small, but of considerable rank, remained his enemies to the time of the king's death, waiting and watching for every opportunity to ruin him, which, however, it is most undoubted they could not have done, without ruining at the same time, the whigg cause and party. But they thought otherwise; and now began something of the whigg opposition to his power, which grew afterwards to be so troublesome and formidable to him. It was at first made up chiefly of such of my lord Sunderland's creatures as he could not attach to him; but it had very soon the addition of some others from various motives and views.

Since that opposition to him makes so great part of his history, and from whence so much of his character arises, it will not be improper for the better illustration of that, to give you some description of the persons who undertook, or had the principal management of it.

He who first endeavoured to form this opposition into a system, or regular method of proceeding, with a view only to ruin Mr. Walpole, and for that purpose, to unite people of every character and principle, and in which he took the most indefatigable pains, was Mr. Daniel* Poulteney, in all other respects almost, a very worthy man, very knowing and laborious in business, especially in foreign affairs, of strong, but not lively parts, a clear and weighty speaker, grace in his deportment, and of great virtue and decorum in his private life, generous and friendly. But, with all this, of most implacable hatred where he did hate, violent, keen, and most bitter in his resentments, gave up all pleasures and comforts, and every other consideration to his anger, and fell at last a martyr to it in his quarrel with Mr. Walpole. For his not succeeding in it prey'd upon his spirits, which, and with his living much with the lord

* Daniel Pulteney was envoy at Copenhagen during the reign of queen Anne, a commissioner of trade in 1717, and a lord of the admiralty in 1721. He came first into parliament in 1721, on the death of secretary Craggs. He married Margaret Deering, daughter of Benjamin Tichbourne, brother to Henry viscount Tichbourne. Daniel died in 1731, leaving three daughters, two of whom died unmarried, the third by failure of the male issue in William and Harry Pulteney, became heiress at law to their large fortunes. She married Mr. Johnstone, son of sir James Johnstone, bart. now sir William Pulteney, and by him left an only daughter Henrietta Laura, the present lady Bath. See the genealogical table in the note to the 39th chapter.

Bolingbroke (as an enemy to Mr. Walpole) threw him into an irregularity of drinking that occasioned his death, to the great loss and regret of those who were now joined with him, to whom he was a sort of magazine for all the materials necessary to the work he principally had engaged them in.

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This animosity to Mr. Walpole, arose from his intimacy with my lord Sunderland, to whom he was brother-in-law, by having married the sister of my lord Sunderland's last wife. He was in the depth of all that lord's political secrets, as far at least as he trusted any body, and was designed by him to be secretary of state in the scheme he formed of a new administration, if he had lived long enough to have once more overtaken Mr. Walpole and my lord Townshend. But my lord Sunderland's death putting an end to the other's hopes, so sower'd his mind, that from the moment of his disappointment, I verily believe, he scarcely thought of any thing else, but to revenge it in an opposition to him who had been the chief opponent of his friend and patron. This was at first carried on in whispers and insinuations, and raising private prejudices against Mr. Walpole. For he still continued one of the commissioners of the admiralty, and so still voted with the administration; but resigning that office, which he had great joy in being disentangled from, that he might, as he soon did, act openly and without reserve against the ministry in every thing; and was the person chiefly who settled his kinsman Mr. Poulteney (afterwards earl of Bath) in this opposition, tho' they little agreed, or indeed conversed with one another before, nay rather personally disliked one another, even to the last, and they were in truth, of very different characters.

Whatever suspicions Mr. Daniel Poulteney might lie under of entering into some dark and dangerous designs* against the government itself, it is most certain the other had never any thoughts that led to jacobitism; and if there was any thing relating to the publick, that he was constant to, it was his fears of the pretender, his abhorrence to that cause, and his attachment of the king and his family. And it was from this, and not a little too, because of his great fortune, which might be at stake, that he had often some checks of conscience, and very melancholy apprehensions, least his violence against the administration of sir Robert Walpole, and joining for that purpose with those supposed to be the enemies to the government, might not weaken the foundations of it, and give

* The insinuation hinted at by speaker Onslow, that Daniel Pulteney was engaged in designs contrary to the protestant succession, seems to have been urged without sufficient foundation.

Period IV. too much advantage to them who were thought to mean its destruction. He
 1727 to 1730. was, without dispute, a person of very eminent endowments, rather natural than acquired, altho' not without the last, but with a mixture of such natural defects and weaknesses too, that no time, I believe, can produce an instance of a man of so variable and uncertain a mind, who knew not that he was so, and never designed to be so.

I am persuaded he thought his life was one continued scene of uniformity in principles and actions; and as those who knew him best, wondered at the popularity he once had, so he who knew himself least, wondered as much that he ever lost it. He had indeed the most popular parts for public speaking, that I ever knew; animating every subject of popularity, with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient commonwealths govern'd the people by; was as classical and as elegant in the speeches he did not prepare as they were in their most studied compositions, mingling wit and pleasantry, and the application even of little stories so properly to affect his hearers, that he would over-set the best argumentation in the world, and win people to his side, often against their own convictions, by making ridiculous that truth they were influenced by before, and making some men to be afraid and ashamed of being thought within the virulence of some bitter expression of his, or within the laugh that generally went thro' the town at any memorable stroke of his wit. And, altho' this never got him a majority in the house of commons, yet he usually had the occasional hearers that were there; and to that audience he generally spoke, and by them established his general fame, as long, I mean, as his talents were employed against ministers, courtiers, power, and corruption. He certainly hurt sir Robert more than any of those who oppos'd him. What his motives were to this opposition, and what happened to him afterwards, I leave to other accounts of him, which are various. He was undoubtedly a very extraordinary person; and in his private life free from common vices, with a sense of religion even to devotion.

Another person who acted a very considerable part in this opposition, was sir William Wyndham*, as a leader of the tories, or such of them, at least, who

* Sir William Wyndham was descended † from an ancient family of that name, which seems to have taken its surname from Wymondham, or Wyndham in Norfolk, and which afterwards

† Collins, Edmonson's Baroneguim.

who were not averſe to come with their party, into power and offices under the preſent royal family. In the latter part of queen Anne's reign, he had been ſecretary at war and chancellor of the exchequer, tho' a very young man, raiſed ſo high in the world againſt the opinion of it by the favour of my lord Bolingbroke, with whom he lived in an intimacy of pleaſures and gallantries as well as buſineſs; and from his attachment and gratitude to him (which he ever preſerved) and from party violence and the heat of his youth had engaged in the rebellion of 1715, but eſcaped any puniſhment except that of a ſhort confinement, by the conſideration then had of the noble family he had married into, and who had great merit with the king and his family. He continued, however, in all the meaſures of his party againſt the government, and by frequent ſpeaking in public, and great application to buſineſs, and the conſtant inſtruction he ſtill received from his friend, and as it were his maſter, eſpecially in foreign affairs, he became from a very diſagreeable ſpeaker and little knowing in buſineſs to be one of the moſt pleaſing and able ſpeakers of his time, wore out all the prejudices of party, grew moderate towards the diſſenters, againſt whom he once bore a moſt implacable hatred, ſtudied and un-

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ſettled at Felbrigge in the ſame county. By the marriage of ſir John Wyndham in the reign of Edward the ſixth, with the daughter of John Sydenham of Orchard, the elder line was eſtabliſhed at Orchard, hence called Orchard Wyndham, in the county of Somerſet. Sir William Wyndham, the perſon under conſideration, was lineally deſcended from this line. He was born in 1686, and on the death of his father ſir Edward, ſucceeded to the title of baronet, to a very conſiderable eſtate, and to the diſtinction and influence which his family had poſſeſſed in the weſtern counties of England. He increaſed his conſequence by eſpouſing in 1708, lady Catherine Seymour, ſecond daughter of Charles, duke of Somerſet. Born of a tory family, and imbued from his early infancy with notions of divine and indefeatable right, he was adverſe to the interruption of the lineal deſcent, and uniformly oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Brunſwick. In the reign of queen Anne, he was brought forwards into public employment at a very early age by his friend Bolingbroke, with whom he lived in habits of the ſtricteſt intimacy, and by whoſe brilliant talents he was ſeduced into ſimilar exceſſes of pleaſure and gallantry. Under the adminiſtration of Harley, he was made ſucceſſively maſter of the buck hounds, ſecretary at war, and chancellor of the exchequer. His principles in favour of the reſtoration of the Stuarts were ſo well known, that on the acceſſion of George the firſt, he had no official employment, and in 1715, he was imprifoned in the tower, until the concluſion of the rebellion. In July 1716, he was releaſed under the bail of the dukes of Somerſet and Richmond, the earls of Rochefter and Thornond, and lord Gower.* He died in 1741; his ſon, ſir Charles Wyndham, on the death of the duke of Somerſet, ſucceeded to the title of earl of Egremont.

* Political State.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} derstood the nature of government and the constitution of his own country, and found such a new set of principles with regard to the publick, and from them grew to think that the religion and liberties of the nation, so much depended on the support of the present family on the throne, that he lost all confidence with the Jacobites, and the most rigid of the tories, and it is thought would have left them entirely if he could have stood the reproach of that in his own country, or could have maintained a prevailing interest there without them: and upon that footing would willingly have come into a new whigg administration upon the exclusion of sir Robert Walpole, with whom he would never have acted, and with the admission of some few of his tory friends, who in company with him would willingly also have left their party for such a change, swayed not a little perhaps in this by observing that no other road would lead them to those honours and preferments in the state, which it was just for men of abilities to expect, and a folly to exclude themselves and their families from, when they could take them as they thought without hurt to their principles and their characters. But he did not live long enough to have this happen to him.

He was, in my opinion, the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age. Every thing about him seem'd great. There was no inconsistency in his composition, all the parts of his character suited, and were a help to one another. There was much of grace and dignity in his person, and the same in his speaking. He had no acquirements of learning, but his eloquence improved by use, was strong, full, and without affectation, arising chiefly from his clearness, propriety, and argumentation, in the method of which last, by a sort of induction almost peculiar to himself, he had a force beyond any man I ever heard in public debates. He had not the vivacity of wit and pleasantry in his speeches so entertaining in the former person, but there was a spirit and power in his speaking, that always animated himself and his hearers, and with the decoration of his manner, which was indeed very ornamental, produced not only the most attentive, respectful,* but even a reverend regard to whatever he spoke.

He was besides generally serious, and always decent, never positive, and

* A striking instance of the high respect paid to sir William Wyndham, appeared in one of the debates which related to the convention. In the midst of a speech, being confused, he turned to the speaker, and said, " Sir, I must beg leave to recollect myself;" he then sat down. A profound and respectful silence ensued, for some minutes, when sir William again rose and continued his speech with his usual animation and energy.

often condescending, though sometimes severe and pointed. There was indeed great decorum through his whole carriage, and no man ever contributed more than he did to the dignity of parliament. Had he been a minister in his latter days, I am satisfied, he would have had the same decorum in office as he had in parliament, and he had that civility and good breeding in his demeanor, that made him as fit for a court as any other situation, and his abilities would have made him equal to any. He had certainly great notions, and appeared to have a high regard to the principles of honour and justice. It has been said, that he was haughty and passionate, and would have carried his power too high, and I am afraid it was the weakness he was most liable to fall into. Those who spoke most of this, took their thoughts of him chiefly from what they remembered of him in his younger days, when it is very true he had too much of this temper; but as far as I could observe, he was much changed in this as he was in his principles and other things, and surely no man in general was ever less in his advanced age of what he had been in his youth, than he seem'd to be. But as he was not without his fears too, and some desire of fame, they from his knowledge also of the world would have been some restraint upon the other, and if so, his state might only have procured that respect which is always due and necessary to government. What his firmness in great trials would have been, I cannot say. He was certainly of a very high spirit, and that with power well managed might have supported him under any difficulties. If I have spoken too highly of him, it must be imputed to the great opinion I conceived of him in the house of commons, where I never saw him fail of being a great man.

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These three were the principal opponents sir Robert Walpole had in the house of commons. There were others too in that place who bore their parts in the same work, but were far inferior to those I have mentioned, some in point of abilities, and others from their youth and want of experience; although among the latter some were young men of great natural and acquired endowments, and from the training they had by their opposition to the court, came afterwards to be of considerable figure and rank in public office and business. It was indeed from the applause for speaking which these had acquired, that it became a fashion for most of the then young men of birth and fortune to set themselves against the court, and to endeavour to obtain seats in parliament for the sake of the fame they hoped to get, as the others had done, by popular declamations there, against the evil power and corruption of the administration, which they chiefly, or rather only applied to sir Robert Walpole;

and

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 eriod IV. 17 to 1730. and too often in a language that by no means became their youth to give or his years to have it given to him. But for this also they had their applauders; and it is scarcely to be imagined to what a height it arose, and how much general mischief he received from this spirit and licentiousness of speech in these young patriots. It went the farther, because in them it was deemed native virtue and disinterestedness, the result of untainted minds, and hearts too young to be corrupted by envy of power and profit (the usual motives of older men in faction) and in many or most of them, indeed I am persuaded, in the beginning at least, they were made to believe they were saving their country from destruction, and that they only could do it.

But they were the tools and instruments of those who meant no such thing, and who were in opposition only because they had not power, and made use of the virtue of these younger and better men to the quicker obtaining of it for themselves, which when they had done, and manifested by their after actions what their former motives had been, many of their young followers soon discerned the cheat, and shew'd their resentment accordingly. Some, however, who were older and grown wiser, saw the prospect the change had opened, and made as able a use of it as the best experienced of their principals had done; but alas! with a change too of style and behaviour, that has made me often mourn over them and reflect how very wary young men should be of what they say and do in their political outset, lest the language and actions they then hold should not be able to last them through their whole journey: and I have found also that nothing can be more unfortunate for any man, than to begin his public life in the schools of faction and defamation. It is unhappy enough to begin it in a servile and implicit compliance with power; but the other is far more dangerous. The middle track between those two extremes is the path that honest and wise men will take, and is the true character of a parliament man.

The next person in the house of commons, who I shall mention, and gave much disturbance there to sir Robert Walpole and his administration, was one of the members for the city of London, and the most eminent man among them; not for fortune, which he seem'd to have no appetite for, beyond a competency for his rank and fashion, which was that of a merchant by profession (though of no extensive dealings) and of the great offices in the city, all of which he had passed through; but his consideration arose from his own intrinsic worth and abilities, unassisted by any collateral advantages whatsoever. For he had neither birth, alliances, riches, or stations in the government to forward

ward him, but was himself, if ever any man was, the worker out of his own true fame. Nor had he the advantages of learning, language, or manner to ornament or set off his natural or acquired endowments, the latter of which lay chiefly in the knowledge of trade, its foundation and extent, and of the whole circle of taxes, funds, money, and credit. In all which he had more sagacity, acuteness, force, and closeness of argumentation, better and more practicable notions, than almost any man I ever knew, with a disinterestedness as to himself, that no temptation of the greatest profit or very high stations (for such he might have had) could have drawn him from the very retired and humble life he generally chose to lead, not only for the sake of his health, but the content of his mind in a moderate habitation, in a neighbouring village to London, from whence he only came, as he was occasionally called to any business of importance in the city or in parliament; in the first of which, he was a great magistrate, and in the other, of true weight and influence. He was besides, of a very regular and religious life, without show or affectation, as in his public deportment, he seem'd to have made the best principles of both parties, to be the guide of his political acting: so that he was in truth, one of the greatest examples of private, and in general, of public virtue that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that, which, though he did not court or cherish in the way it is usually got and kept up, was more universal and lasting, than that of any man of his time, manifesting itself in calm and real instances of esteem, and not in noise and riot, which he himself would have been the first to suppress. (1764) He is lately dead in full possession of this true fame.

After so much of the character of sir John Barnard,* it cannot be supposed that in his oppositions to sir Robert Walpole, he was at all actuated by the spirit

* Sir John Barnard, knight, was born at Reading in 1685. His parents being quakers, he was brought up at a school at Wandsworth in Surry, appropriated to the education of persons of that persuasion, and derived little information from his master. In 1703, he quitted the society of quakers, was baptised by Compton, bishop of London, and continued a member of the established church. He rose into eminence, solely by his indefatigable assiduity in business and high integrity in his mercantile transactions. He had attained his thirty-sixth year, when he first attracted the public notice, and on an occasion wholly unsought by himself. "A bill greatly affecting the wine trade, had passed through the house of commons, and was depending in the upper house. The principal merchants, who would have been injured by the operation of the bill, united in presenting a petition to the lords, praying to be heard
" against

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Period IV. spirit of faction; nor do I believe he was, or that he ever entered with the others into any formed design to ruin or remove him, however he might wish the latter, from the then dislike he seemed to have of the principles of his administration, especially after the famous attempt of sir Robert Walpole to turn the collection of some of the inland duties into an excise, which sir John Barnard had much contributed to defeat; and sir Robert Walpole's manner of debating a scheme, the other had proposed, to reduce the interest of the public debt to 3 per cent. of both which I shall speak more particularly very soon. And here it must be confessed, that his opposing the measures of the government was more constant and settled, and had more of intemperance in it towards sir Robert Walpole, than can seem well to consist with the description I have before given of this gentleman.

“ against it, by themselves or counsel. Their request being granted, Mr. Barnard, without his knowledge, was selected as the fittest person to prove the grievance, and to answer every objection to the petition. Through some unaccountable negligence he was not acquainted with the business, till the afternoon before he was to be heard by the peers. This singular disadvantage, when it came to be known, made his speech appear the more extraordinary. By the extent of his acquaintance with commerce, and the perspicuity and force of his reasoning, accompanied with a becoming modesty, he contributed in so high a degree to carry the point aimed at, that all the petitioners considered themselves as principally indebted to his talents for their success.”* This instance of his abilities rendered him so conspicuous and popular, that he was put up as a member for London, without the smallest solicitation on his part, and chosen in the warmest contest ever known in that city. His parliamentary abilities were acknowledged by all; and by none more than by sir Robert Walpole, whose measures he almost uniformly opposed. To his talents as a speaker, he paid a due eulogium. As he was riding out with a party, some persons were overheard talking on the other side of a narrow lane, the hedge of which concealed them from view. One of the party saying, whose voice is that? sir Robert replied: do you not know! it is one which I never shall forget. I have often felt its power. On meeting at the end of the lane, adds the biographer, sir Robert Walpole with that enchanting courtesy he possessed, saluting Mr. Barnard, told him what had passed.”† The minister frequently used to rally his sons who were praising the speeches of Pulteney, Pitt, Littleton, and others, by saying you may cry up their speeches if you please, but when I have answered sir John Barnard, and lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate. In 1728, he was chosen alderman, and in 1737, lord mayor of London. He represented the city of London five successive parliaments. In 1758, the infirmities of old age increasing, he resigned his alderman's gown; and soon afterwards retired from public business to his villa at Clapham in Surry, where he died in 1764, aged 79.

* Biographia Britannica, Art. Barnard.

† Ibid.

But among all his great qualities he had some blemishes, rather from his constitution, however, than his will or design. He was of a very warm temper, too soon wrought up to passion, and when under that operation, was often deprived of his judgment, and even of his usual discernment. He was likewise too persevering and tenacious of his opinions, and when in the wrong, would shift and refine, and subtilize so much to save himself in his disputing, that, in some instances, with those who did not know him well, it created some unkind suspicions of his sincerity; but all that, I am satisfied, was more owing to the narrowness of the company he kept, and the lead he always had in their conversations, which usually begets impatience of contradiction, and a love of disputing for the sake of victory, than to any fixed intention of imposing upon or deceiving his audience. He had also that regard for the city of London, and the profession of merchants, and that warmth for their interests, and indeed for every person he undertook to serve, that on some occasions, it *has* threw him into partialities for them that he himself might not perceive, tho' every body else did. He was not, perhaps, without his vanity too, and that might carry him into a desire of trying his skill with sir Robert Walpole in those matters in which he was thought to have no equal, and to be sure, he had none, unless sir John Barnard was the man; I mean in the business of money and credit, and in this, it was that he chiefly affected and hurt sir Robert, though seldom with any real superiority.

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There was one person more in the house of commons (sir J. Jekyl) I will mention here, though he was not in a set opposition to the ministry, and was sometimes with them, and never against them, from the motives the others were thought to have; I should rather say the three first, yet as he most usually differed in the house of commons from those who were in power, and had much dislike to sir Robert Walpole in many things, and bore no great reverence to his character in general, and being also much known and talked of in the times of sir Robert's ministry, and being likewise of a very particular turn in his public and private actions, it may not be improper—but this hereafter.

There were two other persons, who in different ways contributed very much to the keeping up the fire of opposition to sir Robert Walpole's administration. The late lord Bolingbroke, and the lord Carteret, afterwards earl of Granville. But as I know not enough of them to be very particular in their characters, I shall only describe them as they were generally spoken of. They were universally esteemed of the greatest genius for parts and knowledge of any men of the age; the latter

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} latter thought to be the better scholar, and to have formed his eloquence more upon the ancients, and to have more of their spirit in it, than the former, but the first was far the better writer, and had been a very lively and able speaker in both houses of parliament. He was thought too to have more knowledge and skill in the affairs of Europe from his long experience abroad and intimacy there with men of the first rank for business and capacity. But neither of them were thought to know enough of the real temper and constitution of their own country, altho' lord Bolingbroke wrote much on that subject, they were both of them of unbounded spirit and ambition, impatient of restraint, contemning the notion of equality with others in business, and even disdaining to be any thing if not the first and highest in power. They were not famed for what is called personal courage, but in the conduct of affairs were deemed bold if not rash, and the lord Bolingbroke was of a temper to overturn kingdoms to make way for himself and his talents to govern the world; whilst the other in projecting the plans of his administration, thought much more of raising a great name to himself all over Europe, and having that continued by historians to all posterity, than of any present domestic popularity or renown whatsoever. He thought consulting the interior interests and disposition of the people, the conduct of business in parliaments, and the methods of raising money for the execution even of his own designs, was a work below his applications, and to be left as underparts of government to the care of inferior and subordinate understandings, in subserviency however to his will and measures. But much of this perhaps was owing more to his never having been of the house of commons than even to the natural height of his spirit, altho' the last had but too well formed him for those disregards. They were both, I believe, very incorrupt as to money. It was not their aim to aggrandize themselves that way. Lord Carteret was all glory, even to the enthusiasm of it, and that made him rather more scrupulous than the other in the means he used for his greatness. But lord Bolingbroke's was merely power, and to be the leader of it, without any other gratification but what the present enjoyment of it might give him, in a word they were both made rather for the splendor of great monarchies, than the sober counsels of a free state, whose liberty is its chief concern. Although upon the whole, lord Carteret seem'd much the better man, and a safer minister than the other.

With these talents and temper, it will not be wondered at, that they should be enemies to sir Robert Walpole, and he to them. But his apprehensions

of what they might do against him, were not the same with regard to both, nor of the same sort with those he had of the other persons before-mentioned, because they were of the house of commons where he was, and where the chief scene of business lay, and if he got his affairs through that place, he was not very solicitous as to what might happen in the house of lords, where the party against him was very small, and a speech or two from lord Carteret, and from two or three more, was all he had to fear. But his apprehensions of hurt from lord Carteret lay another way. It was at court he feared him most, as the most likely person to supplant him with the king and queen, who disliked lord Carteret less than any of the others who carried on this opposition. For he had very early in his life applied himself to the affairs of Germany and the northern courts, he had been a minister at one of them, and had made many connections of acquaintance and intimacy with the persons that came from that part of the world hither, and especially with the Hanoverian ministers (none of whom ever loved sir Robert Walpole) by whose means he had some communications with the queen, if not the king, and they at least had no unfavourable opinion of him; and when he did come into power, upon the removal of sir Robert Walpole, had more of the king's favour and opinion than any of the other ministers, partly for the reasons before mentioned, but chiefly, that his politics made very much for the interests of Hanover, which he always laboured to unite with those of his country.

But lord Bolingbroke did not molest sir Robert Walpole in this way. He had no hopes of coming into business and power, under the present king at least, but by forcing his passage to it, and making, as he thought, even the king's safety to depend upon it. He had by his almost weekly writings, in which he was very able, so irritated and inflamed the nation (who eagerly read his invectives) against sir Robert Walpole and the measures of the government, in which he often personally involved the king and queen, that at sometimes, there was too much reason to fear the rage he had wrought the body of the people up to, might have produced the most desperate attempts. But he meant not that, I believe (whatever has been the suspicion) but only to terrify the king into a change of his ministry, and for himself to be thereby restored to his honours, which would, as he always flattered himself, soon put him at the head of affairs. And seasons there were in the course of this opposition, that if it had succeeded, might possibly have procured him a restitution of his

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period IV. peerage (his estate was given him by parliament before) though by what has
 27 to 1730. fallen out since, one may doubt even of that.

There was besides these two, another person of great rank, who came to have a considerable share in the design of ruining sir Robert Walpole, I mean the earl of Chesterfield: he was esteemed the wittiest man of his time, and of a sort, that has scarcely been known since the reign of king Charles the second, and revived the memory of the great wits of that age, to the liveliest of whom he was thought not to be unequal. He was besides this, a very graceful speaker in publick, had some knowledge of affairs, having been ambassador in Holland, and when he was engaged in debates, always took pains to be well informed of the subject, so that no man's speaking, was ever more admired, or drew more audience to it, than his did, but chiefly from those, who either relished his wit, or were pleased with seeing the ministry exposed by his talent of ridicule, and the bitterness of jest, he was so much master of, and never spared. And this made him so very terrible to the ministers who were of the house of lords, that they dreading his wit upon them there, and his writings too, for he sometimes, as it was thought, furnished the weekly paper of the opposition, with the most poignant pieces it had.

Sir Robert Walpole continued in his fullness of power, till 1741, fortified as he believed, by his triumphant defeat of his principal opposers in their motion for an address to the king to remove him from his presence and council: that success rendered him too secure in his own mind, and it is said, made him remiss in his means to obtain the next parliament. But be that as it will, he could not support himself in the new house of commons, at least his best friends thought so, altho' he himself thought otherwise, and reproached them for it; and therefore after many attempts to save himself, but in vain, he yielded at last, altho' with much reluctance, resigned his employments, and was made an earl with every private favour he desired of the king. His retreat was entire from any concern in the business of government, but not from the following estimation of almost every man of those that had surrounded him when in the height of his power. He lived but a very few years afterwards, and died, as I have been told, with great seeming composure of mind, even under excruciating pains from the stone.

I will end this account of him with saying, that he was a wise and able minister, and the best man from the goodness of his heart, which was characteristic

racteristic in him, to live with, and to live under, of any great man I ever knew.

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No. 2. *Anecdote from Mr. Pelham, relating to sir Robert Walpole's danger of being dismissed in 1727.*

HE told me, soon after sir Robert's death, mentioning several things of him, that lord Bolingbroke had by some German intrigues and influence, so wrought himself into the confidence and favour of the then late king (George the first) that had he lived to come back from Hanover, it was very probable, he would have made lord Bolingbroke his chief minister, and of which sir Robert was so sensible, that he intended, just before the king went abroad, to have obtained a peerage for himself, and resigned his offices. But acquainting his great friend, the then duke of Devonshire of it, he was strongly averse to it, and it was so strenuously opposed by the princess, to whom the duke of Devonshire had imparted it, that he laid aside his design, altho' against his judgment at that time. This shows the interest he had then with the princess, and will account for the early re-establishment and increase of his power in the following reign, against the new king's first inclination and resolution, which were certainly for Mr. Compton the speaker, who had been long his treasurer, and very near to him in all his councils. It went so far as to be almost a formal appointment; the king, for two or three days, directing every body to go to him upon business, and sir Robert, I know, did believe himself it would be so: but by the queen's management, all this was soon over-ruled, with a sincere regard, I am persuaded, to what she believed to be most for the king's real service, with perhaps at the same time a little vanity to have the person deemed the ablest minister in parliament of that age, to be a dependant of her's, which the other was not, or much in her esteem.

No. 3. *Sir Robert Walpole promises to speaker Onslow to propose the separation of Hanover from Great Britain, but does not carry it into execution.*

A Little while before sir Robert Walpole's fall, and as a popular act to save himself (for he went very unwillingly out of his offices and power) he took me one day aside, and said, "What will you say, speaker, if this hand of mine shall bring a message from the king to the house of commons, declaring his consent to having any of his family after his own death, to be made by act

Period IV. of parliament, incapable of inheriting and enjoying the crown and possessing the electoral dominions at the same time?" My answer was, "Sir, it will be as a message from heaven." He replied, "It will be done;" but it was not done, and I have good reason to believe, it would have been opposed and rejected at that time, because it came from him; and by the means of those who had always been most clamorous for it. Thus perhaps the opportunity was lost. When will it come again? It was said that the prince at that juncture would have consented to it, if he could have had the credit and popularity of the measure, and that some of his friends were to have mov'd it in parliament, but that the design at St. James's prevented it. Notwithstanding all this, I have had some thoughts that neither court ever really intended the thing itself; but that it came on, and went off, by a jealousy of each other in it, and that both were equally pleased, that it did so, from an equal fondness (very natural) for their own native country.

LETTERS RELATING TO RIPPERDA.

THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Congratulates him on his being appointed prime minister.—Hints at his own quarrel with his wife.—And the duplicity of cardinal Alberoni.—Recommends the duke of Ormond to him.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

(De Rome ce 7 Decembre, 1725.) APRES tout ce que je sçay de vostre zèle et de vostre amitié pour moy, vous ne devés pas douter de la satisfaction que j'ay de vous sçavoir rappelé en espagne, où vous ne pourrés manquer de recevoir du roy vôtre maistre toutes les marques de confiance et d'estime, que vos services et vostre mérite exigent, et où je me flatte que vous ne ferés pas moins attentif à avancer mes interets que vous l'avés déjà esté, et je vous prie de vous entendre sur ces matières avec le duc d'Ormonde, qui vous fera tenir cette lettre.

Je l'ay chargé de vous informer de ce qui vient d'arriver dans ma famille: la reine a esté séduitte, mais j'espère qu'à la fin elle reconnoitra le tort qu'elle a faite à soy mesme et à moy, il est en effet grand, car en cette occasion on ne m'a pas mesme espargné sur ma fermeté dans ma religion; mais la malice des mes ennemis est dans toute cette affaire si noir et si manifeste quelle ne sçauroit

ſçauroit que tourner contre eux meſmes ſans me nuire en facon quelconque, quoique ſi j'avois ſuivi les avis du cardinal Alberony, j'aurois donné dans le panneau et me ſerois ruiné à tout jamais, car ce cardinal a faite et continue de faire dans cette occaſion un perſonage tout autre que je n'aurois dû m'attendre et de l'idée que j'avois de luy, et des ſervices que j'ay tâché de luy rendre. Je n'oſe entrer icy ſans chiffre en d'autres matières, mais je vous prie de croire que j'ay toute la confiance imaginable dans voſtre amitié pour moy et une égale empreſſement à vous prouver la ſincerité de la mienne.

JACQUES R.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Return.—Honourable reception, and inſolence of Ripperda.

MY LORD,

Madrid, December 17, 1725.

THE duke of Ripperda arrived here ſix days ago, and had an audience of an hour and half the ſame night of their catholick majeſtys, who expreſs'd themſelves afterwards highly ſatiſfied with him and his late conduct. He was the day following declared ſecretary of ſtate, without ſpecifying any province in particular, but as he has not appeared at court ſince by reaſon of the gout, which has confined him to his bed from the firſt night of his arrival here, 'tis not known as yet what authority will be put into his hands, tho' tis believed he will under the name of ſecretary exerciſe the function of firſt miniſter.

He talks here with as much impertinence and inſolence as 'tis poſſible for him to have done at Vienna; and ſince his arrival their catholick majeſtys expreſs themſelves upon all occaſions with infinitely greater rage and inveteracy againſt his majeſty and France than ever, and with greater attachment to the emperor, and I think I may ſafely aſſure your lordſhip of my having infallible proofs of the reſolutions being abſolutely taken of beginning a war in the ſpring, towards which all forts of preparations are making with all poſſible diligence. This court is reſolved to uſe (tho' I hope 'tis already too late) their utmoſt endeavours towards diſſuading the Dutch from acceding to the treaty of Hanover, and for that purpoſe ſignore Orendayn* diſpatched on the 11th inſtant (after a long conference in ſecret with the Dutch ambaffador here) a courier to the Hague with a letter to the grand penſionary, complaining of him as one entirely attached to England, and deſiring his being recalled. And I am aſſured that the reſolution is taken in caſe the Dutch will

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

* Afterward
marquis de
la Paz.

not

Period IV. not accede to give them the *asiento* de Negros, with the annual ship, the
 1727 to 1730. liberty of entering into the ports of the East Indies, and a large abatement of
 the present duties in Spain upon their spices, which at present amount almost
 to a prohibition.

The abbé Mongon is in daily conferences with the king of Spain's confessor, though I believe he has not advanced much in the affair of the reconciliation: he told me two days ago, that since the arrival of Ripperda, he looks upon the war as certain.

The late duke of Ormond had an audience of their catholic majestys the night before last of above an hour, the pretence of it was to give an account of the late quarrel betwixt the pretender and his wife, and to justify the proceedings of the former upon that head.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Ripperda exercises the power of prime minister under the name of secretary of state.—His wild and extravagant behaviour.—Conversations with him on the subjects of the Ostend commerce, Gibraltar, and the pretender.—His professions of friendship and sincerity.

MY LORD,

Madrid, Dec. 27, 1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

THE expectation I have been in for some time past of the arrival here of a messenger from Hanover, by whose return I might have occasion of writing fully and freely to your lordship, made me defer from day to day dispatching to you a domestick of my own, as being desirous, if possible, to avoid so considerable an expence; but at present, that the return of the duke of Ripperda to this court, and his catholic majesty's having put the whole of his authority into his hands, have opened such a new scene of affairs here; as in my humble opinion, may be for his majesty's service to have your lordship speedily informed of. I durst not venture to defer any longer (for the sake of good husbandry) the dispatching this my servant with the account of it.

In my last letter to your lordship of the 17th, I had the honour to acquaint you with the favourable reception the duke of Ripperda had met withall from their catholic majestys, and with the appearance there was of his exercising the functions of first minister under the title of secretary of state; but at present, I can assure your lordship, that what was then only probable, is now most certain, he having visibly taken the entire government into his hands, and particularly

particularly what relates to foreign affairs (as your lordship will see by the inclosed letter I received from him the other day) the like of which he has already sent also the Dutch ambassador, and intends to do the same, in a few days, to all the foreign ministers. In short, my lord, he is to the full, as absolute as the cardinal Aberoni ever was; and altho' he has not the title of first minister (which is a name the king of Spain has an aversion to, and could never be brought to bestow, even upon the cardinal) he under that of secretary of state, without any particular department, commands all the others, and the rest of the Spanish monarchy.

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Were not the temper and character of this wild man, perfectly well known to your lordship, I could scarcely flatter myself with the hopes, that any credit could be given to the following accounts of his extravagant and contradictory discourses and behaviour, much less that any sure inference could be drawn from thence of what may be expected from him; and I must freely own, that altho' I am an eye witness of his transactions, and have had for these two days last past conferences with him of several hours alone, I am wholly unable to judge, whether his being thus put in authority, will be advantageous, or otherwise to his majesty's interests, and to the tranquillity of the rest of Europe. I shall therefore content myself with barely relating to you his behaviour here, and what has passed between us.

Immediately after his landing at Barcelona, all the officers of that garrison went to wait upon him, to whom he gave an ample account of all his transactions at Vienna; adding, that the emperor had 150,000 men, ready to march at an hour's warning, and prince Eugene upon his taking leave, bid him assure the king of Spain, that in case of a war, he would have as many more in six months. He shewed the utmost contempt for France, and particularly for the person of monsieur le Duc and his government, telling them, that if the Hanoverian league should dare to oppose themselves to the designs of the emperor and Spain, France would be pillaged on all sides, the king of Prussia, whom he was pleased always to call by the name of the grand grenadier, would be driven out of his country by the emperor in one campaign, as his majesty would be also in the same time out of his dominions in Germany, and out of his English ones by the pretender: he added, that the reconciliation between France and Spain, should never be, whilst he had any authority; and said, he only wished to live till that was brought about, as being assured he should then die a very old man. Upon his arrival here, he talked publicly in
the

Period IV. the king's antichamber in the same style, excepting only, he never named his
 1727 to 1730. majesty, neither directly nor indirectly. This insolent behaviour of his here, together with the accounts I had received from your lordship, and others of his impertinent discourses at Vienna, made me determine not to go near him, which resolution I accordingly kept, till I received the abovementioned inclosed letter from him; altho' he had been declared secretary of state ten days before. But then I thought I could not take upon myself, without orders, to refuse to treat with a minister particularly named by the king of Spain for that purpose, especially, seeing I had no other proof than that of hearsay to alledge of his having talked in the insolent manner abovementioned at Barcelona: besides, as I had known him intimately for these eight years, and had a right to talk to him with more freedom and plainness than any body else (for reasons your lordship is acquainted withal) I hoped, considering his talkative temper, that some lights might be got in conversation with him, into what he was driving at. I therefore went to him upon the 24th; who received me withall imaginable civility, and with the strongest professions of esteem and particular friendship.

In this our first conference, which lasted near two hours, after having talked over his transactions at the court of Vienna, he said, that he was sensible that a great part of the world looked upon him as a madman and a traitor, and that I myself had also an ill opinion of him, but that as I was the oldest and most intimate acquaintance he had in Spain, and the person whose confidence and friendship he most earnestly and sincerely desired to maintain and cultivate, he would open himself to me with the greatest veracity, and without any reserve, by shewing me his very soul, and the whole of all his views and transactions, and would confess to me what he would hide from all the world besides, and even from his own confessor. He begun by saying, that he was and ever would be, a mortal and irreconcilable enemy to the French, and wished God Almighty might never have mercy upon him, if ever he neglected any opportunity of confounding that nation, or if ever he suffered, whilst he had any credit here, a reconciliation between this court, and assured me, that their catholic majestys, were exactly in the same way of thinking, and that they had positively assured him several times, since his coming hither, that they would never recede from their demand of monsieur le Duc's coming hither in person, adding, that tho' he should comply (which they thought him vile enough to do) they would never enter into any friendship, treaties, or engagements with France; and tho' they then could not refuse to let those of that nation exercise their commerce here,

here, they should meet with such continual vexations in it, as should by degrees render it useless to them, but that however their catholic majestys, and he himself were stedfastly resolved not to begin a war against France, as looking upon such a feigned peace as less hazardous, and as effectual a way of ruining that nation, as any success they could hope for in a war. This he assured me with the most solemn oaths and imprecations, was the present sentiments of their catholick majestys, and himself upon that head, and was what he stedfastly (and believed they were also) resolved to continue in; that the system he had lay'd down to himself, and what he would go upon, was to preserve the liberty and tranquillity of Europe. For which purpose he should equally oppose the emperor's becoming too powerfull as that of France, but that he thought there was infinitely less danger to be apprehended from the former's being so, than from the latter's, and that therefore he would by all the means possible, endeavour to establish the most perfect union between Spain, England, and Holland, and a good correspondence with the court of Vienna, and that for that purpose, he was desirous and ready to enter into new engagements with his majesty and the Dutch, that should not in any wise be repugnant to the late treaty of Hanover, which the king of Spain consented might remain in its full force; as looking upon it as a defensive alliance only, and consequently not prejudicial to his interests or designs, since he was stedfastly resolved not to be the aggressor or attack any of his neighbours.

As to the pretender, he said, he must own his having talked both here and at Vienna in his favour, but that in his interior he was as sincerely in his majesty's interests and in that of his royal family as the best subject he had, of which he would give the most essential proofs upon every occasion that should present itself; that his talking in the manner he had done, proceeded from his opinion of making his court to their catholick majestys by so doing, but more especially to appear zealous in his religion, which was much suspected in this country, and to avoid passing for an heretick, and falling into the hands of the inquisition, who he was very sure are very watchful over him, and as they looked upon him as a *christiano nuevo*, would lay hold of any pretext for falling upon him, or at least for aspersing him and ruining him with his master. This was what he said he would not nor durst not say to his confessor, but called God to witness in the most solemn manner of the exact sincerity of what he thus affirmed. He desired I would in confidence, and with the greatest secrecy acquaint your lordship with this, and that you would please to do the

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same to his majesty, with the most solemn assurances of his unalterable resolution of continuing in the same sentiments with respect to his majesty's interests and the protestant succession, as your lordship knew he was formerly in upon those subjects when he had the honour to be personally and intimately known to you in Holland. He also most positively assured me, that nothing had been concerted or even treated upon by his canal or to his knowledge betwixt the courts of Madrid and Vienna in favour of the pretender, and that he was fully persuaded no enterprize was at present on foot or even projected either by any prince or by the jacobites themselves of that nature, and protested that whatever designs on that head should come to his knowledge, he would not only directly oppose them to the utmost of his power, but would immediately give me a most faithful and exact account of them. He positively affirmed there was no secret treaty or articles whatsoever entered into betwixt this court and that of Vienna, and that the two ships said to be granted to the company of Ostende is absolutely false, tho' he owned that matter had been pressed by the German ministers with the utmost force, tho' constantly as positively rejected by him, and that no engagements were entered into for a marriage, nor any promise made of that nature, declaring he always looked upon the execution of any such thing as impracticable and impossible.

As to the affair of Gibraltar, he said it was the thing in the world that gave the greatest pain from the extream desire he had always observed in his catholick majesty for the recovery of that place, but that he flattered himself however with the hopes of being able in a short time to accommodate that business. In our conversation upon that head, I endeavoured to let him see the injustice of his catholick majesty's pretensions, and the wrong and directly opposite measures he had taken, and was pursuing for the obtaining what he desired. That he might be absolutely assured that not only his majesty but the nation would ever reject with the highest indignation any proposal made in that affair, that should carry with it the least appearance of threatening, and that although the parliament should be inclined to hearken to any about that matter (which was certainly very farr from being the case at present) his majesty's honour would not allow him to condescend to it, considering the haughty and imperious manner in which his catholick majesty had made his demand. That he must not expect that his majesty and his parliament would any longer suffer such indignities, or patiently submit to all the prejudices to be apprehended from a war with Spain, with their hands thus ty'd up from making them-

themselves such amends as an open rupture would naturally afford, which was the case at present from the entire stop thus put to our trade both here and in the Indies, by the mistrust got amongst our merchants through those threatening declarations; that it was therefore necessary to come to a speedy and thorough explication upon that head.

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He answered, that he entirely disapproved of the steps hitherto taken in that affair, as being sensible that such menaces must draw on a rupture, and would therefore induce his master to recede from his late demand of that place for the month of January, and doubted not but with a little patience he should amicably accommodate that affair. Upon which I desired he would tell me plainly what he proposed to reduce the king of Spain to. He answered, that for the present all he could hope for was to prevail upon him to declare to me, that he no longer insisted upon his demand for the month of January, but must be contented to wait three or four months longer, and that afterwards (he Ripperda, said) I might be absolutely assured he would by degrees lead his master to accommodate that matter entirely to his majesty's satisfaction. But upon my telling him that such a declaration would be entirely ineffectual, as carrying still with it an air of threatening, and not removing the diffidence abovementioned in our merchants, and that therefore if his catholick majesty sincerely desired to live in friendship and confidence with his majesty, he must declare that the affair of Gibraltar shall never cause a rupture betwixt them, whether ever it be restored or no, he beg'd I would put an entire confidence in him, and judge by his behaviour in this affair of the sincerity in every thing else: he added, that he would go immediately to their catholick majestys, and would employ to the utmost his whole credit with them for the procuring me an agreeable answer upon this affair, which he would give me the next day.

Accordingly the next morning, I received a letter from him, excusing his not being able to come to me by reason of his gout, and begging to see me at his house at six o'clock. As soon as I got thither, he told me he had faithfully executed every thing he had promised me, and even ventured his credit with their catholick majestys, in pushing that affair farther than I could have expected from him. He said he had not succeeded entirely to his satisfaction, being afraid that it would not be altogether to mine, tho' as to himself, he was absolutely assured of having entirely obviated any inconveniency from that matter for the future. He begun then by telling me what had passed in his

Period IV. audience, which having, as he said, lasted above two hours, solely upon this
 1727 to 1730. affair, is too long to repeat. But the substance of it was, that the king of Spain had only ordered him to declare to me, that he would still wait three months beyond that of January, the time last insisted upon for the restitution of that place, but that from himself, and in the greatest confidence, he could positively assure me, that the king of Spain would certainly never break with his majesty upon the affair of Gibraltar. His reasons for it were, that upon asking the king of Spain what he would do in case Gibraltar was not returned within the three months last limited, he answered, that he would then give three more, and after that, three more, &c. and upon being strongly pressed to declare his intentions, in case of its never being restored at all, he, tho' with much repugnance and difficulty, brought him to promise positively not to break with his majesty upon that account, but at the same time, charged him (Ripperda) not to let me know any thing of what had thus passed between them, nor make any other declaration to me, than that of the three months; adding, that if his intentions were once known in England, he should afterwards despair of any success. This Ripperda told me, I might, in the greatest confidence, acquaint your lordship withall, and desired, at the same time, you would please to beg his majesty would be assured of the truth of what he had advanced to me, and that he answered and engaged his life for the bringing the king of Spain, in a short time, to consent to the declaration proposed by me as above. In short, my lord, 'tis absolutely impossible in nature, for any one to make fairer promises, or stronger protestations of zeal and good will, but with what sincerity, seems doubtful. Before I leave this business, I should mention his having often repeated to me the emperor's declaration to him upon his leaving Vienna, *viz.* that in case the king of Spain desired it, he would renew his instances, in the strongest manner, to his majesty for the restitution of Gibraltar, and if those should prove ineffectual, and his catholick majesty thought fit to declare war upon that account, he, the emperor, would assist him in it, with his whole force.

As to the affair of Ostend, he said he shou'd be glad to treat with me upon it, and did not doubt but we should find some expedient for the accommodating that matter to the satisfaction of his majesty and the states general. He told me, that the king of Spain had already, by his advice, offered to the Dutch his mediation betwixt them and the emperor, by a letter from signior Orendayn, of the day before, to their ambassador here, of which the inclosed is a
 copy.

copy. He said further, that the expedient he had fixed upon, and brought the emperor to agree to, was the limiting the Ostend company to a certain small number of ships, not to suffer them to make any establishment or settlements in the Indies; to give to the English and Dutch, equal privileges of entering into all Spanish ports in the East Indies with those of the emperor's subjects, and lastly, to lower the duties upon Dutch spices brought into Spain, with some other advantages to the English in their commerce here.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

I am afraid that the haste I write in, will make this account of my conversation with the duke of Ripperda appear very confused to your lordship, and that the length of this letter will have tired your patience. But as the present discourses and protestations of this new minister are so diametrically opposite to all his former ones, I thought myself obliged to be more circumstantial in relating them than I should otherwise have needed to have been, tho' I have omitted ten thousand things, that from the mouth of any other person in his station would have deserved taking particular notice of. The substance of his whole discourses may be reduced to his most positive and solemn assurances of there being no treaty or promise of marriage for don Carlos with any of the arch-dutcheffes for separate and secret engagements, or articles entered into between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, of any kind whatsoever; his avowed inveterate and irreconcilable hatred to France, and most earnest desire and resolution of cultivating the strictest union and friendship betwixt his majesty, the king of Spain, and states general, without requiring any thing from his majesty, inconsistent with his late engagements entered into by the treaty of Hanover, and his steadfast resolution of not beginning a warr; his positive declarations of never not only not countenancing or assisting the pretender, but of discovering to me whatever designs were carrying in his favour, that shall come to his knowledge, with the strongest assurances of his accommodating speedily the affair of Gibraltar to his majesty's satisfaction.

As to myself in particular, he professes the strictest friendship and confidence, assuring me that he desires to live in the greatest intimacy with me, and that he will open to me his heart and all his secrets without any reserve, and with more sincerity and confidence than to any other man in the world besides. He says he is sensible of his not having another friend in all Spain (which is most certainly true) and that consequently should he be engaged in a war, the disappointments and oppositions that every one in employment would industriously fling in the way of the execution and success of every undertaking of his,

Period IV. his, must infallibly make it miscarry, and consequently speedily ruin him with
 27 to 1730. their catholick majestys, that therefore his only security must be to live in peace, in hopes thereby to merit the favour and protection of the foreign powers, in order to support himself against the powerful factions, which he is sure will never cease attacking him at home. I must confess, my lord, that all these confidences and most solemn professions (altho' they may deserve some attention) have not weight enough with me to make me depend upon the sincerity of them, so thorough and direct a change seems too sudden to be natural, nor can I reconcile what I thus hear him say to what I see him do, it being most apparently evident that all imaginable preparations are carrying on with the utmost diligence, and at a prodigious expence for the entering upon a war. They are not only fortifying all their frontier towns towards France, but even those towards Portugal, together with Cadiz, where (as your lordship will see, by the enclosed letter from that consul) Mari's Squadron, consisting of four men of war and two frigates, are ordered to be in readiness to put to sea in all the month of February. They are going to augment their troops, by adding five men more to each company, and have a large field train of artillery, together with all sorts of warlike preparations, as magazines, tents, &c. getting ready with the utmost diligence; and in short, my lord, I can truly assure you, that the queen's confessor, the marquis de Castelar, and all those who are most in the queen's confidence, have positively assured Monteleon, that a war with England and France was absolutely resolved upon. From all which, and from sundry other most credible informations of the like nature, I am led to believe that all those fair speeches and promises of Ripperda are designed purely to amuse his majesty, in hopes thereby to make him suspend for some months his sea preparations, in order to their getting home in safety their galleons and flota, that are both expected at Cadiz by the end of June next, with an immense quantity of money, upon the reception of which all their possible means of carrying on a war entirely depends. These considerations would lead me (if I durst presume to offer my sentiments in such matters) humbly to propose to his majesty's consideration, whether it might not be adviseable to take advantage of their present fears for their said galleons and flota, by vigorously insisting, both in his majesty's and the king of France's name, upon an immediate and thorough explanation from his catholick majesty, of his intentions as to peace or war, in order to the quieting the minds of their subjects, and freeing them from the extreme detriment caused to their trade by being thus kept
 in

in suspense as to the security they may find for their ships in the ports of Spain. Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Whilst I am now writing, Mr. Stalpart is come to me, sent from the abbé Ripperda. de Montgon to acquaint me with his having been informed by a good hand, that a courier has been dispatched this evening from this court to that of Paris, with the proposals of an accommodation between them, on condition that the court of France enters immediately into a defensive and an offensive alliance, in order to the carrying on a religious warr in Germany. The said abbé says, he is persuaded of the truth of this account, tho' he is equally of this proposal's being made expressly and solely with the view of raising jealousies betwixt his majesty and France, which was the reason of his thus acquainting me with it, for fear it should come to my knowledge by other means, and consequently make me suspect his having entered into that affair: he added, that he was fully convinc'd of this court's being determined not to be reconciled with that of France, and that therefore whatever proposals they should make, could be designed at best only to amuse and gain time.

It has not been possible for me to come at the discovery of the particulars of any design carrying on either by this court or the jacobites here in favour of the pretender, and I am entirely persuaded, that nothing of that nature has as yet come to the knowledge of the Russian minister here, by means of whose secretary, I cannot fail of being acquainted with every thing that passes through his hands. I intend in a day or two to put the sincerity of the duke de Ripperda's professions to a tryall, by insisting with him upon the immediate recall of Pozobueno, and of the replacing him by Monteleon or marquis Maxi.

THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Congratulates him on being appointed secretary of state.

(De Vienne ce 29 Janvier, 1726.) DON Charles par la Clémence divine empereur des Romains, toujours auguste, roy d'Allemagne, de Castille, de Leon, d'Arragon, des deux Siciles, de Jerusalem, de Bohême, Hongrie, Dalmatie, Croacie et des Indes, archiduc d'Autriche, duc de Bourgogne, de Milan, et de Brabant, comte de Flandres, &c.

Illustrissime duc Ripperda, cousin. Par vôtre lettre du 26 Decembre dernier, vous me faites part de la confiance et distinction que le serenissime seigneur roy d'Espagne mon bon frere et cousin a faite de vôtre personne, en vous

Walpole
Papers.

Official trans-
lation from the
Spanish.

Copy.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} vous avançant à la secrétairerie d'état, et de la dépêche avec l'expédition des matières étrangères, et comprenant dans les circonstances d'une si sage élection le juste motif d'icelle à cause de vos mérites et des épreuves de votre zèle et fidélité. Après avoir reçu dans mon esprit royal vos expressions, je viens à vous déclarer ma reconnaissance pour icelles, et pour votre sort, en vous assurant de ma bienveillance et royal penchant à tout ce qui peut être pour votre consolation: et parce que ma volonté et esprit royal sont portés (par les liens étroits de parentage et amitié avec le dit seigneur roy mon bon frere) à sa plus grande gloire, feureté et satisfaction, j'accepte avec toute complaisance l'avis que vous me donnez de sa royale résolution d'arranger ses finances et l'état de sa marine; agréant pareillement les démonstrations avec les quelles son souvenir royal justifie par tout, sa fermeté et constance dans le soutien des communs intérêts: sur le quel sujet vous entendrez plus au long ce qui se passe par mon chancelier de cour comte de Sinzendorf, et ne pouvant douter que votre entendement, et connoissance ne s'exercent toujours dans le louable propos de la paix, et dans le cours des communs avantages, je veux vous renouveler l'assurance de mon souvenir césarien et de ses effets en ce qui pourra être dorénavant pour votre satisfaction.

MOY LE ROY.

In the emperor's own hand writing. Encore une fois je me félicite de votre heureuse arrivée, puisque je suis sûr, que ce sera pour le plus grand service du roy votre maître, et pour toujours augmenter l'union des intérêts des deux couronnes. Et comme il ne se passe aujourd'hui rien de particulier outre ce que vous apprendrez par mon chancelier de cour, je me suis servi d'une autre main; souhaitant de continuer cette correspondance dans la suite, et vous assurant de mon affection et confiance en votre personne.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Ripperda mentions the purport of the secret articles in the treaty of Vienna.

MY LORD,

Madrid, February 4th, 1726, N. S.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

TWO posts being yet wanting here from England, I am still without any commands from your grace or lord Townshend. The second (hitherto secret) treaty betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain, will, as the duke de Ripperda told me two days ago, soon be made publick. It consists, according

according to his representation of it to me, of three particular articles, besides the general one of a perpetual alliance defensive and offensive, *viz.* 1. An engagement on the part of Spain to support and maintain the company of Offende. 2. An engagement on the part of the emperor (as an equivalent for the former) to procure Gibraltar for the king of Spain, by good offices if possible, but if they prove ineffectual, by open force. 3. The adjustment of the succours to be reciprocally furnished in case of a war, *viz.* on the part of the emperor thirty thousand men to be actually sent by him into Spain. On the part of Spain, money to be sent for the payment of the like number of troops wheresoever the emperor should think fitt to employ them. This treaty was concluded soon after the first, but thought not proper to be divulged 'till it became necessary in order to frighten the Dutch from acceding to the treaty of Hannover.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Requests him to consult the duke of Ormond.—Decries cardinal Alberoni.

(De Rome ce 9 Fevrier, 1726.) MON cousin. J'ai appris avec d'autant plus de satisfaction les marques distinguées de confiance dont le roy catholique vous a honoré depuis vôtre retour en Espagne, que vôtre amitié pour moy, dont je suis bien informé, m'engage à m'interresser particulièrement à vos avantages présentes, et à les regarder mesme comme les miennes propres. Je vous prie d'escouter le duc d'Ormonde sur des matières dont il ne convient pas d'escire hors de cyfre, et d'avoir pour luy une confiance entière sur tout ce qui me regarde, ce qu'il vous aura appris par rapport à la reine, et ce que j'ay esté obligé d'en escire moy mesme au roy catholique me dispensera de vous en entretenir icy longuement. J'espère que les bons conseils de leur majestés catholiques contribueront à la ramener à son devoir, et la detacheront de ceux qui ne cherchent qu'à nous perdre l'un et l'autre, et si j'avois suivie les conceils du cardinal Alberony, ils n'auroient que trop reussi; j'ay esté necessité d'escire fortement contre ce cardinal au roy, mais j'aurois crû manquer à luy aussi bien qu'à moy si je n'avois parlé clairement sur son sujet. Continué moy je vous prie vôtre amitié dans la quelle j'ay la plus grande confiance, et soyés persuadé de la sincerité de la mienne et de ma parfaite gratitude. Vôtre affectionné cousin,

JACQUES R.

Walpole
Papers.
Copy.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Ripperda's promises.

MY LORD,

Madrid, February 11, 1726, N. S.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

ALTHO' the domestick I dispatched to your grace upon the 27th of December last, returned hither three days ago with the letters you did me the honour to write to me by him upon the 13th of January, O. S. I must beg leave to defer for a few days, or 'till the next post (in case I have nothing worth dispatching an exprefs withall sooner) giving your grace an account of the success I have met withall in the execution of the orders brought me by him; the duke de Ripperda having demanded three or four days time to consider upon what I had represented to him in consequence of the said orders, after which he promised I should receive his catholick majesty's sentiments and determination thereupon. In the mean time, I thought proper to acquaint your grace, that the said minister continues to exprefs himself to me exactly in the same terms as formerly, and as a proof of his sincerity, assures me, that he has taken the advantage of their catholick majestys' resentment against the pretender, upon his late ill usage of his wife, to perswade them to take away his pension, which is actually done; and as he positively promises, shall never be renewed. He says he will speedily do the same thing with those of the duke of Ormond and the rest of the Jacobites here. He tells me also, that the king of Spain has actually consented to the recal of Pozo-Bueno; and that another will be appointed to succeed him speedily, and hopes it may be Monteleon, tho' their catholick majestys are more disposed to send him to Turin.

All other matters remain here exactly in the same situation as when I had the honour to write last to your grace, excepting only that the duke de Ripperda's authority increases daily: he has lately taken the marine affairs into his own hands, by annexing that office to his own, and seems at present to turn his utmost application towards the getting together a fleet for the summer, for which purpose he has made several contracts for the buying up of ships in Italy and in the north, and, as I am credibly informed, has sent to St. Ander to offer money for the Muscovite ones at present in that port.

THE PRETENDER TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Recommends the duke of Wharton.

(De Rome ce 4 Mars, 1726.) LE duc de Wharton n'aura pas besoin de recommandations auprès de vous. Vous connoissés son mérite et son crédit en Angleterre, et son sincere attachment à moy ne vous le rendra pas, je suis sùre, moins estimable. Je l'envoye en Espagne pour représenter à leurs majestés catholiques ce qui regarde mes interêts dans une conjoncture aussi critique, et je vous prie de lui donner vos conseils, et de l'appuyer de tout vostre crédit auprès de vos maîtres. Je suis plus sensible, que je ne puis vous l'exprimer, à tout ce qu'il m'a dit de vostre zèle et amitié pour moy, et j'y place d'autant plus de confiance qu'il semble qu'il ne manque que mon rétablissement pour mettre le comble à vostre propre gloire, et pour rendre le roy catholique le plus grand prince de l'univers. Je n'entreray icy en aucun detail, me remettant au duc de Wharton à vous entretenir de toutes mes affaires politiques et domestiques. J'espère tout de vos bonnes offices, et je vous prie de conter sur la sincérité de ma gratitude et amitié.

JACQUES, R.

THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.*

Commends his zeal and good services.

DUC DE RIPPERDA COUSIN,

Le 9 Mars, 1726.

PAR les deux couriers extraordinaires vôtre fils m'a remis les deux vostres du 12 et 20 Janvier par les quelles j'ay remarqué, à ma grande satisfaction (quoique j'en fusse toujours certain) combien vostre zèle et application continuelle contribuent à l'avancement de la monarchie Espagnole, et à establir toujours plus fermement l'union de mes interêts avec ceux des vos maîtres, et vous posez la seureté des effets en divers points essentiels, sur les quels, pour n'avoir pas assez de tems, je vous fais répondre par mon chancelier de cour; comme aussi j'ay donné ordre à mon ambassadeur de conférer avec vous sur divers points importants, et mon esprit agréant avec reconnoissance vôtre diligence, travail, et fatigues pour le commun bien, je me felicite de la confiance meritée que les trois mes freres mettent en vôtre personne, et de la volonté qu'ils conservent dans nôtre reciproque union et amitié, la

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

Ripperda.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

Walpole:
Papers.+ The king
and queen
of Spain.

* Official translation from the Spanish original, in the hand-writing of the emperor.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} quelle je conserveray très sincèrement par inclination et par tous ces liens si étroits qui nous unissent; vous réitérant mon affection, et la confiance que je mets en votre personne, et mon bon souvenir en ce qui pourra vous donner la plus grande satisfaction.

MOI LE ROY.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Confirms the account given by Ripperda by the testimony of the Dutch ambassador.—Conduct of, and intelligence from Ripperda.

MY LORD,

Madrid, March 25, 1726. N. S.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

I Received together by the last post the honour of two letters from your grace, one of the 17th February, and the other of the 22d O. S. I am extremely obliged to your grace for having been pleased to communicate to me in the first of them the late addresses of the two houses of parliament, and I doubt not but the concern which the nation shews for his majesty's honour, and their vigorous declarations of exerting themselves to the utmost in protecting and defending the German dominions, in case of any insult or attack, will effectually shew to the world the folly of those who may have vainly flattered themselves with the hopes of so wise and gratefull a nation's being capable of not looking upon the honour and interests of the best of kings as inseparable from their own. It was with the greatest satisfaction that I learnt by your grace's said letter, that mine of the 4th of February had in some sort contributed to the success of the aforesaid resolutions, and had I foreseen that such a use would have been made of it, I should have taken care to have strengthened my assertions with the concurring testimony of the Dutch ambassador here, who the same day writ the very same things to monsieur Fagell, as your grace will see by the inclosed letter, which I received from him yesterday.

Upon observing that the last Dutch gazete had brought an account of what had pass'd in the house of lords in relation to my said letter, I immediately took the pretext of an affair lately happened in the commerce at Barcelona, of seeing the duke de Ripperda, whom I found a little dissatisfied at publishing in the gazets matters of such confidence, which, as he pretended, he had communicated to me in confidence, tho' without pretending that I had in the least misrepresented what had pass'd between us, excepting only that the 30,000

men

men to be sent hither by the emperor, were mentioned in the said gazette to be designed expressly for the taking of Gibraltar, whereas he only said, they were to assist the king of Spain in general, which I owned to be true and agreeable to what I had the honour to write to your grace, and that consequently the other assertion must have been a mistake in the prints. I shall not fail to execute his majesty's commands, signified to me in your grace's letter in cypher of the 22d past, O. S.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730
Ripperda.

Matters here are in the greatest confusion, nor is it possible for me, at least, to form any judgement upon the intentions of this court as to peace or war. On the one hand, it is not only most certain, but notorious to all the world, that the emperor's ambassador here is highly dissatisfied with the duke de Ripperda, and complains publicly of his having deceived the court of Vienna in not furnishing the money promised by him, who excuses himself upon the impossibility of doing it in the present bad state of his catholic majesty's revenues, of which he yesterday gave the most convincing proof, by putting a total stop to all payments whatsoever (the same thing as shutting up the exchequer with us) which has put the whole nation, particularly the moneyed men, to whom large sums are owing, into the greatest consternation and despair imaginable. It is also certain, that the king is extremely agitated and uneasy, and has dayly disputes and quarrels with the queen, who does nothing but cry from morning till night. On the other hand, orders are given for the forming a camp with all expedition of 12,000 men, betwixt Siguenza and Soria, 30 leagues from Madrid, and about as much from Pampeluna, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, and not much more from the nearest parts of Catalonia, which gives reason to believe, that those troops are thus placed to march to either of the frontiers upon any motion on the part of France.

Great magazines are also making in the said places, and a large train of artillery of 30 pieces of cannon is ordered immediately from Barcelona, which I believe is, by this time, upon its march: how to reconcile such an expence to the present want of money, is the great difficulty, especially to Ripperda's having but two days since, most solemnly protested to me, that he was in no want of money, but gave out his being so, purely to oblige thereby the emperor not to think upon entering upon a war. The late duke of Ormond is as assiduous as ever at court, tho' I don't find that any of his projects have been as yet hearkened to, much less approved of; and Ripperda told me the other day,

Period I V. day, that to remove all jealousies upon his account, in case I insisted upon it in
 1727 to 1730. his majesty's name, he would immediately make him quit Spain.

The three Muscovite ships are, I believe, already sailed from St. Andero.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Insolent and weak conduct of the duke of Ripperda.—Situation and views of the Spanish court.

MY LORD,

Madrid, April 11, 1726, N.S.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

THE messenger, Gordon, arrived here upon the 4th instant, at night, with your grace's dispatches to me of the 7th of the last month, O. S. and as you was pleased to direct me to send him back again with all possible expedition, I have not kept him longer with me than was absolutely necessary for putting in execution the orders I received by him from your grace.

I wish, my lord, tho' I dare not promise it, that the accounts I am going to give your grace of the situation of affairs here, and of the dispositions of this court as they appear to me to be at present, may answer your expectation, by clearing up in some measure the uncertainty of how farr the parties to the treaty of Vienna, and particularly Spain, will venture to put their designs against his majesty in execution. For altho' I flatter myself with the hopes of being able to form a pretty sure judgement of the present dispositions of this court, I have almost as little certainty from thence of what they will be a fortnight hence, as I have of knowing what the wind will then be, from seeing how it is at present. This uncertainty proceeds, my lord, from having a minister at the head of affairs here, upon whose veracity no sort of dependance can be had, and what is still worse, who acts upon no fixt scheme, but entangled in the rash engagements he has entered into, which he finds himself impossible to fulfill (from the disappointments his vain hopes have met withall at home, and in most of the courts of Europe) *a perdu la tramontane et vit au jour la journée.*

But the better to explain what I have thus advanced, as also to strengthen the probability of my not being deceived in the judgement I am going to lay before you, of the present dispositions of this court, it is necessary for me to give your grace a short account of the conduct and discourses of the duke of Ripperda, ever since his return from Vienna.

Your

Your grace will have observed from my former letters the insupportable insolence that appeared in all his discourses upon his first entrance into the ministry, with what extravagance he extolled the irresistible force of the emperor, and the inexhaustible riches of the king of Spain, which joyned, were not only capable of counterbalancing the rest of the powers of Europe, but able to chastise those who should have the boldness to dispute receiving the law from them; the pretender was to be sent into England, and his majesty and the king of Prussia driven out of their dominions in Germany in one campaign, &c.

Such were his constant discourses then, and as I believe, his real ideas. Intoxicated with his new honours, and the absolute authority he found himself invested with, he flattered himself with assurances of the king of Poland's and czarina's accession to the treaty of Vienna, as also that the present weakness, as he was pleased to call it, of the French government, and division among the ministers, would effectually prevent that crown's coming to any vigorous resolutions, and that the parliament of England would never approve of a warr with Spain, nor the Dutch venture to accede to the treaty of Hanover, and that he himself by his superior abilities and power, should easily find the means of drawing from the Spaniards whatever sums of money he should either want or desire. These notions in a weak head, naturally insolent and enterprising, encouraged him to write that haughty letter of the 23d January, to the states general, as also to make that indiscreet discovery of the articles of the secret treaty mentioned in my letter of the 4th of February, vainly hoping by such ill judged bravados, of which he most heartily repents at present, to frighten his majesty and the Dutch from pursuing the measures they were entering into.

This, my lord, I am persuaded, is a just representation of the way of thinking and acting of that minister, at, and for some months after his arrival here, from which it seems evident, that his intentions and resolutions then were to oblige by force the rest of the powers of Europe to submit to whatever laws the emperor and king of Spain should think fit to prescribe to them. But at present, that matters both abroad and at home, appear to him with a quite different face, that he has lost all hopes from Poland, and that those from the czarina are become at least doubtfull, and that the parliament has shewn the greatest unanimity and vigour for the supporting his majesty's measures, and the French seriously disposed to enter upon a warr, and not only the Dutch, but several others of the most considerable powers of Europe, upon the

Period IV.
1727 to 1730
Ripperda.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} the point of acceding to the treaty of Hanover, and what is yet still more mortifying to him, that he finds himself (from the ruined condition of his catholick majesty's revenues, and the total stop put to all publick credit from the distrust he is in with all mankind) absolutely impossibillited not only to furnish the supplies stipulated for the emperor, but even to carry on the current service in the time of peace, without the assistance expected from the flota and galeons, which in case of a warr run the risque of falling into other hands. He has not only entirely changed his way of talking but of thinking also, and is now become as abjectly fearfull, as he was before imperiously intrepid, and would undoubtedly embrace any possible expedient for the preventing or putting off a war for the present. But to find that expedient *hoc opus hic labor est*, which will easily be explained by considering the situation he is in: as that he has for inveterate enemies not only all the other ministers, but the whole Spanish nation, to whom he has rendered himself odious beyond imagination, and that he is by no means agreeable to the king himself; that his only support and protection is the queen's favour, which having got by flattering her with the hopes and assurances of obtaining an archdutchess for her son, he is sensible he must entirely loose, and consequently his whole fortune upon the least step he should take towards weakening those hopes, which must evidently follow from any handle given to the emperor for being dissatisfied with this court.

These considerations do, and I am persuaded will hinder the duke de Ripperda from openly opposing himself to the emperor's views and designs, and will lead him to engage his master in a war (in case the emperor requires it) however ruinous to Spain, and contrary to his own sentiments and inclinations; nor is there much to be expected from the king of Spain himself. For altho' he seems sensible of the inconveniences falling upon him from the engagements he has entered into, and would probably gladly extricate himself from them, yet the queen's absolute ascendant over him, and more particularly now that she is with child, leaves but little room to hope for his coming to any resolution contrary to her inclinations; from all which, I conclude, my lord, that this court is extremely averse to the entering upon a war at present, but that in case the emperor begins one or draws one upon him, their catholick majesties *feront cause commune avec lui*.

I shall now proceed to acquaint your grace with what has passed here upon the execution of the orders contained in your letter to me of the 7th past, O. S. which with some other circumstances, that I shall have the honour to lay before

fore you, will, I hope, help to justify what I have already advanced, and almost demonstrate, that nothing but a total improbability of succeeding in a war in the present circumstances, will induce this court and that of Vienna to come even to a feigned peace with his majesty, for the gaining of time, and that as soon as ever a more favourable conjuncture offers, they will not balance, to put in execution their projects and engagements in favour of the pretender, &c.

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1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

Upon the 7th instant, I made to his catholic majesty, in an audience I had for that purpose, the declaration ordered me by your grace in your said letter, conforming myself as exactly as was possible to the very expression you was pleased to prescribe, which he heard with some little emotion; but replied, that his engagements with the emperor did not hinder him from desiring his majesty's friendship, which he would always endeavour to preserve. To which I replied, that I was assured the king (our master) had always sincerely desired to live in perfect friendship with his majesty, of which he hoped he had given the most essential proofs, but that he could not but be very much surprised and concerned at the declaration made by the duke de Ripperda to the Dutch ambassador and myself, of an offensive alliance between his majesty and the emperor, &c. This I repeated to try if it was possible to get his catholic majesty either to own or deny directly the said offensive alliance or the articles of it, as declared by Ripperda only, but to no purpose, "his catholic majesty always answering with general assurances of friendship for the king, and desire of living in peace with him, notwithstanding his engagements to the emperor, from whom, he said, he would not separate himself;" upon which, I retired, as not being willing to enter into any further discourse, having had your grace's order not to make any other declaration to the king of Spain, than the above-mentioned one.

In my discourses afterwards with the duke de Ripperda (no other minister being at present in any sort let into the management or knowledge of affairs) I made use of all the arguments, your grace had furnished me withall, to shew the just grounds his majesty had to be highly dissatisfied with, and resent the affront and injuries offered to him and his subjects by the said secret offensive alliance, which he might be assured, neither the king nor the nation was disposed nor necessitated to submit to; all which he heard with the greatest patience, constantly answering in the mildest manner imaginable. The substance of what he said, may be reduced to—that the secret alliance complained of, was

Period IV. not designed to disturb the peace of Europe, which he pretended to prove by shewing, that the emperor and king of Spain were disposed and sincerely desirous to obviate the umbrage taken at the two articles of Ostend and Gibraltar, by offering such expedients, and consenting to such conditions as could not fail giving entire satisfaction to his majesty and the Dutch, provided a negotiation could be set on foot for that purpose either at Madrid, London, or the Hague; that altho' the said alliance bore the name of offensive (as he could not but own he said it did) yet it was in its nature chiefly defensive, the real intention of it not being otherwise; for that altho' the emperor engages to joyn with the king of Spain for procuring him Gibraltar from his majesty, 'tis expressed in the treaty *amicabiliter se fieri potest*.

Upon which the Dutch ambassador (who was also present) and I asked him, if he had not often repeated to us both the several articles of the said secret offensive alliance, in the manner he afterwards found them mentioned in the Holland's gazette, he owned he had, and that what he had told us was true, which I am persuaded (from his confusion and repugnance) he would not have done, had he made the discovery to one of us only. As to the secret offensive alliance, there is not one foreign minister here, to whom he has not declared it several times, tho' only to the Dutch ambassador and me any of its articles.

Riperda, after running over all the arguments formerly made use of by him, for entering into a negotiation upon the affair of Ostend and Gibraltar, to no purpose, told us he had orders from his catholick majesty to propose a general congress, and that we would immediately write to know the sentiments of our courts thereupon. We replied, that we could not see the purpose of such a proposal, unless it was the gaining of time, for that he might be assured our masters would never suffer either the affair of Gibraltar or that of the Ostend company to be debated upon there, and that those points once adjusted, we did not see what remained to be regulated. He answered, many, as the giving fresh force to the preventions taken for hindring the uniting in the same person the crowns of France and Spain, by making new renunciations, &c. as also for effectually preventing the like union of the Austrian dominions with those of the Spanish monarchy, by the most authentick renunciations: I mention this answer only for the sake of the last clause, which seems to imply a marriage concerted for don Carlos with an arch-dutchess.

But to return to the affair of Gibraltar and Ostend, the whole purport of
what

what he said upon them, was the repeating to us, that nothing could ever reduce the emperor to revoke his patent given to the Ostend company, nor the king of Spain not to insist upon the restitution of Gibraltar, and that any insult or injury done to either of those princes, would be looked upon by the other as done to himself, and equally resented. He owned, however, that in his particular, he looked upon the proposal of removing the Ostend company to Trieste, &c. as reasonable, and what the emperor might be satisfied with; and that his catholic majesty would be glad to find the emperor of the same opinion, and had desired count Konigseck to propose it at Vienna, and let him know as soon as possible his master's sentiments thereupon. To which we replied, that since his catholic majesty found that proposal reasonable, we hoped, in case the emperor should reject it, his catholic majesty would not think himself any longer obliged to engage in a war upon account of that company, he having done all that in justice could be required from him, in obtaining such terms for his ally, as in reason he ought to be satisfied withall. He answered, that whatever his catholic majesty's sentiments and resolutions were, he could not make such a declaration, without first consulting the emperor.

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This court's thus readily coming into, and highly approving of an expedient, which in itself is really no more than what was never disputed to the emperor, shews plainly their design by it, of gaining time upon the pretext of waiting for the opinion of the court of Vienna thereupon.

Altho' what I had the honour to affirm in the beginning of this letter, of Ripperda's sincere desire of accommodating matters for the present, and that he would for that purpose contribute to the utmost of his power, even by abandoning the emperor (could he do it without loosing the queen) appears to me, every day more and more unquestionable, for the reasons above alleged. I can't, however, hope for any sort of good from thence; it being equally evident, that his own inclinations are as bad as ever, and that it is purely the present utter improbability of succeeding in a war, that makes him wish for peace, the which, however, he dares not take the necessary steps for obtaining, and that consequently all sorts of treachery and mischievous designs are to be expected from him, as a proof of which, I shall give two instances.

The receiving and caressing the duke of Wharton, who comes directly from Rome, with proposals to this court from the pretender, from whom he (Wharton) received the garter, with which he appears publicly. The order, which

Period IV.
 1727 to 1730. your grace will see by Mr. Black's enclosed letter, has been published at Cadiz, for fitting out privateers, as in the year 1718. From which, I take the liberty to give it as my humble opinion (which I should not have presumed to do in matters of such consequence, without your grace's express commands for so doing) that no time should be lost in bringing matters to an issue, for that otherwise upon the arrival of the flota and galeons expected here by the end of June, a war will be inevitable, which it is possible the emperor, if pushed, would not at present engage himself in, from the impossibility he sees on the part of Spain, without the flota and galeons, of furnishing the supplies stipulated, of which his ambassador here loudly complains, and publicly reproaches Ripperda with breach of promise to the emperor.

Having since my writing thus far, been informed that the duke of Wharton had been yesterday in conference with Ripperda, I thought proper to see that minister before the departure of this messenger, in order to be able to tell your grace by him, what turn this court gives to an affair that must make such noise in the world, as that of the arrival of an ambassador in form from the pretender; which is the title at present given to the duke of Wharton. Ripperda began by protesting to me (as he had done three days ago) that he knew nothing of the duke of Wharton's having left Vienna, till he was actually arrived at Madrid, and that their catholick majesties were as ignorant of it as himself. He proceeded, by saying that Wharton told him yesterday, that he was charged with a commission of importance from the pretender to their catholick majesties, and therefore desired to procure him an audience as soon as possible, which he, Ripperda, promised to inform their catholick majestys of, and bid him return this night for the answer. Ripperda says, that the principal part of Wharton's commission, is to demand leave for the pretender to pass immediately into Spain; but that their catholick majestys so far from granting his request, have ordered him, Ripperda, to tell the duke of Wharton, that they cannot receive any propositions from the pretender, nor even give audience to any minister from him, and that he would therefore do well to return speedily from whence he came.

Your grace will not believe, I think, great credit is to be given to these discourses of Ripperda, it not being easy to imagine that his intimate friend would come hither without advising him, and having his approbation of it beforehand. Neither is it to be supposed that the duke of Wharton would have publicly taken the garter (with which he was installed yesterday in great ceremony

remony

emony by the late duke of Ormonde) and thereby render his return to England impracticable, without prospect of some expedition's being on foot, and speedily to be executed in favour of the pretender, which is not possible to suppose could be negotiated without the concurrence and assistance of this court, tho' I cannot find any reason to believe that any attempt can be made from hence, but have grounds to suspect that the design is from Flanders, Ripperda having owned to me, that the pretender has demanded of the emperor leave to go Brussells, and as the late duke of Ormonde talks of going speedily to Rome, Wharton to Vienna, and general Sessan to Aix la Chapelle, I am persuaded the rendezvous is to be in Flanders.

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Ripperda.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Ripperda removed from the superintendence of the finances.

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 13, 1726.

I Have not received any commands from your grace, since I had the honour to write to you last upon the 6th instant, by Gould the messenger, by whom I acquainted you with the duke de Ripperda's having been, and then continuing still to be in danger of being disgraced: I also, at the same time, mentioned to your grace from what quarter the most, if not only dangerous attack was made upon him: but at present, my lord, what was before only conjecture, seems most certain, by his catholick majesty's having last night taken from him the *surintendence* of the finances, and restored it to don Francisco Ariaza, who formerly held that employment: for altho' Ripperda gives out, and the decree itself says the same thing, that this demission was at his own request, other circumstances plainly denote the contrary.

Harrington
Papers.
Draught.

I can positively assure your grace, that this stroke came from the queen (who is more attached than ever, if possible, to the court of Vienna) at the instigation of the German ambassador, which last, now publickly exclaims against Ripperda for having deceived the court of Vienna, and Ripperda himself, but last night, swore to me that his disgrace came from thence for not sending them money, adding with the most solemn oaths, that had he done otherwise, the war had most infallibly been begun above three months since. I found him in the highest rage against that court, and disposed to stick at nothing to be revenged. He has desired me to return to him to-morrow, promising then to give me such further proofs of his confidence in me, as shall evidently convince

Period IV. vince me of his having flung himself absolutely at our master's feet, and that
 1727 to 1730. he depends upon, and seeks no other protection and favour, than that of his
 majesty and the Dutch, and that he will well deserve what he thus begs for.
 In case I receive no messenger from your grace in two or three days, I propose then to dispatch one of my domesticks to you, by whom I shall have the honour to write more fully upon these and other matters.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Causes of Ripperda's disgrace.—The imperial ambassador, who occasioned it, is alarmed.

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 25, 1726.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

UPON the 13th instant, I had the honour to acquaint your grace with the duke de Ripperda's removal from the superintendancy of the treasury, and the almost certainty there then was of his total disgrace very soon: at present, your grace will see by my enclosed relation, the most material affairs that have pass'd here ever since with respect to that gentleman. To which I shall beg leave to add, in this separate letter, some other circumstances worth observation, which I purposely omitted in the enclosed narrative, not to break the thread of the subject matter of it, which I was desirous to lay before your grace in the clearest light possible. But as your grace may be justly surprized at not having much sooner had an account from me, of matters of such consequence, I shall begin this letter with acquainting you the cause of it, which was my not being able for a whole week to obtain an order for post horses, upon the idle pretext of no minister's being hitherto named for foreign affairs, whose province it is to give those orders. But the true reason certainly was to prevent my giving an account to my court of what was doing here in relation to Ripperda's being refused in my house, 'till his catholick majesty should have come to a final resolution thereupon, which he did not do till late last night or this morning.

Ripperda's disgrace most evidently proceeded from the daily complaints made of him to their catholick majestys by the comte de Konigseck, for not sending the money promis'd to the court of Vienna, which 'tis thought Ripperda did not abstain from doing out of any good intentions towards preserving the publick tranquility, but purely to prevent the emperor from beginning the war immediately, as he seemed disposed to do (had he money wherewithall)

which

which Ripperda feared might endanger the safe arrival of the galleons and flota, and thereby render precarious the only means he hoped for being able to support the emperor, but even Spain itself. Konigseck, transported with this victory over Ripperda, neglected to pursue it, by getting him secured immediately; which error he no sooner found by Ripperda's retiring into my house, than his rage exceeded even the joy of the day before, and made him press his catholick majesty with the utmost vehemence (in which he was supported by the queen and Orendayn) to take him out by force, in which, altho' he did not so far succeed as to wholly determine the king, he however made such an impression upon him, as he himself (Konigseck) was not able afterwards to efface, when upon more serious reflection, he foresaw the danger arising from such a step, of possibly engaging his master and the king of Spain in a war, which neither of them were in readiness or prepared to support. But those reflections came too late, when it was not possible for him to lay the storm he himself had raised; it being most certain, that for these two days past, he has used his utmost endeavours to persuade the king of Spain to approve of Ripperda's proposal of retiring into a convent. I have been informed, that his catholick majesty, yesterday, in his orders to the council of Castile, to consider and give their opinion upon his right of forcing Ripperda from my house, lay'd three crimes to his charge, *viz.* 1. His having disclosed his secrets whilst in the ministry. 2. His having given several orders without first consulting his majesty thereupon, and 3. For not having as yet given in his accounts. But as la Paz, in his letter to me, mentions no such thing, I might justly be supposed ignorant of it.

All the foreign ministers, to whom I have given part of what had happened, are to assemble this evening at the nunzio's, in order to make the proper representations to his catholick majesty, on account of the violence thus offered an ambassador, as equally affecting themselves in their several characters. And I ought in justice to the Dutch ambassador, inform your grace; that he has acted in this whole affair, and spoke to the Spanish minister upon it, with the same zeal and vigour, as if the honour of his own republick had been principally concerned in it. The late change in the ministry here (in which la Paz has the greatest share of business and credit) will certainly occasion none in the entire attachment of this court to that of Vienna, but rather, if possible, augment it; as Ripperda's disgrace plainly indicates, whose only crime was, even his not being imperialist enough for their catholick majestys, especially for the queen.

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queen. The duke of Wharton returned hither two days after Ripperda's disgrace, where he will probably still remain for some time, tho' he gives out the contrary. He has frequent conferences with la Paz and the emperor's ambassador, &c. I have nothing more to trouble your grace withall at present, excepting only the renewing in the most earnest manner my humble request to you, of representing favourably to his majesty, my conduct in this late critical and important affair, in which, if I have erred through too much warmth, it proceeded from not being able to bare with temper the least insult upon his majesty's honour, especially from a court, at which the king has had of late such just and frequent grounds of being highly offended, as might possibly make his majesty not displeased at having so justifiable a pretext, for timely hindring them by force from attempting to put their long laid secret designs against him in execution. But, my lord, in case his majesty should think fitt to disavow my conduct in this affair of Ripperda, I hope he will be graciously pleased at the same time to order my being recall'd from hence, which I beg leave most solemnly to assure your grace, I do not mention out of any regard to myself, but purely and solely to that of his majesty's service, to which, after what has happened, my longer abode here would certainly be absolutely useless, and probably prejudicial. The emperor's ambassador has long audiences almost dayly of their catholick majestys, and seems to aim at entering into the ministry, as the French ambassadors formerly used to do.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Ripperda takes refuge in his house.—Audience of the king of Spain.—Ripperda forcibly seized, notwithstanding Stanhope's remonstrances.

MY LORD,

Madrid, May 25, 1726, N. S.

Harrington
Papers.

Draught.

UPON the 14th instant, I went to Aranjuez, with intention to remain there two days for the sake of my health; but upon receiving an express the day following, with advice of the duke of Ripperda's having been dismissed the night before from his catholick majesty's service, I resolved to return immediately to Madrid, where I arrived about eleven the same night, extremely surpris'd to find in my apartment the duke of Ripperda and the ambassador of Holland. The first immediately addressing himself to me, said, that being obliged for the safety of his person to seek out an azile, he had fled to my house, and hoped and beg'd I would protect him, to which I, in presence of the

the Dutch ambaffador replied, that before I could give any answer to what he demanded, he muſt give me leave to aſk him ſome queſtions; as 1^{ſt}. Whether he ſtill had any employment under his catholic majesty, or was in any manner whatſoever in his ſervice? he answered poſitively no, for that the night before the king of Spain had (at his own requeſt) abſolutely diſmiſſed him from all his employments. 2. Whether he had reaſon to believe himſelf under his catholic majesty's diſpleaſure, or that he apprehended the king of Spain intended to have him charged with, or proſecuted for any crime committed during his adminiſtration? he answered, that he had no ſort of reaſon to ſuppoſe himſelf under the diſpleaſure of his catholic majesty, much leſs to be charged with any crime, and as a convincing proof of the contrary, put into my hands the original letter (of which goes incloſed a copy) he had received the night before from the marquis de la Paz, by which his catholic majesty not only abſolutely diſmiſſes him from his ſervice; but graciouſly recompenſes him with a penſion of three thouſand piſtoles a year.

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I then aſked him, 3. That having ſuch reaſon to aſſure himſelf of his catholic majesty's favourable intentions towards him, what motiff or occaſion he could have for flying to my houſe for protection? to which he answered, that it was in no wiſe from the apprehenſions of any violence on the part of his catholic majesty, of whoſe and great goodneſs to him (in having graciouſly beſtowed on him the ſaid penſion of 3000 piſtoles) he had juſt received ſo convincing a proof, but from the fears he was in for his life, from the malice and inveteracy of his enemys, and the rage and fury of the people (incenſed againſt him, on account of ſome violent meaſures, the neceſſity of affairs had obliged him to take during his miniſtry) who had that very day inſulted his ſervants as they were transporting his goods from the palace, and publicly given out, that they would in the night attack his houſe, in order to tear him to pieces. The duke having thus ſatiſfied my demands, I told him, that as he had given me ſuch convincing proofs of his being entirely diſmiſſed from his catholic majesty's ſervice, as alſo ſuch good reaſons to believe him not under his diſpleaſure, and as I had found him already in my houſe, I could not oblige him by force to depart, but deſired him immediately to acquaint the ſecretary of ſtate with the ſteps he had taken, together with the motifs for it, and told him, that I would the next morning inform his catholic majesty of the whole, as I accordingly did in an audience I had of him (on the 16th inſtant) for that purpoſe.

Period IV.
 1727 to 1730. In that audience, I related the matter of fact to his catholick majesty, exactly in the manner I have now done it to your grace, adding only the most solemn assurances of my not having had the least previous knowledge or suspicion of any design in the duke of Ripperda of retiring himself into my house, and declaring, that without the abovementioned circumstances of his being discharged from his catholick majesty's service, &c. I should not have suffered him to continue in my house, as also, that even with those circumstances he should have found no entrance, had I been in town to have prevented it; from all which I hoped that his catholick majesty would not be dissatisfied with my conduct in this affair. To which he answered, "he was not, but that he had great reason to be so with the duke, who having so lately been his minister, and trusted with the secret of all his affairs, gave but too just grounds to suspect his fidelity in thus retiring himself into the house of a foreign minister, upon no other pretext than that of his fears of insults from the people; it not being possible to imagine, that he, his catholick majesty, upon the least application, would not immediately have given the necessary directions for the effectually securing him from any danger of that kind; that as to giving him a passport to retire into Holland (which the said Ripperda had by letter demanded the night before) he could not allow it him 'till he should have first restored several papers of consequence remaining in his hands, and must desire I would engage not to suffer him to escape from my house, till he (the king) should have got a list drawn out of them, and sent to him for them, which should be done the next day."

To all which, I answered, that I did not pretend to justify or excuse the duke's conduct (which was certainly very imprudent) but only desired to satisfy his majesty, that under the circumstances abovementioned, it was not possible for me to act in this affair otherwise than I had done, and that I should with great pleasure comply with his demand in not suffering the said duke to escape, 'till his catholick majesty should have sent to him for the said papers. The same evening the marquis de la Paz sent me the enclosed letter of the 16th instant, excusing his majesty's having ordered a detachment of his guards into the neighbourhood of my house, and upon the 18th instant another, desiring me to persuade and induce the duke to retire from my house, to which I immediately returned an answer to both, which copy's also go herewith enclosed. The 19th, the duke writ to the king, desiring leave to retire into a convent, upon which I had also a conference that evening with the
 marquis

marquis de la Paz. But upon finding by him, as also by other intelligencys I had received, that his catholick majesty was disposed to take by force the said duke from my house, I demanded an audience of his catholick majesty, in which I represented to him the great pleasure it was to me to have been able to induce the duke of Ripperda to consent to retire from my house to a convent, as hoping that thereby this troublesome affair might be made an end of to his majesty's satisfaction; for that this expedient not only satisfied the only thing he had demanded in the marquis de la Paz's said letter of the 18th instant, (*viz.*) the removing the scandal taken at the said duke's continuing in the house of a foreign minister, but also in my opinion could not lay his majesty under any difficultys. For that however authors differ'd as to the nature of the crimes or persons that ought or ought not be allowed an asyle or protection, yet none I believed ever pretended to distinguish betwixt the asyle of the church, and that of the house of a publick minister, much less to ascertain crimes or persons to be protectable in the former, and not so in the latter. From whence I inferred that Ripperda would not be more out of his catholick majestie's power, when in a convent than in my house, for that had his majesty a right to take him out of my house by force, he had it equally so to do from a convent; and as I was assured he was too just a prince to force my house, without being fully convinced of his right so to do, I could not foresee how any inconveniencys could follow from accepting this expedient, but that very great ones were to be apprehended from its being rejected, in case his majesty was resolved to proceed with violence; for that no inconveniencys could arise from the forcing the convent, in case his majesty was fully convinc'd of his right to do it; but that very fatal consequences were to be feared from violating the house of an ambassador, altho' he should think he had a right so to do; in case that minister's master should think otherwise. For which reasons I said, I hoped his majesty would accept of the expedient proposed, for that otherwise, in case he was resolved to act by force, it might be thought, he designed to lay hold of that opportunity of publicly affronting the king my master and the British nation, seeing that other means not liable to any inconveniency had been thus pointed out to him for coming at what he desired.

The king replied, "that he would consider upon what I had said, but as to Ripperda's offer of going into a convent, he did not as yet see how he could admitt of it, or allow any asyle or protection in any part of his dominions to one of his own ministers;" to which I answered, that had not that duke been

Period IV. actually dismiss'd from the ministry, certainly no protection could be given ^{1727 to 1730.} him. But he alledging "that the duke's pension, 'till he should otherwise be employed, continued him in the service;" I replied, that the pension might rather be look'd upon as a recompence for past services, and that it was in his catholick majesty's liberty to employ him anew or not, so it seem'd in his to accept again or not any employment; and that altho' the said pension should be suppos'd to continue the said duke in the service (which in my humble opinion, it did not) it could not be look'd upon to continue him in such an employment as renders the possessor incapable of protection. I ended by saying that the duke was actually under the protection of the king my master (as being refug'd in his house, not mine) I could not venture to force him out of it, without first receiving orders from my court for so doing, that in case before any orders could arrive to me, he (his catholick majesty) thought fit to take him away by violence, as I was not able to make any resistance, I should only protest against such force, and retire from court, 'till I should have received the king my master's further pleasure upon the account I should immediately send him, of what had happened, who, I was assured, would take such measures thereupon, as his own honour and that of the nation should require.

In this situation, the affair remained 'till the 22d at night, that I received the enclos'd letter from the marquis de la Paz, to which I returned the day following an answer, of which also goes herewith a copy. But this morning, the 25th, at six o'clock, an *alcal de corte* or judge, with a general officer and 60 of the horse guards, came to my house and delivered me the enclosed letter from the marquis de la Paz (of the 24th) telling me at the same time, that they had orders to demand from me the duke de Ripperda, and in case of refusal or resistance on my part, to take him out of my house by force. Upon which I asked them, whether they could not carry my answer back to the said letter, before they proceeded to put their orders in execution; they replied, that in case I should return any answer, they would carry it back, but that it must be at the same time with the person of the duke. I then told them, that I neither could deliver him to them, nor consent to his being taken from my house against his will, and that if they proceeded to force him from thence, I should protest against such violence done to my character, of which I would immediately send an account to the king my master, and 'till I should receive his pleasure thereupon, absent myself from court. They replied, that seeing

I absolutely refused to deliver the duke, they must execute their orders, and take him away by force, which they accordingly immediately did, and I there-^{Period IV. 1727 to 1730.} upon wrote to the marquis de la Paz the inclosed letter. Before I conclude, I must beg leave to observe to your grace, that this court have never alledged to me any crime or other matter against Ripperda, in order to prove him not capable of protection, nor even once demanded him from me 'till this morning (all their letters hitherto, as your grace will have observed, only desiring me to persuade him to retire) that they took him away by force, without allowing me time to represent to his catholick majesty the reasons I might have for not complying with what he requir'd from me.

Your grace has now before you as full and as exact an account of this whole affair, as the hurry I am in would allow me to give you, which I most humbly begg your grace will be pleased to represent to his majesty, in the most favourable manner, for obtaining his most gracious approbation of my conduct in it, and flatter myself that his majesty will have the goodness to believe that (whatever errors my want of judgement may have led me into) I have acted to the best of my capacity in this whole affair, in the manner I thought it my indispensable duty to do in support of his majesty's honour, and that of the British nation; and I have the good fortune to be able to assure your grace, that every one of the foreign ministers here have publickly declared their entire approbation of my conduct in this affair, and that they (in the like circumstance) would and must have acted exactly in the same manner.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Rejoices at the disgrace of Ripperda.

(May 23—June 3, 1726.) YOU may imagine the disgrace of the duke of Ripperda, from whatever cause it may have proceeded, has given great joy to us here, for though it should prove to be at the instigation of the imperial ministers, yet even that must have been occasioned by an impossibility that there was for Ripperda to furnish the supplies for the court of Vienna; and it is not to be imagined, that his successor, whoever he be, will be better able to do it than he was, and better inclined or more attached than Ripperda was to the imperialists, he certainly cannot be.

Walpole
Papers.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

BENJAMIN KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Gives a confidential account of the discoveries made by Ripperda.

MY LORD,

London, June 15, 1726.

Orford
Papers.

Copy.

MR. Stanhope, having by the means of the duke of Ripperda's having taken refuge in his house, made several discoveries of very great importance to the king and his allys, which he durst not send in writing, lest they should fall into the hands of those that wou'd make an ill use of them, desired me to come over to England, and acquaint your grace with them by word of mouth, in order to their being laid before his majesty; I therefore take the liberty to set them down here, as they occur to my memory, and I shall endeavour not to omit any material circumstance. Mr. Stanhope having pressed the duke of Ripperda to inform him of the schemes that had been projected or agreed to by the emperor and king of Spain, either with regard to the state of Europe in general or to his majesty's affairs in particular, the duke began with the secret treaty of Vienna, consisting of five articles, and three separate ones, the substance of which he dictated to Mr. Stanhope, who took them down in writing with his own hand, and are as follows:

Art. 1. Confirms and ratifys all preceding treatys made between their imperial and catholic majestys. Art. 2. The emperor gives the eldest archduchess in marriage to the infant don Carlos, and in Art. 3. The second archduchess is given to the infant don Phillip.

Art. 4. The emperor and king of Spain enter into reciprocal engagements to begin in a war for reconquering the dutchy of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Alsace, and all the French conquests in Flanders, and encroachments on Lorraine, Navarre, Rouffillon, Petite-Cerdagne, which are to be divided after the following manner: Burgundy, Franche Compté, Alsace, &c. and all that formerly belonged to the house of Austria, is to be settled on don Carlos, and look'd upon as the Austrian patrimony. Lorraine is to be return'd to its duke, and Navarre, Rouffillon, and la Petite-Cerdagne, to be remitted to the Spanish monarchy. Art. 5. The emperor and king of Spain do mutually oblige themselves and posterity never to give an archduchess or an infanta in marriage to the house of Bourbon.

1. Separate article. That in case the present king of France should dye without issue to inherit that crown, the infant don Phillip is to be king of France.

France. 2d Art. The emperor and king of Spain do solemnly engage to assist the pretender with their forces, in order to the putting of him in possession of the crown of Great Britain. 3d Art. Is the reciprocal engagements between the emperor and king of Spain utterly to extirpate the protestant religion, and not to lay down their arms till this design be fully and effectually executed.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

All the while the duke of Ripperda was dictating this treaty to Mr. Stanhope, he appeared to be in the greatest agonies, and frequently burst into tears.

Mr. Stanhope having taken this down in writing, from Ripperda's own mouth, put it into cypher, and lodged it in a safe hand, lest his house should be searched for papers on Ripperda's account, and this might fall into the hands of the king of Spain or any of his ministers. The duke of Ripperda acquainted Mr. Stanhope, that none of the king of Spain's ministers, beside himself, knew of this treaty; and that it had not been communicated to any person whatsoever, except the emperor, the king and queen of Spain, and the ministers who signed it; and what confirms this, is, that the duke of Ripperda, during his stay at Mr. Stanhope's, having occasion to write to his catholick majesty several letters to obtain leave to retire to Holland, he (Ripperda) to prevent the king of Spain communicating to his ministers, who were his enemies, constantly mixed in them something of this secret treaty, which Mr. Stanhope found to be true in one instance. Mr. Stanhope had proposed the expedient of the duke's retiring to a convent, to which the duke himself consented, and had wrote to the king on this subject. His excellency came into the duke's apartment before the letter was sealed, upon which the duke desired him to peruse it. In it he recapitulated the great services he had done his catholick majesty. *Was it not I that procured your majesty the treaty of Vienna? Was it not I that made the marriage with the archduchess for don Carlos and don Phillip?* After sealing this letter in Mr. Stanhope's presence, he put it into his excellency's own hand, and desired him to send it to the king; but Mr. Stanhope replied, it would be of dangerous consequence to him (the duke) to have it carry'd by a domestic of his, for so suspicious a prince as the king of Spain, would have but too much reason to think his (Mr. Stanhope's) curiosity would go no farther than barely sending the letter. So one of the duke's servants was called for, and Mr. Stanhope himself followed him to the palace, and saw the letter delivered into the hands of the king's favourite valet de chambre, and makes not the least doubt of its being delivered to the king.

The

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

eried IV.
7 to 1730.

The duke declared to Mr. Stanhope, that his catholick majesty was so earnest for the extirpation of the protestant religion, that in the several letters that had passed between the king of Spain and the emperor upon this subject, the king proposes in case of necessity, to sell the domains of his crown, put up grandeurs to the highest bidder, and dispose of all the employments for life in the Indies to the best purchaser, for promoting this scheme: and particularly in one of his letters, he makes use of this extraordinary expression, *je vendrai même ma chemise*. The article for settling the pretender on the throne of Great Britain was to take its course after the greater enterprises were begun; but they changed their resolutions, and were to begin with a project entered into in his favour by the emperor, Spain, and Muscovy. By this scheme, the czarina was to furnish the pretender with ten thousand men, and arms and transports in proportion, which are designed for Scotland, where the late lord marischall is to be ready to receive them, and spirit up the highlanders, in order to join with the Muscovites. The king of Spain is to send eight thousand men, from the coast of Galicia, which are to land in the west of Europe with the late duke of Ormond (or any other general his catholick majesty thinks proper) at the head of them, and one Morgan has given in proposals by the duke of Liria to provide six ships out of Bretany, and one he has in Cadiz, upon the king of Spain's advancing 60,000 piastras. They once thought to employ upon this expedition the three Muscovite men of war which stayed so long at St. Ander.

The emperor on his part, is to have 6,000 men ready at Ostend for the pretender's service, to be made use of where necessity may require; and is also to send a considerable body of troops in the Low Countries, to intimidate the Dutch, and prevent their sending any forces into England.

The time the Muscovites were to make their descent, was calculated to be during the absence of the British fleet. In this project, Wharton declares that the jacobites in England and France have two millions sterling ready to promote this affair, and have 20,000 arms in France.

The pretender in return, is to restore Port Mahon and Gibraltar to the king of Spain, and to be guarantee for the Ostend company, and to lay open our commerce in England, and the foreign plantations to their ships, with the same privileges as the English themselves enjoy.

By this scheme, the pretender was immediately to leave Rome, and go incognito to Vienna, there to have the articles drawn up, in form, for the sub-

stance

stance was already agreed upon. From Vienna he was to proceed to Peterf-
bourg, from thence to Archangel, and to embark from that port to avoid the
inconveniencies of passing the Sound.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

The duke of Ripperda said, that Wharton was sent to Madrid by the emperor to communicate this project to the king of Spain, as what he (the emperor) had agreed to. The duke of Lyria had laid a plan much to the same purpose before his catholick majesty the originals in the respective hand-writings of Wharton and Lyria, were shown by the duke of Ripperda to Mr. Stanhope, and whilst that duke was at Mr. Stanhope's, both Wharton and Lyria visited his dutchefs to know what was become of the papers. The duke of Ripperda confessed to Mr. Stanhope, that the negociations and conferences he proposed to be held at Madrid, were only to protract time, and amuse us till the galleons and flotas should be safe arrived, and made no difficulty to own his catholick majesty would not scruple to lay his hands upon them in case of necessity.

The last orders the duke of Ripperda sent to the Indies in relation to the flotas and galleons (when he saw there was no possibility of setting a negotiation on foot) were, that the silver and gold, and the most valuable commodities should be sent in small single frigates, which might more easily escape the English fleet, but the great ships were to remain at the Havannah and Carthagena, where admiral Hosier would find them. The duke likewise confessed to Mr. Stanhope, that the vaunting it was in his power to reconcile the two crowns of France and Spain whenever he pleased, was entirely false and groundless, thrown out only with the aim of creating jealousies between his majesty and his allies, and particularly cleared bishop Frejus from the vile aspersions he had cast upon him; for this was a point Mr. Stanhope took great care to be informed in, being of such importance. The 12,000 men ordered to march into Galicia, under pretence of an invasion upon that coast from England, the duke owned were to be employed in the pretender's service, and that the pretence of their apprehensions from this, was entirely a trick or fiction of the king of Spain's, and that they had no such intelligence, either from Pozabueno or any other person; and when this excuse failed them, they made use of another, which was the giving out an encampment was to be formed in that part of Spain. As to Lambrity, the duke told Mr. Stanhope, he was sent to Muscovy as a minister of the king of Spain's; but had orders not take the least step without the direction of the imperial minister of that court.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

The first mark the duke perceived of the queen's displeasure, was upon their majestys' receiving a letter from count Konigseg, pressing remittances to the court of Vienna, which they were reading when the duke entered the apartment, he thereupon represented to their majestys, that they were not obliged to make any payments, till this war should be begun, and laid before them the inconveniences that would inevitably ensue to Spain, if Konigseg's demands should be comply'd with, the queen frown'd upon him; and asked him in the Spanish way, *what is that to you.*

This, my lord, is the substance of what Mr. Stanhope charged me to relate to your grace, and as for any other circumstances of my own observations, I shall always be ready to acquaint your grace with them whenever I have the honour of your commands.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Hints how Ripperda may escape.—Ripperda's agitation, when he made the discoveries.

MY LORD,

Madrid, July 30, 1726.

Walpole
Papers.

Secret.

I Have read with all possible attention the letter your grace did me the honour to write to me upon the 29th past, O. S. by Spear the messenger, and cannot enough admire his majesty's great goodness and generosity, in being graciously pleased not to come to any determination in an affair of such vast importance to his service, and to that of the publick, as is that which makes the subject matter of your said letter, without first assuring by all means possible the safety of an unhappy person, who has put his life into his hands, and without shewing the greatest regard to what I might have promised for the encouraging him so to do.

As the arguments your grace is pleased to make use of to shew the great advantage and almost necessity of his majesty's being enabled to make a proper and right use of the discoveries that have been made, carry too much strength and evidence in them to make it necessary for me to take up any of your grace's time in letting you see the just sense I have of the force of them; and as I cannot doubt but that your grace is equally apprised and convinced of the just reason I have, both in honour and conscience, to be most earnestly solicitous for preserving by all the means possible, a life thus in the utmost confidence put into my hands, I shall not detain your grace with my reflections upon either of these considerations, as being assured of each of them's having their

their due weight with you; but shall proceed (from being commanded so to do) to suggest to your grace the method that has occurred to me of doing the abovementioned service to his majesty and the publick, without wounding that religious delicateness in point of honour, which his majesty is so justly adored for thro' the whole world.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

The method that I should most humbly propose, is, that his majesty would be pleased to authorise me to adjust with this court the satisfaction to be given for the late unjustifiable violation offered to the house of his ambassador at Madrid, in the doing of which, I do not despair of bringing this court to consent to the duke of Ripperda's being allowed to return to his own house, from whence it will be no impossible matter for him to make his escape. And that his catholick majesty may be brought to consent to this expedient, I am led to hope for, from the discourses I have had with several of the court upon that subject, and in which opinion, I am the more confirmed, from being assured that no crime can be proved against Ripperda, nor will even be laid to his charge. But what, in my opinion, would almost infallibly determine this matter, would be, for the king of France and the Dutch to declare strongly their approbation of such an expedient, which I should think they might easily be brought to, from seeing themselves equally interested therein, when they shall be let, in the greatest confidence, into the true motive for his majesty's insisting upon it.

Ripperda once thus in his own house, will, I dare answer with my head for it, immediately attempt to escape, both from the necessity he would be convinced there was, as well as the strong inclination he has for so doing, which last, I am assured of from his being desirous to attempt it whilst in my house, provided I would have winked at it.

This way of proceeding seems in no-wise prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, since it does not hinder an immediate proper use's being made of the said discoveries, by communicating them in the greatest secrecy to such of his majesty's allies or friends, where it may be of service; and as Ripperda will, in case this expedient succeeds, have either made his escape, or have been taken in the attempt, long before the meeting of the parliament, in the first of which cases no discovery can do him any hurt, and in the latter, no regard for him can then do him any good, his majesty will be at liberty to make the use of those discoveries in speaking to his people, by the time it shall be necessary, in the manner he shall judge most for his service. To which also may be added,

Period IV. that even in case this method proves unsuccessful, his majesty will have had the
 1727 to 1730. satisfaction of having done as much as in him lay, consistent with the safety of his people, in favour of the unfortunate person. The only objection that I can foresee to pursuing this method, is, that his majesty's thus insisting upon a determined satisfaction may, in case Spain refuses to comply, engage thereby the nation in a war. Tho' to that I think may be answered, that if, as your grace seems to think from what has been already disclosed to his majesty, the war is inevitable, and that the making those discoveries publick, is necessary for the justifying that war, the doing it afterwards, which will be equally in his majesty's power, if judged necessary, will also fully justify its having been begun. I beg leave to assure your grace, that I am by no means fond of what I have thus proposed; but as you was pleased to command me to send you my thoughts upon that matter, I have done it in the best manner I am able.

As to your grace's demand of what Ripperda said to me upon this head, and whether he did not foresee the great service it would be to us upon a proper occasion, to make use of his discoveries, and consequently how far he would contribute to make this easy? I can only say, that he was fully apprised of the importance of those services, and would contribute to the utmost of his power for the procuring them for his majesty, were he once out of Spain, but always insisted in the strongest manner upon the secret's being kept, until he should find himself in England. And I must own my having given him all assurances possible of recommending in the strongest manner his said request; tho' as he had consented to my communicating what he had said to me, to his majesty and his ministers, I told him he knew I could be no farther answerable than for my most earnest and effectual offices in his favour, and particularly for the procuring him his majesty's protection and utmost assistance for the getting him safely out of this country. I forgot to mention Ripperda's having owned to me, his being a protestant, and that he was resolved, the moment it should be possible for him to escape from hence, to abandon his pension, and pass the rest of his days in England.

As to the duke of Wharton's plan, I only read it once, which was the morning that the marquis de la Paz came; by his catholick majesty's order, to receive Ripperda's papers, amongst which that was delivered. It contained in substance the whole of that of the duke of Liria too, with the several particulars set forth in the inclosed project, of a secret treaty between the emperor,

Spain,

Spain, and the pretender, which said project, he assured me, had been absolutely approved of by the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

It is true, my lord, that Ripperda assured me, that his majesty and the king of Prussia were not only to be stripped of their dominions in Germany, but that the princes, who were to succeed to them, were actually pitched upon. I could never, however, induce him to name to me those princes. Upon which occasion, I beg leave to observe to your grace, that altho', in the discoveries made to me by him, several particular circumstances that were to have been wished to have been explained, are omitted, it is not so much to be wondered at, as that he had the courage to open himself so far as he did, considering the risk he run thereby, whilst in the dominions of his catholick majesty, of which he was very sensible, as fully appeared by the agony he was always in upon those occasions, and particularly in dictating to me the two inclosed papers, all which times he cried like a child. Mr. Keene will have told your grace of the infallible proofs he gave me of the marriages.

Ripperda.

BENJAMIN KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Escape of Ripperda from the castle of Segovia.

(Madrid, September 13, 1728.) I Am now to acquaint your grace, that on the 11th instant (I as well as the greater part of the foreign ministers at this court) received a letter from the marquis de la Paz (copy of which goes inclosed, with a translation) to inform me, that the duke de Ripperda had made his escape out of the castle of Segovia, and that his catholick majesty desired he might be delivered over to his order, in case he should take refuge in any of the king's dominions; to which I returned the answer marked A. The only particulars yet known are, that the alcaide or governor of the castle (who is a nigh relation to the marquis de la Paz) being taken very ill, and his wife being in no better condition than himself, they could not attend upon the duke, as they usually did at dinner and supper. The servant maid, who, it seems, was in the duke's interest, took occasion to quarrell with her mistress, and left her service, and a corporal, who guarded the duke, being prevailed upon to assist him, they made their escape together on the 2d instant. The next morning the alcaide missed his prisoner, and only found his valet de chambre in his apartment, and being desirous to give an account to their catholick majesties of the duke's being taken, at the same time he informed them of his breaking prison,

Walpole's
Papers.

Extra.

Copy.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. prison, and by this means make amends for his negligence, he sent several messengers by different routs to seek after him, but all in vain. So that the court had no notice of what had past till the 10th instant, and then they dispatched a messenger to Portugal, it being supposed that he took that route. But there is no certain account of him since he left Segovia.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Desires instructions whether he shall meet Ripperda in London.

Weston
Papers.

(Chelsea, October 8, 1728.) YOU will see by the inclosed, which came to me last night, that our scheme about the duke de Ripperda must be alter'd, unlesse you can way lay him this evening or to morrow morning, and prevail with him to alter his course. Whether you will think this most adviseable, or lett him come on to London, and give me his majesty's directions about meeting him in town, and fixing him in private lodgings, I desire you will write me word, it will be no difference to me but coming on Thursday to Windsor, instead Wednesday, perhaps more easy to him to pursue his own method.

* Under secretary of
state.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. CORBIERE.*

Instructs him to persuade the duke of Ripperda to remain at one of the inns, untill notice of his arrival shall be communicated.

Weston
Papers.

(Windsor, October 9, 1728.) AS I parted with you last night in a good deal of hurry, I had not then had time to inform myself whether there could be sufficient accommodation or no, for the duke de Ripperda at Swinley Rails, which since, upon enquiry, I find there is not; and therefore I think the best thing that can be done, will be for you to prevail upon the duke to send his coach and servants on to London, and to stay alone with you at one of the inns, either at Egham or Staines, in as private a manner as possible, till such time as you shall have given me notice of your arrival there, and have heard from me.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MR. CORBIERE.

Desires him to make excuses to the duke of Ripperda for not sending his own coach.—Will meet the duke at Dr. Bland's, at Eton.

(Windsor,

(Windfor, October 10, 1728.) I Desire you will make my excuses to the duke de Ripperda for my sending him a hired coach. I should have been very glad to have sent my own coach to attend him, but it was impossible to do that without giving some suspicion. You will give the coachman directions to drive to Dr. Bland's at Eton, without passing thro' Windfor, and will contrive to be there about seven this evening, at which time, either myself or my brother Walpole will not fail to meet the duke there. But if any thing should happen to prevent my seeing him this evening, I desire you will assure him, that I shall certainly do myself the honour of waiting upon him between nine and ten to-morrow morning, and will introduce him in the evening to his majesty.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

MR. CORBIERE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

The duke of Ripperda not yet found.

MY LORD,

Hartly-rowe, Wednesday, 4 in the morning.

I Got hither just now, after having knock't up all the inkeepers on the road, without finding what I wanted. But here I have intelligence of a coach, the description of which answers my expectation. That coach came to Salisbury on Monday night, and having bad horses, must have sett up last night considerably short of this place; and as it must necessarily pass here, I think it best to stop, and wait 'till it comes, tho' the hour of it's coming is very uncertain.

Weston
Papers.

Half after eight. Since your lordship's first design will be frustrated, because it grows late, and the coach does not yet appear, I believe, you will not think it amiss, that I send away this messenger to know your lordship's pleasure, what I am now to do, and indeed to prepare colonel Negus, to whom I have writ at all events. Chaundler knows the route I shall take to Swinley-Rails, in case I meet the gentleman; so that if your lordship is pleased to honour me with your commands, he will probably meet me on the road thither. I am, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Informs the king that he will convey Ripperda to the dean of Durham's (Dr. Bland's).

I Send

Period IV. **I** Send your majesty the account I have had from Mr. Corbiere, whom I sent
 1727 to 1730. last night to meet Ripperda. The expectation I have been in of hearing
 Weston. from Ripperda was the reason of my not waiting this morning on your majesty
 Papers. a hunting. I sent back by the messenger orders to Mr. Corbiere not to stay at
 Swinley Rails, but to come forward with Ripperda, either to Egham or
 Staines; from whence I will bring the duke in a coach hither. I have sent to
 the * dean of Durham, who has a house in the cloysters here, where I propose
 to lodge Ripperda, as privately as possible.

I likewise send your majesty a rough sketch of a paper of heads, which
 your majesty ordered me to draw up yesterday.

Heads upon which to discourse with the duke de Ripperda.

Weston
Papers.

TO inquire of the duke of Ripperda, what gave rise to the treaty of
 Vienna? whether the proposal first came from that court? or whether the
 court of Spain made the first application?

In what manner he was received on his arrival at Vienna? which of the em-
 peror's ministers were most trusted in the negotiation, with which he was
 charged, as likewise what particulars he can recollect relating to that affair?

What were the secret engagements between the emperor and Spain in fa-
 vour of the pretender, and what measures were concerted for the accomplish-
 ing of those designs?

Whether the scheme was not to break with England, upon the pretence of
 their not restoring Gibraltar, and to invade his majesty's dominions, and what
 projects were formed for putting this design in execution?

What encouragement and assistance they expected to meet with either in
 England or Scotland upon their landing, and how far the jacobites had engaged
 to join or otherwise to assist them? whether he has seen any association or other
 instrument, or any letter under their hands for that purpose, and who the per-
 sons were that signed them?

How his acquaintance and intimacy with the duke of Wharton began? what
 accounts he gave him of the state of affairs in England? what persons corre-
 sponded with the duke of Wharton, whether he shew'd him the letters he re-
 ceived from them or any of them, and what they contained; as likewise what
 were the sentiments of those persons concerning the treaty of Hanover, as well
 as with regard to the pretender.

* Dr. Bland, then master of Eton school.

As much as he can recollect of the accounts the ministers of the emperor received whilst he was at Vienna from England, either from Palm, or any other persons here; and what correspondence those ministers held with people here, and with whom; particularly whether there was any direct correspondence between them and any of his majesty's subjects?

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA TO MONSIEUR TROYE.

London, October 18, 1728.

I Am not surprized that some think that I went away with the knowledge and permission of the Spanish court, since the world can't be ignorant of the great favour the king had for me, and the affection and zeal wherewith I faithfully served his majesty, but it is farr from it that the court either knew or facilitated my escape; even so farr, that having done what they did by me, there remained nothing but to keep me always a prisoner, or to take away my life privately; which made me resolve to use means to preserve my life, and to set my person free; and for both those things, I am beholden to a lady of a good family, who is here with me, and who had courage eno' to compass that work; which she undertook on account of the ill treatment I so wrongfully underwent, and I must tell you, that the Spanish nation in general is of the same mind. I shall have the honour, by some other opportunity, to inform you of all the particular circumstances; and I don't doubt but I shall be able to give the world intire satisfaction concerning my behaviour and conduct. I desire you will please to convey the inclosed.

Orford
Papers.

Official trans-
lation.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

DEAR BROTHER,

Windfor, October 22—November 25, 1728.

AS I think it is proper you should see without loss of time the inclosed letter from baron Ripperda to his father, I send it you by a messenger on purpose, and am yours, &c.

Orford
Papers.

BARON OF RIPPERDA TO THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA.

Conduct of the imperial court towards him at the time of Ripperda's disgrace.

HONOURED SIR,

Groningen, October 26, 1728.

HE begins with telling the great joy and comfort it was to his wife and him, to hear by his letter of the 16th, that he was gott clear off; and continues

Orford.
Papers.

Period IV. thus—I am delighted at your being satisfied with my marriage, for the mar-
 quis de la Paz sent me your consent, without which I should not have married, but it stood me in great stead, for I had all kind of support from thence. Count Cobenzel, my father-in-law, is married, and holds at the emperor's court, the post of great chamberlain, which is one of the principal posts at that court, and he a gentleman of very good credit. As to my wife, she was delivered on the 23d instant of a dead son, but she was not come to her full time; God be thank't, she is as well as can be expected at this time. This loss must be repaired with another wholesome and sound boy, if it will please God to do us that favour. My wife says, she should be glad to have given a grandson to her father-in-law, whose hands she kisses, and wishes she could do it really, by seeing you in some good and secure place. It would be a great satisfaction to me, if you would do nothing that could displease the emperor, because all the honour depends on that, and so I trust in God and your knowledge, that all this will go well.

When your disgrace happened, a courier was dispatched for Vienna, who quickly came to Laxemburgh to count Sinzendorff, who went to Vienna, immediately sent for me to his house, and told me—the emperor assures you of his protection. But it is necessary to comply with the will of God; the duke your father is disgraced and carried to Segovia, and we have express orders to take your papers instantly; and so he carried me in his coach to my own house, and they told me to deliver my papers, asking me if had not some intimate correspondences with you. And they told me, that they knew from the custom-house, that there was so much money (more indeed than there really was) and I must give it up by fair means, since it was in their hands from the moment they first had the king's order; that it was owing to the emperor's graciousness that the orders were not fully executed, which were, I believe, to make a prisoner of me. And so, I being in this condition, by an express written order, I was obliged to deposit the money in the publick imperial bank at Vienna, there being no other remedy, because I had no notice from you, nor of the least circumstance of this disgrace.

Had you been able to give me notice of the least circumstance, all had been remedied. But being crushed on all sides, there was no other remedy for me in the world than to obey; for as I was one day going out of Vienna to Caldenberg, I had a message from don Henrique, that I must not go far out of the city, and so that was like having the city for a prison. But the emperor sent
 me

me word by count Sinzendorff, that he would fain see me once, and I had the honour of an audience, and of finding the emperor very gracious, and comforting me in my misfortunes and sorrows, which you may imagine were infinite, to see you in such a condition. Afterwards came one don Philip Rodrigues, who had been secretary to Beretti Landi, which Philip was very ill-intentioned, and he was afterwards to keep the papers. After this, came one called duke de Bournonville, worse than the former, tormenting and ill treating me with bad language, insomuch that it was a shame, and with insupportable haughtiness, asking me an account of all. But by the emperor's intercession, the whole was made up, and the said duke renounced by order, saying that the king was satisfied as to me, and pretended to nothing more from me. In fine, had it not been for the imperial protection, I believe they had swallowed me alive. But so it came to pass, that by a letter of order from the marquis de la Paz, the king gave his royal consent to marry me, assigning me for the days of my life, an annual pension of a thousand pistoles.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

I hope to give you a more circumstantial account by word of mouth, and I humbly beseech you, for the love of God, to preserve your good intention towards the emperor, and not to do any thing against the king, and in favour of the country where you are, because all your honour, and your great renowned name, which you acquired by making the treaties of Vienna, which were the *foedus amicitiae*, and by the treaty of navigation and commerce, would be entirely lost, and will now and for ever subsist, if you continue in the same way of thinking you had in those days. If you would but think fit to have matters made up a little, it would be good to begin to go about it soon; since my mother, and brothers, and sister are within that country, and will suffer in case any thing should happen in opposition to these princes. You will know if you could be safe, or not, in this country, and therefore you will be pleased to do what you shall judge most proper for your security, and the making up of your affairs. I beseech you to vouchsafe to think of your spouse and all us your children. I also most humbly beseech you to preserve me in your fatherly and kind protection and love; and my wife, who also loves you with all her heart and soul, also recommends herself, humbly kissing her father's hands, to whose paternal love we both of us recommend ourselves.

P. S. In case you should have a mind to write to the emperor or to my father-in-law, you might send those letters to us, for I believe that would be

Period IV. best. I cannot write more for want of paper; I hope hereafter to see or write
 1727 to 1730. to you more largely.

RIPPERDA TO HIS SON.

Imputes his disgrace to count Konigseck.

MY SON,

London, October 22—November 2, 1728.

Orford
Papers.

Translation.

YOUR valuable letter of the 26th, has been put into my hands, and it is the greatest comfort to me, to see that you and your dear wife are good and steady in your love to me, as your father; and I assure you, that you have sufficient reason to continue it, for I love you as the apples of my eyes, and I would willingly give my blood for your sake. I am sorry at my heart for that untimely birth, and I hope God will give me descendants from my loyns. You will tell me, whether count Cobenzel is the mother of my dear daughter; and you will tell me where Dr. Henrique is, and how much money you have deposited in the imperial bank.

I now see very clearly from the conduct of count Sinzendorff, that he likewise must be one of the band of count Konigsegg, my greatest enemy, and the only cause of my disgrace, as I will let the emperor see at a proper time, if he will allow me to do it; and you will tell me in what form and manner the emperor would have, or would not have me; and you will tell it me very plainly, as I am your father, who gave you life. I will not, neither can I, nor ought I to stirr out of this kingdom, till I know what the emperor thinks of my person and conduct. I am very desirous to give an account of both to all Europe. And I know very well how to maintain that point of honour I was born with, and which I have known how to maintain hitherto; and shall see that *fama et vita pari passu ambulat*. You must send your answers by the way of Mr. Meynarde Troye at Amsterdam, and so they will come safe. You must explain yourself clearly to your father, who wishes you long life, and loves you intirely.

THE DUKE OF RIPPERDA TO THE BARON OF RIPPERDA.

London, October 26, 1728.

Orford
Papers.

Official translation.

SINCE I wrote to you from Exeter, I arrived in this town with perfect health, and do intend to take my rest here, 'till I can hear from you, and what

what condition you are in. You will tell me, as I directed you in my other letter, how much you have spent of the money I left in your power, and whatever else has happened to you during the time of my confinement, to the end that I may take convenient measures. You will enquire of count de Cobenzel, who by your marriage is become my brother, if he thinks it convenient I should write to the emperor to undeceive him of count Konigsegg's falsehoods, and desire him to tell you what he thinks I had best do in that matter; and you will tell me, whether the mother to your beloved spouse, my most valuable daughter, be living, that I may write to the count, and to her if alive. You will bestow a thousand kisses and embraces upon my beloved daughter, whom I cherish as much as the apples of my eyes. I am, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
Ripperda.

WILLIAM STANHOPE AND HORACE WALPOLE TO THE DUKE
OF NEWCASTLE.

Acquaints cardinal Fleury with the arrival of the duke of Ripperda in England.

October 27, 1728.

WE have thought fit to lett both the cardinal and monsieur Chauvelin know, that the duke of Ripperda was arrived in the west of England, and upon his road to London, and that the greatest care should be taken to keep him private, that his coming may give as little offence as possible. They both agreed in that opinion, and far from thinking that his majesty should give him up, intimated to us, that he should be treated in so civil and generous a manner, as to be kept in good humour, and by no means disoblige.

BARON DE RIPPERDA TO THE DUKE DE RIPPERDA.

Groningen, October 30, 1728.

MY wife has received letters from Vienna, wherein your retreat from Segovia is approved with one common voice, and they hope that all this matter will go well, if you keep, with the people where you are, a reserved conduct as to past affairs, and a silence with relation to them; for in this manner, those princes you served, will be contented and satisfied with your conduct; and the emperor will, I hope, assist you, so that all may go well; and so I hope, from your great knowledge and management, that you will bring all your affairs to a good end, for yourself, my mother, and us your children, who all

Orford
Papers.

Official trans-
lation.

Period IV. 'Tis impossible in any dispatch to give more satisfaction, than your joint one
 1727 to 1730. has done, as you will see by my answer to it. I conclude the congress will now soon open. Count Sinzendorff having left Vienna some time, I hope the cardinal will not have made many alterations in our instructions. I fear monsieur Chauvelin will not have drawn the French ones in the manner we could wish, but if the cardinal sticks to what he has promised, all must go well.

We have little or no news stirring here, but general satisfaction at what passes abroad. Sir Robert seems quite in earnest about your brother's affair, and I hope to send you a good account of it in a very short time. This letter goes under de la Faye's cover, as I desire you will continue to send those you favour me with, whenever you have a leisure hour. I should be glad to hear from you; for many things must occur in your negotiations, which I shall be glad to know; tho' perhaps you may not think proper to put them in your public dispatches, and it will always be a particular satisfaction to me to know your opinion upon every thing that happens.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Inform's him that his brother is disappointed about the place.—Thinks Sir Robert Walpole was sincere.—The king's prejudices against his brother, occasioned the failure.

DEAR SIR,

Newcastle House, May 24—June 4, 1728.

Harrington
Papers.

Copy.

I Am persuaded you will do me the justice to believe, that it is with the greatest concern that I now acquaint you, that poor Charles's affair has at last miscarried, notwithstanding the hopes I gave you of success and certainty, I thought there was of it, till within these very few days. Sir Robert Walpole continued to give such strong assurances of his being for your brother, and only for him, that I could not have the least doubt of it; and indeed, notwithstanding what has happened, I must be so just to him, as to think he has been very sincere, and has his share of uneasiness upon it. It would be dwelling too long upon this disagreeable subject, to enter into all the particulars that have passed; however, I cannot forbear, in great confidence, acquainting you with the most material ones in the manner I have learnt them.

Sir Robert continued to think almost to the last, as he did when you was in town, that the disposition of the place would be left entirely to him; but he found at last, great encouragement had been given to another, if not almost
 a pro-

a promise, for whom a vacancy is, by the king's express order, made in the board of trade, by removing Jack Chetwynd, and putting in sir Thomas Frankland. Soon after you left England, it was said to sir Robert Walpole, that they believed you was not satisfied with what the king said to you upon your application in favour of Charles, upon which I assured sir Robert, that by the king's way of talking, as I understood, you had little reason to fear success, were he (sir Robert Walpole) for it.

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1727 to 1730.
1728.

When sir Robert acquainted the king with the great disappointment this would be to you, the king answered, you could not from what he said to you, think he designed it for your brother. For that upon your saying you was sorry the king had not a more favourable opinion of your brother, the king answered, he had a very good one of you.

This being the state of the case, I am really afraid old prejudices remain'd so strong, that they were not to be got over, and I have good reason to think, that sir Robert has met with so much difficulty, and so many disagreeable incidents in the disposal of this employment, that the miscarriage is not to be imputed to him.

He has obliged sir William Yonge to take it, which was certainly never intended, for he never applied for Charles, but upon a supposition that sir W. Yonge wou'd not have it, and one of the chief reasons that sir Robert Walpole made him accept it, was the difficulty he finds in getting any thing for him, and that it made the disappointment to Charles the easier. I have now told you as much as I can by letter, which in justice both to you and others, I thought myself oblig'd to do. I can with truth say, this affair gave me as much concern as it can do you; the only satisfaction I have is, that I have not omitted on my part, any one single thing that cou'd have prevented what has happened; and whether we shall ever be able to mend things or not, I shall always be, with the most unfeigned sincerity and affection to you, to Charles, and the whole family, &c.

WILLIAM STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Expresses his great concern at the failure of his brother's expectations.—Is not convinced of sir Robert Walpole's sincerity.—Thinks his coldness at first did him great hurt.—Is piqued that others are made peers.

Period IV.

MY LORD,

June 8, 1728.

1727 to 1730.

Harrington
Papers.Private.Copy.

I Received last night, by Ling, the messenger, the honour of your grace's private letter of the 24th past, O.S. acquainting me with the success of my brother's affair, which unexpected disgrace, moved me more than ever I remember myself to have been at any thing that ever happened to me in all my life; tho' at the same time I beg leave to assure your grace, that I never did or can one moment forgett the very kind and generous part which you and your brother have acted towards us from the beginning to the end of this affair. And I wish I could be equally clear in my opinion as to sir Robert Walpole's behaviour in it; for altho' I am persuaded from what your grace has been pleas'd to tell me, that towards the end he wou'd have liked to have had it gone in the manner you desir'd, I cant, however, help thinking, that his visible coolness at the beginning, was a great occasion of its miscarrying.

But I shall not detain your grace any longer upon so disagreeable a subject, which I am fully persuaded, from the many undoubted proofs I have had of your grace's friendship and good nature, must be painfull to you to reflect upon, as it is to myself. Though I can't help saying, if I mistook the king, by applying what he said to me to my brother, it was very natural for me to do, considering how it was introduced. viz. by my telling him, that if formerly he had received any ill impressions of my brother, I hoped they were at present removed, which being the case, I could not imagine that he meant to me the expressions of his good opinion, when my brother was the only subject of our conversation. At the same time with your grace's letter, I received one from my brother, full of the most gratefull sentiments towards yourself and Mr. Pelham, for your sincere and zealous endeavours to serve him in this as well as upon every other occasion, and for your kind concern at the disappointment he has met withall: and I wish I could say, that the ill success of this affair had made no deeper impressions upon me, than I find it has upon him.

But however I may be affected with what has happened, it shall never make me less zealous or diligent in the executing of his majesty's commands to the best of my abilitys, whilst I shall have the honour to remain in his service. I observed that your grace takes no notice in your letter of the late promotion of several gentlemen to the peerage, which I attribute to your good nature, as unwilling to speak at the same time upon two subjects, almost equally disagreeable to me, tho' I hope you will be assur'd, that whatever my disappoint-

ments

ments may be, and from whatever quarter they may come, I can never be so weak as to be out of humour at whatever your grace shou'd think fit to say to me upon them, or doubt of your endeavours and desires to have prevented them. I should be glad to receive further lights from you in relation to my French secretary. For altho' I have never trusted him with any thing of consequence, since my brother first writt to me upon his subject, I should be loath to ruin him for ever by turning him immediately out of my service, unless your grace should think the suspicion against him so well grounded, as to make it necessary. We set out to-morrow for Soissons, from whence we shall very soon send another messenger to England, by whom I shall not fail to write fully, and in confidence to your grace, my opinion of the success we are like to have at the congress.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1728.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Mr. Stanhope disappointed that his brother is not appointed a lord of the admiralty, and that himself is not made a peer.—Thinks his brother obnoxious to sir Robert Walpole.—Praises the candour of Mr. Stanhope.—Reflections on the point of Gibraltar.—Is of opinion, that it would be a wise measure to restore it to Spain.

MY LORD,

Paris, June 9, 1728.

I Think it proper your lordship should be appris'd, that Mr. Stanhope is extremely cast down, on the double disappointment of his brother's not being in the admiralty, and his own not being made a peer. The first, I find, he did not entirely reckon upon, on account of his brother's being personally disagreeable to sir Robert Walpole; but the latter, he says the king had absolutely promis'd him, and that your lordship, sir Robert Walpole, and the duke of Newcastle had promis'd to be his remembrancers, and to support his request. He was going to write to your lordship by this messenger; but afterwards said it was now too late, the affair was decided, and the main pretention on which he hoped to obtain this distinction, which was that of his being first plenipotentiary at the congress, being overlooked, he could never hope to obtain this favour; that he was very sure your lordship was his real friend, and had done all you could for him even in his absence; and that the writing to you, would only be giving you a pain, which your kindness towards

Townshend
Papers.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} him had very little deserved. I should do him great injustice, if I should insinuate that this or any other private consideration, was capable of altering his way of acting in the affairs we have to transact together, which I do assure your lordship, has been hitherto accompanied with the greatest openness, candour, and honour. As it is of high importance, in my humble opinion, for the benefit of the service, that he should continue in the same sentiments of respect and confidence towards your lordship, which I am very sure he has, I would submit it to your lordship's consideration, whether it might not be proper to enable me to say something to him from your lordship upon this occasion, which may convince him that you continue his friend. I must own to your lordship, that I am very much pleased with him, and so is Mr. Walpole. But God is my witness, that in what I now write, I have no view to make my court to Mr. Stanhope or any one else, but only to continue to do all in my power towards preserving that union and harmony, which I think necessary for the great work we have before us, which I am very sure requires all helps of this kind.

I can see no daylight yet in the affairs of the congress, only thus much, that after we carry the point of Gibraltar, the Spaniards will leave no stone unturned to hurt our commerce, in order to distress us into a compliance on the other point. The queen of Spain may have other views, but the catholick king and the true Spaniards are animated against us by this single consideration. God forbid that any British subject should think of giving up Gibraltar in the present violent situation of things, and under the rough treatment we meet with from Spain. But if the Spanish plenipotentiarys, instead of demanding it peremptorily, were to set forth in an amicable manner, that the quadruple alliance having made great alterations in the possessions ascertained by the treaty of Utrecht, and the crown of Spain having acceded to that alliance, under hopes given both by England and France of their recovering a place extorted from them by the mere necessity of their affairs, they are ready to offer an equivalent for it, and only desire a promise, that the consideration of this equivalent may be submitted to the king and his parliament, leaving our possession in the mean time on the foot of our treatys, I must own, in such a case, I should not think any injury done us. This and some advantage for the queen of Spain's family, consistent with the balance of Europe, might perhaps procure a general pacification, and reduce the emperor to reason.

son. Without something of this kind, I fear no peace can be of long duration, nor our commerce to Spain and the West Indies ever be free from losses and interruption.

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1727 to 1730.
1728.

I beg ten thousand pardons for presuming to offer my poor thoughts to your lordship, on so delicate an affair, but I shall endeavour to make amends by executing my instructions with all the submission, diligence, and exactness, that my infirm state of body and mind will permit me; having no other ambition in the world, but by acting the part of an honest man, to deserve the continuance of that protection from your lordship, which has made the honour and happiness of my life. I pray God to restore to your lordship perfect health, accompanied with all possible happiness to yourself and family, and am with the warmest devotion and respect, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Condoles with him on his brother's disappointment.—Assures him that the king always mentions him with terms of regard.

DEAR SIR,

Claremont, June 3—14, 1728.

I Had the favour of your very kind letter of the 8th of June, and if any thing cou'd add to my concern in your late disappointment, it wou'd be your goodness to me in allowing me to have a very great share in whatever happens to you or your family, that is disagreeable to you. I did not indeed trouble you about the promotion of the lords, imagining that might give you some concern, when you had but too much upon poor Charles's account. Under these circumstances, the only comfort I can give you, and that is but small, is, that the king, whenever he mentions you, which he does very often, does it with the greatest regard imaginable; and I verily believe, has an entire confidence in you. Your resolution of not letting any of these incidents affect you in the execution of the king's business, is so like yourself, that it cannot be too much commended.

But to leave this disagreeable subject, with assuring you of mine and my brother's firm resolutions to contribute the little in our power, constantly to promote whatever may be to your satisfaction, or for the interest of your family; I must acquaint you, that Mr. Walpole's account from Compiegne, of the cardinal's and monsieur Chauvelin's discourse with Bournonville about Gibraltar, and the cardinal's resentment at the unaccountable behaviour of the court

Period IV. court of Vienna, about the affair of Mecklenburgh, has given us the greatest
 1727 to 1730. satisfaction; and indeed, I begin to hope you will not have much difficulty
 at the congress, at least about Gibraltar, for it is not possible to be more * *
 * * than the cardinal has been upon it. I hope soon to have an account
 of your opening the congress, and as your letters are most wellcome to me, I
 should be extream glad to have your opinion of the success you are like to have.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

On Mr. Stanhope's discontent.—Justifies sir Robert Walpole.—King's personal dislike to Charles Stanhope, and though warmly pressed by sir Robert Walpole, refuses to grant a peerage.—Promises his support.—Approves the proposal to restore Gibraltar, but declares his opinion, that the nation will never consent to it.

SIR,

Whitehall, June 3—14, 1728.

Townshend
Papers.Private.Draught.

I Received your letter, and am extremely obliged to you for the friendly part you act towards me, in acquainting me with the uneasiness which Mr. Stanhope seems to be under at present. For as I have a real value and respect for that gentleman, you may imagine that I must be very solicitous to clear up any matter, that can possibly give him the least room to doubt of the sincerity of my friendship for him.

As to his brother's not being in the admiralty, I can with great truth assure you, that that disappointment did not at all proceed from any personal dislike conceiv'd against him by sir Robert Walpole, who recommended him in the strongest manner to the king, and espoused his interest with so much warmth, as even to hazard the loss of his credit with his majesty for ever. But after the most earnest and repeated solicitations in behalf of Mr. Stanhope, the king absolutely refused to prefer him to the admiralty, with some expressions of resentment against sir Robert Walpole, for having recommended him.

As to the other point of the peerage, I dare say, that when Mr. Stanhope knows the true state of the case, he will not think he has any reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of his friends in that particular. A few days before the prorogation of the parliament, my brother Walpole waited upon the king, and told him, that this would be a proper time to fulfill his gracious intentions towards those whom he had promised to promote to the honour of peerage. His majesty seem'd much displeased at this proposal, and said he was determined

mined not to make any promotion of that kind. This answer, tho' it was deliver'd with a good deal of warmth, did not hinder my brother Walpole from renewing his instances upon this subject, but to no purpose. The next morning his majesty told my brother Walpole with some vehemence, that if he must make some new lords, he was resolv'd to make only four, and mention'd those whose names you have seen in the printed papers. My brother endeavour'd to persuade him to add some who had equal pretensions with those he had named, and represented to him, that this creation would be much smaller than had been usual at the beginning of a reign, but his majesty absolutely refused to make any more. I must acquaint you in confidence, that sir Thomas Saunderfon, who, as heir to my lord Castleton, had a very just claim to have been distinguish'd upon this occasion, could not obtain that favour, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations of my lord Scarborough, who, upon his application to her majesty, to use her good offices in favour of his brother, was answer'd, that she durst say no more to the king upon this head.

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1727 to 1730.
1728.

This being the true state of that affair, I hope Mr. Stanhope will not think that his pretensions have suffered by any coolness or indifference on our part; and as it is very probable that upon the breaking up of the congress, his majesty may be dispos'd to shew a due regard to the merit of one who must have so considerable a share in the affairs that are to be transacted there, he may depend upon my utmost endeavours to obtain that distinction, which he is so justly entitled to. I beg you will assure him from me, that as I have ever since my first acquaintance with him, profess'd a real value and esteem for him, I shall always behave myself in every thing where his interest is concerned, in such a manner, as to give him no room to repent the confidence he is pleas'd to express in the sincerity of my good wishes towards him.

What you propose in relation to Gibraltar, is certainly very reasonable, and is exactly conformable to the opinion, which you know I have always entertain'd concerning that place. But you cannot but be sensible of the violent and almost superstitious zeal, which has of late prevail'd among all partys in this kingdom, against any scheme for the restitution of Gibraltar upon any conditions whatsoever. And I am afraid, that the bare mention of a proposal, which carry'd the most distant appearance of laying England under an obligation of ever parting with that place, would be sufficient to put the whole nation in a flame. In my opinion, all we can do to soften the king of Spain, and to appease the ill will which the Spanish nation has conceived against us,

will

Period IV. will be to consent to such proposals as may prevent the unlawfull trade, which
 1727 to 1730. is alledg'd by the Spaniards to be carry'd on by the South Sea company, without rendering ineffectual the privilege which is granted to that company by the assiento treaty, of sending one ship annually to the Spanish West Indies.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Sends to the king a letter from the duke of Wharton to Horace Walpole.—
 Desires instructions may be forwarded to Paris on that subject.*

MY LORD,

Hockrel, June 29—July 10, 1728.

Weston
Papers.

I Send your lordship a letter from the duke of Wharton to my brother at Paris, which the messenger brought hither to me this morning. I beg you will lay it before the king, and take his majesty's orders upon the subject, and transmitt them to my brother, which he is very desirous to receive without losse of time, that he may know in what manner to behave himself when the duke of Wharton is at Paris. I am sorry the duke of Wharton mentions me in particular, which putts me under some difficulty, but I cannot forbear saying, I see no reason for his majesty's altering the orders he has already given about the duke of Wharton, but think it necessary that my brother should be acquainted in form by a secretary of state, with the king's pleasure upon this subject, without loss of time.

If his majesty should ever be induced to think of pardoning the duke of Wharton, 'tis surely now advisable to carry on the prosecution, when there are legal and full evidences, which may be afterwards hard to come at, and mercy is no lesse in the king's power after conviction.

THE DUKE OF WHARTON TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Enclosed in the preceding letter.]

Acknowledges that the king's clemency was owing to the regard sir Robert Walpole had for his father.—Requests Horace Walpole to intercede for him.

SIR,

Lions, June 28, 1728.

Walpole
Papers.

YOUR excellency will be surpriz'd to receive a letter from me, but the clemency with which the government of England has treated me, which
 is

is in a great measure owing to your brother's regard to my father's memory, makes me hope that you will give me leave to express my gratitude for it.

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1727 to 1730.

1728.

Since his present majesty's accession to the throne, I have absolutely refus'd to be concerned with the pretender or any of his affairs, and during my stay in Italy have behav'd myself in a manner that doctor Peters, Mr. Godolphin, and Mr. Mills can declare to be consistent with my duty to the present king. I was forc'd to go to Italy, to get out of Spain, where if my true design had been known, I should have been treated a little severely.

I am coming to Paris, to put myself entirely under your excellency's protection, and hope that sir Robert Walpole's good nature will prompt him to save a family, which his generosity induced him to spare. If your excellency would permitt me to wait upon you for an hour, I am certain you would be convinc't of the sincerity of my repentance for my former madness, would become an advocate with his majesty to grant me his most gracious pardon, which, it is my comfort, I shall never be required to purchase by any step unworthy of a man of honour. I do not intend, in case of the king's allowing me to pass the evening of my days under the shadow of his royal protection, to see England for some years, but shall remain in France or Germany, as my friends shall advise, and enjoy country sports till all former stories are buried in oblivion. I beg of your excellency to let me receive your orders at Paris, which I will send to your hostel to receive. The dutchess of Wharton, who is with me, desires leave to wait on Mrs. Walpole, if you think proper. I am, &c.

THE DUKE OF WHARTON TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Requests his intercession to obtain his pardon.

SIR,

July 6, 1728.

THE friendship which your excellency has allways had for my family, makes me hope that you will not decline to become an advocate in my favour with the king, that his majesty may be graciously pleas'd to allow me the honour imploring his royal pardon for my past conduct, and that in order to it, his majesty will permit me to make him an humble tender of my duty in a letter, in which I may have an opportunity of expressing the real sentiments of my heart, and my unalterable resolution to pass the remainder of my days as it becomes a dutiful subject, who has allready received the strongest proofs of his

Walpole
Papers.

Period IV. majesty's great clemency, and who is consequently tied to his duty by gra-
 1727 to 1730. titude as well as inclination. I shall esteem this as the greatest mark of your
 excellency's good nature, for really your transmitting of my humble request
 to the king, will be an act of generosity that shall be always acknowledged.

P. S. If your excellency favours me with an answer of this letter, directed
 to me at Roen, it will assuredly reach me as it will charm me.

HORACE WALPOLE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Visit of the duke of Wharton.

MY LORD,

Paris, July 6, 1728.

Walpole
 Papers.

Copy.

YESTERDAY about noon, while I was engaged with some company in
 my own house, my page brought me word, that there was a servant at the
 door, who desired to know, when a gentleman, who was lately arrived from
 Lyons, and had something in particular to say to me, might see me. I ap-
 pointed him to come this morning at eight o'clock, at which time the duke of
 Wharton made me a visit, and introduced himself by telling me, that he could
 not sufficiently express his gratitude for the great goodness and clemency of
 the government of England, in not proceeding against him with that severity,
 which his behaviour had deserved; which he was persuaded proceeded from a
 regard to his father's memory. That he could sincerely assure me, that he had
 not been any ways concerned in the interest or service of the pretender, nor
 with any person that belonged to him, for some months before the death of his
 late majesty, or ever since his present majesty's succession to the crown. That
 he had indeed lately passed through Parma, where the pretender and several
 of his adherents were with him, but that he had industriously avoided to speak
 with any of them, keeping constantly company with those English that are
 known to be well affected to his majesty's government. That he was now de-
 termined to fling himself at the king's feet, to implore his mercy, pardon, and
 protection; having taken a fixed resolution to behave himself as a faithful
 subject to his majesty for the remainder of his life, and should retire to such
 place, and continue there for such time as his majesty should think fit, without
 being at all concerned in any affairs, with much more to the same effect;
 which he expressed with that eloquence, which is so natural to him; accom-
 panying this declaration with the most solemn protestations of a constant fide-
 lity to his majesty's person and government, and desiring that I would lay be-
 fore

fore the king what he had said, and support it with my interest and credit for obtaining his majesty's grace and forgiveness; intimating to me, that he was ready to make his submission to his majesty, in a letter that he would write himself to the king for that purpose.

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1728.

I told the duke of Wharton, that I could make him no other answer to this solemn declaration, considering the notoriety of his actions, than that if he expected I should as a minister say any thing to the king about him, I must desire he would give it me in writing, and I would not fail, on account of his great quality, and of his being still a peer of Great Britain, to transmit it to your grace, for his majesty's commands upon it. But I could not help asking him, what security he could give for a more settled and regular behaviour, considering the constant variety of contradictions in his life, both in religion and politicks, for so many years. To which indeed he had little to say, besides the assurances of becoming entirely a new man, and of proving it by his future behaviour; that he was ready to let me know any thing with regard to the pretender, as far as was consistent with his honour, in not betraying or doing the least harm to any person that had been concerned with him; and spoke of the late bishop of Rochester on this occasion, with some regard, to whom he was resolved to return some original papers, that he might be convinced, that he would not have it even in his power to hurt him.

He then gave me by fits, and in a rambling way, that was entertaining enough, on account of several of his late motions and actions, while he was in the pretender's service, and particularly in Spain, with which it is unnecessary, and of no service to trouble your grace at present. And he concluded with telling me, that he would go to his lodgings, which were in a garret, where the dutchess of Wharton was likewise with him, and would write me a letter; and immediately without making the least stay or appearance here, retire to Rouen in Normandy, and there expect my answer, after I shall have given an account of him to England. But before he left me, he asked me my opinion as a friend, whether he should immediately resign the king of Spain's commission as an officer in his army; I civilly declined to give him my advice one way or other in it. Upon my return this evening from Versailles, I found a letter from his grace, of which the inclosed* is a copy.

* The preceding letter.

The duke of Wharton told me in confirmation of what Mr. Allen wrote lately about the pretender at Parma, that the duke of Parma, upon the pretender's arrival there, sent him his own guards to attend him, visited him

Period IV. both at the place where he was lodged, as well as in the boxes at the opera, gave him the rank, and publickly treated him in every respect as king of Great Britain; and particularly, that when the duke of Wharton took his leave of the duke of Parma at the opera, having first let him know, that he could not come into the box where his highness was, on the account of a certain person being there, meaning the pretender, the duke of Parma came out of the box to him, and took an occasion to say, that he did not fear the English; for their fleet could not come to him at Parma.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Approves his conduct towards the duke of Wharton, and declares the king's resolution not to receive any application.

SIR,

Whitehall, July 1—12, 1728.

Walpole.
Papers.

HAVING laid before the king your excellency's letter, giving an account of a visit you had received from the duke of Wharton, and inclosing a copy of a letter he wrote to you afterwards upon the same occasion, I am commanded to let you know, that his majesty approves what you said to the duke, and your behaviour towards him; but that the duke of Wharton has conducted himself in so extraordinary a manner, since he left England, and has so openly declared his disaffection to the king and his government, by joining with and serving under his majesty's professed enemys, that his majesty does not think fit to receive any application from him.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Duke of Wharton renews his connection with the jacobites.

MY LORD,

Paris, August 14, 1728.

Walpole
Papers.

Copy.

HAVING already acquainted your grace, that the jacobites had a design of printing a manifesto here in favour of the pretender, by way of address to the several powers assembled at the congress; I have been since told by the Garde des Sceaux, that he had seized the whole impression, and put an effectual stop to it. And Mr. Robinson having been again at the prison of the Chatelet, to see M. Adershelm, has obtained of him a copy of the said manifesto, with the deductions design'd to be annexed to it, which I have the honour to send your grace inclosed. In the mean while, I am informed, that
the

the duke of Wharton, having upon what has passed with relation to him in England, renewed his commerce with the jacobites, and publickly professed his attachment to the pretender and the catholick religion, is now at Diepe, in company with Mift, the printer; and it is not impossible, but they may be forming some design to print this piece, either there or at Rouën, in which last place at least there are presses.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

1729.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Imperial ministers cabal with opposition, and draw their accounts principally from them.

MY DEAR LORD,

London, February 11, 1728—9.

THE constant multiplicity of business here in parliament, has been the reason why I have not sooner acknowledged your kind letters since my arrivall; but now the most material points are over, with as great a superiority on the side of the court, and indeed with as much zeal and stedyness as I ever saw in a majority. I hope this will find you and your court fully convinced, that this parliament will heartily support his majesty, to bring matters to a decision by peace or war, as they have already done to bring them to the present crisis. As you will receive every thing that is necessary from lord Townshend, for your intelligence and direction at this juncture, I shall not trouble you on that head, but only observe, that I am sorry to see that I find I do not know by what fatality, that all the imperiall ministers that come to this court, of what condition and quality so ever they are, will think the best way of doing their business, and of being informed, is to seek the acquaintance of those whose views naturally lead them to keep up the misunderstanding between his majesty and the emperour, and for that purpose are very industrious to give the imperiall ministers here, a false representation of things. Count Starembergh fell somewhat into this mistake at the latter end of his ministry; tho' in the main he did well, and was respected. But every minister since him, from Vienna, has taken care to be entangled in a wilderness of errors, and to fancy by getting false lights, they are able to learn more than others, who know the true state of things here.

Waldegrave
Papers.

Period IV.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

1727 to 1730.

Complains of the uncertain situation of affairs, and states the necessity that France should explicitly declare her intentions, without which the parliament cannot be managed.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, February 21, 1728—9.

Poyntz
Papers.*Private.*

YOUR dispatches by Molloy, have given me more uneasiness, than ever I felt in my life; and as I have, as you know, more confidence in you, than in any man living, I cannot help giving, in the utmost secrecy, you the trouble, and myself the comfort, of opening my mind to you upon the present situation of affairs. I agree perfectly with the cardinal in what he says in his letter to Mr. Walpole, that the assurances given by Sinzendorf on the one hand, and by Bournonville on the other, and the provisional treatys not having been as yet rejected by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, are considerations sufficient to justify our not having come to a rupture as yet. I likewise agree still farther, that no step towards a war, ought openly to be made by us, till after the arrival of the galleons, and till we see whether the effects will be deliver'd out pursuant to the preliminaries. In acquiescing so far, I have no difficulty. But what grieves me is, to see the cardinal so averse to the explaining himself, in confidence to the king, upon the measures to be taken by the allies of Hanover, in case the emperor and queen of Spain, should either refuse to deliver out the effects, pursuant to the preliminaries, or should not give a satisfactory answer as to the concluding the provisional treaty.

The allies of Hanover, have in their hands, strength sufficient to bring their enemies to reason: they have given each other sufficient proofs of their fidelity to their engagements. They therefore ought so far to consult their own honor and interest, as not to suffer themselves to be intangled, and put under difficulties, and even insulted in the eye of all Europe, by trifling and unreasonable delays in carrying on the negotiation; but to be prepared to act in concert, as well in what relates to the method of carrying on the treaty, as to military operations, in case those should become necessary. The cardinal has had sufficient experience of our secrecy; and therefore must know that he might securely open himself to the king, without running any risk of having his thoughts come to the knowledge, either of the court of Vienna, or of that of Madrid; and therefore, that no ill consequence could possibly attend his
doing

doing it. If the cardinal knew our situation here, he would be convinced of the necessity there is of his acting this friendly part towards the king, and that the true interest of France, requires he should do it. He is mistaken, if he thinks, that the parliament is influenced by money, to be thus unanimous in the supporting his majesty in all he has done. This zeal proceeds from the chief men in both houses being convinced, that the measures his majesty has hitherto taken are right; but these persons, tho' they have heartily concurred in what has been done hitherto, are under the greatest anxiety, at the uncertain state of our affairs; and will not be kept much longer in suspense.

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1727 to 1730.

1729.

We shall raise three millions five hundred thousand pounds this year, which is above one million five hundred thousand pounds more than our ordinary expences in time of peace; and if we are not enabled to give assurances, at least privately to the members of weight and interest in both houses, before they are prorogued, that matters are agreed and concerted between his majesty and France, in such a manner that they may depend either upon seeing an honourable end soon put to our present disturbances by negotiation, or that the allies of Hanover have taken measures to do themselves justice by force of arms, the king's credit and influence in this parliament will be entirely lost, which is an extremity the king must never suffer himself to be drove to. The confusions and misfortunes that attended the reigns of king Charles the first, and the second, and king James, in differing with their parliaments, are too recent, and too notorious to be forgot. If therefore his eminency is not to be prevailed upon to open himself confidently to his majesty, and to lay down such methods, as appear proper for bringing the allies of Hanover out of this state of uncertainty (which is the only circumstance that makes the parliament uneasy under the present burthens) the king must determine in that case, by lessening his expences abroad, to ease the nation of the greatest part of the additional taxes they now bear. Should we be obliged to go into this measure, by France's not opening her sentiments freely to us, our allies cannot with reason complain. His eminency must remember, that we have fairly and honestly represented the difficultys we shall labour under, which may all be removed in case France will explain herself with confidence as to the methods by which she thinks we are to conduct ourselves towards putting a speedy end to the present disorders and disturbances in which Europe is involved. Our request must be own'd to be reasonable, and what ought not be denied to
allies,

Period IV. allys, especially to such as have behaved as we have done. And so far we
 1727 to 1730. shall be excusable before God and man, be the event what it will.

I trouble you with this long epistle, with no other view than to open my mind to you freely, and without reserve. You know the reproaches I have with patience born, upon the account of the share I had in forming this alliance. It is therefore very natural I should be very much concern'd for its success. I write in the greatest confidence to you, and to you alone; and can depend upon your friendship to excuse any weakness that may be found, as to the manner in which I have expressed myself; as to the present temper and disposition of this country, I am sure I have given a true and faithful account of it. I am, with the greatest sincerity and affection, dear sir, yours, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Encloses a letter to shew the cardinal, or not, according to his discretion, with a view to discover his intentions, and to be delivered from the uncertain state of things.

DEAR POYNTZ,

Whitehall, February 21, 1728—9.

Poyntz
Papers.

YOU have the inclosed from me, to be made use of as you shall think most for the king's service. You may communicate it to the cardinal as from yourself, in confidence, or let it alone, just as you shall judge it may be best for the purpose to which it is intended. You see my chief aim is to bring the cardinal to a clear explanation, whether in case Spain should refuse to sign the provisional treaty, he will take vigorous measures to bring matters to a speedy decision; or if he is determin'd still to continue negotiating, you will endeavour to draw from him, what method he will take to carry on, and the terms upon which he intends to finish these pacifick negotiations: since it is evident to us all here, that this nation will not long bear the present uncertain state of things. This letter, therefore, is solely calculated to let the cardinal see the necessity we shall be under to reduce our expences, if he does not, by opening himself clearly to us, deliver us from our present state of uncertainty. You can best judge what effect this way of reasoning may have upon him; we have tried all others, but to little purpose. You have the king's leave, therefore, to shew it him, as from yourself, in great confidence; or to burn it, as you shall think most for his majesty's service.

Give

Give me leave to suggest to you, whether you might not try the cardinal by talking calmly to him at first, as from yourself only, the substance of this enclosed letter, as your own notion and apprehensions as to the danger we in common run, in case France continued us any longer in the present state of uncertainty. If you find this way of arguing has a good effect, then to produce in confidence to him my letter, to corroborate what you shall have said. There is this further advantage in mentioning this first as from yourself, for you may then take notice to the cardinal, of what you said to him, and of what his eminency answered you, in your dispatch to the duke of Newcastle, which otherwise you must avoid doing. Your's most affectionately, &c.

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1727 to 1730.
1729.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Reasons for preferring an alliance with the emperor to one with Spain, if impossible with both.—Differs from lord Townshend.—Ineffectual attempts of the queen to reconcile their opinions.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, May 22—June 2, 1729.

I Have not troubled Horace or you with any privates of late, having been in some hurry upon the king's going, and having not had much of consequence to send you. You will see by the enclosed paper, which is what I wrote to lord Townshend, that Kinski has again renewed his negotiation here; and I can also tell you, that he went so far with the queen as to own he had power to sign the provisional treaty, notwithstanding he had talked quite in a different strain both to sir Robert Walpole and to me. What will become of this, nobody can tell; but sure if we can't make up with the emperor and Spain, it must be more advisable to make up singly with the emperor than with Spain, since we may probably do it at a cheaper rate, and the consequences of a breach with Spain, I think not for many reasons so bad as they would be with the emperor. Neither can I suppose France would go along with us. And now I am upon the subject of France, we are very impatient here, to know what the cardinal will do in case of a refusal from Spain. Sure he must and will do something; for I must own, I think, if this summer ends as the last did, nobody can tell what will be the consequence of it next winter. Peace is best of all, and the present uncertain situation almost the worst.

These, I believe, are the thoughts of most of the king's servants that are now here; tho' our friend* that is gone to Hanover, differs *toto calo*. The

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

* Lord
Townshend.

Period IV. queen and several common friends took much pains with him to reconcile us, ^{1727 to 1730.} but to no purpose. What I have said about Kinski, I only write for your information. You may communicate the enclosed paper to both your colleagues, but only to Horace the other parts of my letter, and I must desire they would not let any body know, I have sent any account of what has passed here with Kinski. Whenever Horace or you can spare time to write me a private, you will infinitely oblige, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Apprehensions of the designs of the French ministry.—Complains of lord Townshend for keeping a negotiation secret.—Highly commends the friendship of sir Robert Walpole.—To be communicated only to Horace Walpole.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, April 15, 1729.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

YOU may easily imagine, from the cardinal's answer to Mr. Walpole, which I received this morning, that we are very impatient to hear, what the things of importance are. We hope and conclude, that it is some proposal to bring things to an issue; and as it looks, both our accounts from Spain as well as from Vienna, that those two courts are not at present extremely satisfied with each other, possibly we may receive some good news, at least something that may get us out of the present state of suspense one way or other. Chauvelin's letters, that I sent you, were very bad; and if France be, as I hope it is not, in that way of thinking, I don't see where we shall have an end. You will, I fancy, be surprized at my lord Townshend's to me, it was originally wrote to Delafaye, but upon my insisting to send his letter for your instruction, he addressed the letter to me. I must own in confidence to you and Horace, that it was on a subject, that I had rather his lordship should write on than myself, especially since it related to a negotiation, that had been on foot ever since 18th March, and had been kept a secret in great measure from us all.

You see by this, things continue with us much as you left them, and that there is nothing I will conceal from you. I shall only make one remark, that your friend, my lord Townshend, has forgot you was in France. But now I am upon your own subject, I can't forbear expressing to you my concern, that things did not happen here as you wished. The only comfort I have, is, my firm persuasion, that you are not only convinced of mine, but of sir Robert's

bert's sincerity and zeal in the thing. For there is nothing that I can wish more heartily, than a most perfect good correspondence between you, sir Robert, and our friend Horace, to all whom I am a most sincere and faithful friend and servant. Forgive me for troubling you upon this subject, but I am sure you cannot take it amiss. As I promised, so you may depend on hearing constantly how things go here. My letters, I always reckon in common to you and Horace, but as poor Poyntz don't know upon how bad a foot things are here amongst us, and I am persuaded, would be heartily sorry for it, if he did, I must begg of you to take no notice of it to him, at least from me. My compliments to all friends.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1729.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Recommends Chambers, the author of the dictionary.

SIR,

Chelsea, June 9, 1729.

I Have heard a very great character of Mr. Ephraim Chambers, and of his dictionary of Arts and Sciences, in 2 vols. in folio, which has met with great applause in foreign countries as well as here. The ingenious author thereof, has desired me to recommend him to you, and to request that you would use your interest with your friends in the city, that he may succeed Mr. Tooke, as mathematicall professor of Gresham college. What service you please to do him, upon this request of mine, shall be regarded as a particular act of friendship.

British Mu-
seum.
Sloane MSS.
4065.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

The ministers of England desirous to make up with the emperor, with a view to get rid of the German disputes, and to declare war against Spain as more popular.—The insincere and evasive conduct of the court of Vienna, renders an accommodation impracticable.—Answer to Mr. Stanhope's demand of the vice chamberlain's place.—Will support his promotion to the peerage.

DEAR SIR,

Kenington, June 12—23, 1729.

I Received with great pleasure your private letters by monsieur Villette, and I must own, I thought your reasonings in it so strong, that for your own sake, as well as to justify the step you had taken in the orders sent to Keene, I shewed it the queen, upon whom it had the desired effect, and you will receive

Harrington
Papers.
Private.
Copy.

Period IV. 727 to 1730. receive by this messenger her majesty's entire approbation of your conduct. You will have heard we were here rather for making up with the emperor, if that could have been done, and that for these reasons, that we should then have gott rid of all the disagreeable *German* disputes, the Hessian troops, the subsidies, &c. and have reduced our army, and had nothing to do against Spain, but with our fleet, which is popular in England; and after all the provocation we have had from Spain, we should have been justified in any thing, either in the West Indies or elsewhere. But this was always in a supposition, that France, in order to avoid coming into a general war, would not have opposed making up with the emperor. But however the conduct of the court of Vienna, shews plainly they were only amusing us, or at best, doing every where else, what they were doing here, so you had no choice; and indeed, if there was the least apprehension that France and Spain might have joined against us, it is infinitely more adviseable to make up with Spain, and afterwards as you propose, be reconciled to the emperor. But as the only thing I dread, is the continuance of the negotiation, and that Spain, who has been able, by giving new hopes of concluding, to prevent the coming to a decision for six weeks, they may endeavour by their next answer to do the same thing. For it is an odd circumstance, that the answer which was promised by Patino, in four or five days, should have been so long delayed; and I can't help fearing, in order to wait the return of the courier from Vienna, mentioned by la Paz; and what effect that may have, nobody can tell. However, sure the cardinal (after all we have done) will agree to take some vigorous stroke, in case of a refusal, or unsatisfactory answer from Spain. I believe the king's servants here, will advise his majesty, that directions may be sent hither, that in case an unsatisfactory answer comes from Spain, sir Charles Wager may sail to the coast of Spain, without any further orders from Hanover. But of this, I begg you would not take any notice. We shall, I believe, also offer it as our opinion to the king, that you have done extreamly right in the orders you sent to Spain. We must make an end one way or other; if we neither make peace nor war this summer, I can't foresee what may happen next winter.

I hope you will not disapprove my having shewed your letter to the queen, which I thought was not an ill way of acquainting her with your request of sir Paul Methuen's staff, which indeed she received as I could wish, and desired me to tell you, that the king had determined, when he went away, not to dispose of it, and therefore she could say nothing particular about

it; but that I might assure you of her good disposition for your service. Sir Robert Walpole talked very kindly upon the subject, when I spoke to him of it, and when he told me, that Horace had wrote to him about it. The true state of the case is, his majesty had a mind to dispose of it, so as to save A ———, and that was the reason, that it was kept vacant. I am persuaded there is no scheme made yett about it, and I hope whenever one is, a regard will be had to your inclinations about it. I find the peerage is still your favourite point, I heartily wish you may obtain it, which I should hope when things abroad are finished, might be brought about. I am persuaded, I need not assure you of my good wishes for your service. Horace will acquaint you with sir Robert's good disposition towards you. I am sure you will forgive the freedom with which I write to you upon these subjects, and believe me, &c.

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1727 to 1730.
1729.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

Endorsed—"Not sent."—*Condemns the measures of his colleagues.*

MY LORD,

Hanover, June —, 1729.

AS I intend not to conceal any thing from your excellency, according to the intimate confidence that is between us, I herewith send you a copy of the duke of Newcastle's letter to me of 13th, O. S.; as also, a copy of the answer I have returned by his majesty's command. Your excellency will, by these papers, better understand what I write to you in my publick letter, and know how to manage your discourse with the pensionary and the greffier, with an eye to what the lords propose, as to his majesty's squadron acting alone in the West Indies. I beg your excellency will not take notice of this communication, either to the duke of Newcastle, the pensionary, or to any body else. You will think, I believe, the council in England goes on pretty fast.

Townshend
Papers.

Very private.

*To yourself
alone.*

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

Differs in opinion from his court.

MY LORD,

Hanover, July 1, 1729.

YOUR excellency will see by the very private dispatches I send you by this messenger, what the sentiments of the lords of the council are in this crisis of affairs. You will think, I believe, that they go on pretty fast, and are in more haste to form a concert of operations, than I fear, we shall find our friends

Townshend
Papers.

*To yourself
alone.*

Period IV. friends to be, either in France or Holland. I cannot help being of opinion,
 1727 to 1730. that we shall come to an accommodation with Spain, to which the steps the States took lately, will very much contribute. Being in these sentiments, I do not think this step, the lords here proposed, very necessary at this juncture. But since they have proposed it, I do not see that our friends in Holland run any risk in complying with what is desired. However, I am glad these orders fall into your excellency's and the pensionary's hands, who will take care at least, that they shall not do harm at this critical juncture.

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Agrees in opinion with lord Townshend.

MY LORD,

Hague, July 7, 1729.

Townshend
Papers.*Private.*

I Cannot sufficiently express the sense I have of the mark you have given me of your confidence in me, by your separate letter of the 18th instant. I can assure your lordship, you shall never repent of any trust you repose in me, but shall always find me inviolably attached to your service.

I must confess, I was surpris'd, and so was the pensionary and greffier, at this hasty resolution, at a time when we had all the reason in the world to expect a satisfactory answer from Spain; and the more so, since no such resolution had been taken at a time when we had no such hopes. I believe, should there be occasion for such measures, the republic will come into them at last, though with their usual restrictions and cautious provisions. I will not give my imagination leave to suggest to me any reasons for the taking of this resolution at this time in England; but I conclude with assuring your lordship of the perfect veneration and respect, with which I have the honour to be, &c.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON (DR. GIBSON) TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Disuades him from resigning.

MY LORD,

Fulham, July 8, 1729.

Weston
Papers.

I Received the honour of your lordship's letter, and attempted to make a visit to my lord privy seal, but did not find him at home. This I did in obedience to your lordship, but contrary to my own judgment and inclination; which is, to see your lordship continue in a publick station, that may be attended with less trouble and fatigue, than the present. I think public affairs,

fairs, and particularly in the church, will feel the want of your service and assistance to a great degree; and I think, that your lordship, who has always been accustomed to business, will feel the want of it, and not enjoy that entire ease and satisfaction, you imagine in a private life. Any uneasinesses we are under for the present, make us think too favourably of any other situation that may deliver us from them; but things are not the same in speculation, and in practice. Pardon, my good lord, the freedom I take, which proceeds from a heart sincerely concerned for your honour and happiness.

I have waited upon the queen twice since the king went away, and was kindly received. The primate of Ireland wrote to me, that the bishoprick of Dublin ought to be filled some time before the meeting of that parliament; with which I acquainted her majesty, and she directed me to write to your lordship about it. Sir Robert Walpole had a letter from the primate to the same purpose, which you either have received, or will receive speedily, in order to settle that affair with his majesty. The archbishop of York is much better. I gave Dr. Tyrwhitt * institution to the rectory of St. James's yesterday, and have left the Jermyn family to seek their redress at law, if they think it worth their while to contest the right of patronage; but I think I shall hear no more of them. It was very happy for the publick, that they had it not in their power to plant an eager tory in so large a parish, and so near the king's palace. Dr. Tyrwhitt is a man that I can answer for in all respects. A friend of mine, one Mr. Spilman, desired that when I wrote to your lordship, I would put you in mind of an affair of his, relating to some money, with which he furnished the late king's minister at Petersburg, and which, as I understood him, is to be charged upon the Hanover establishment. I know not the particulars; but as he desired no more of me than barely to put your lordship in mind of it, I could not deny his request.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
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* Afterwards
bishop of
London.

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Good policy of disuniting Spain and the emperor, and making a separate accommodation with Spain.—The emperor requires to be humbled, and will afterwards propose a reconciliation with his old allies.

MESSIEURS,

Hague, July 24, 1729.

SINCE your excellencies desired me in your letter of the 7th instant, to acquaint you with the sentiments of the pensionary and greffier, upon the present situation of affairs, especially with relation to Spain and the emperor,

Walpole
Papers.

Period IV. emperor, I will now give you as good an account of them as I am able, be-
 1727 to 1730. ginning with the first overture, that was made by the marquis de la Paz to the cardinal some time ago. Your excellencies may remember very well the cold reception the cardinal gave to that proposal, and the dry and unsatisfactory answer, that he made to it of himself, without consulting the allies. At this the pensionary and greffier were a good deal concerned, and wished the cardinal's answer had been a little more obliging, for though they then thought it possible, that there might be a secret concert between Spain and the emperor, yet as it was possible too there might not, they feared that answer might have disgusted the queen of Spain, and have discouraged her from making any farther application to the allies. They were, therefore, extremely pleased, when the second answer was sent in more favourable and obliging terms. For as they always looked upon the disuniting of Spain and the emperor to be a necessary step, not only for the present accommodation of affairs, but even for the future tranquility of Europe, they thought that all methods should be tried to procure such a disunion; and I may tell your excellencies in confidence, that they had their suspicions of the management the cardinal shewed for the emperor, and of his private correspondence with count Sinzendorff.

The pensionary, at that time, told me, that he could not comprehend that extraordinary *delicately* of France upon account of the emperor, nor why the cardinal should then decline consenting to Spanish garrisons in Italy, at the request of the queen of Spain, when he had voluntarily offered them in October last; and that though it was true, they were contrary to the strict letter of the quadruple alliance, they were certainly conformable to the sense of it, and that he did not see how even the emperor himself could refuse them, without owning in a manner at the same time, that he did not mean to observe that part of the quadruple alliance. For that if he intended that don Carlos should really have the places stipulated for him in Italy, he could not reasonably object to those measures, which the parties interested, should think most effectual for the securing of them. By all this, your excellencies see, that the pensionary and greffier were from the beginning for using all methods to detach the queen of Spain from the emperor, and they were no sooner informed of England and France's consenting to the introduction of Spanish garrisons, than they brought the republic to take that resolution, which I informed you of before, of concurring with their allies, in whatever measures should be taken, for the satisfaction of the queen of Spain.

As to the emperor, they are firmly persuaded, and indeed I think, every body must, that he seeks nothing but chicanes and delays, and that if he endeavours to step into the present negotiation, as probably he will, it is only with a design to clogg and retard it, and rather to prevent an accommodation between Spain and the allies, than to render it universal, by coming into it himself upon reasonable terms. Of this truth, they think his conduct ever since the provisional treaty, furnishes sufficient proofs. But if disappointed in this view, the allies should adjust matters separately with Spain, they think he must come very cheap afterwards, and even be obliged to accept of such terms, as then, those four considerable powers united together, will think proper to give him.

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1727 to 1730.
1729.

The pensionary was very much displeased with Mr. Vandermeer's suggesting to the Spanish ministers any further views in Italy, than what are stipulated by the quadruple alliance, and will write to him upon that subject, tho' he fears, that what mischief such a proposal could have done, is already done. He by no means approves of such projects, and the greffier said, that he apprehended, that the unreasonable conduct of the emperor might oblige the allies to use him worse than it was their interest to do, which he thought ought to be avoided, if possible.

These are, as well as I can recollect them, the sentiments of the pensionary and greffier upon the present state of affairs. What is to be expected from hence in case Spain should not accept of the proposals of the allies, your excellencies will see, by the inclosed copy I send you of my letter to lord Townshend of the 7th instant.

As for my opinion, I can assure your excellencies, it has very little weight with me, and I believe, less with every body else; but I am very free to declare, that I think a previous and separate accommodation with Spain, is infinitely preferable to a general one with Spain and the emperor together. It has always been a maxim, that to treat to advantage with allies, one should endeavour to disunite them, and treat separately with each, and surely it is a very lucky circumstance, and not to be neglected, if the queen of Spain, enraged at the disappointment she has met with from the emperor, is willing to throw herself into the arms of the allies. Her private views are very different from the true interests of Spain, and it is very probable, that she will make no difficulty of sacrificing the latter to the former, so that we may by gratifying her in that one point (which by the way, I think ought to be pretty

Period IV. equal to the allies) obtain conditions from Spain, more advantageous than we
 1727 to 1730. could at any other time hope for.

It is the Austrian pride and power, that in my opinion requires humiliation, and which it is likely may be effected by these means. For what can the emperor do, when left without an ally in the world, and consequently without a shilling of money. He can no longer rely upon the inaction of France; when Spain, who was the chief cause of that inaction, is become their friend, he will have every thing to fear, and nothing to hope for, but from his old allies, whose friendship he must then endeavour to regain, by a different behaviour and conduct, from what he has lately had.

I ask pardon for troubling your excellencies with my sentiments, which from want of experience, as well as abilities, may probably be very wrong and unseasonable ones, but I the easier venture to communicate them, where I am sure they cannot mislead, and where, tho' they may not find approbation, I am persuaded they will meet with indulgence.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

On the Spanish treaty, its progress and difficulties.—Sir Robert Walpole proposes that Mr. Stanhope should go to Madrid.

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, July 17—28, 1729.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

YOU will easily imagine we have of late been very impatient for the arrival of the answer from Spain, which I received last Tuesday, by Lyng, the messenger. Tho' I cannot say it is as good as we had once reason to hope for; yet I must own, it is better than for some time I thought it would be, and such as gives us hopes of coming to a good conclusion. The queen and Patino seem in earnest to do well, tho' la Paz and Conigsegg will hamper all they can. I shall be impatient to hear the result of the conferences which Brancas and Keene were to have with the Spanish ministers, from whence we shall be able to guess what Spain is at present disposed to do, with relation to the delivery of the effects of the galleons, and the satisfaction to be given us for our grievances. A negotiation is now, and perhaps always was unavoidable: the only thing is to make it as short as possible, and to gett our own points settled previously, if possible, or at least at the same time that we enter into these engagements in favour of don Carlos. If Patino be sincere, and has (as there seems to be no reason to doubt) the secret of the court, this they have already consented

consented to. But then the difficulty will be how, and in what manner that is to be executed, whether by signing the old provisional treaty, with an article about the Spanish garrisons, or by making a new provisional, or definitive treaty. Sure it would be well, if something explicit could be gott about Gibraltar and Port Mahon, in order to please here, tho' it may by no means be adviseable to push this point, so as to hinder the conclusion, if it should meet with difficulties.

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1727 to 1730.
1729.

In these circumstances, fir Robert has begged Horace to sound you, whether you would dislike to take a journey to Madrid, to give the finishing stroke to this great work, which must be soon determined one way or other, and therefore your stay cannot be long. I am perswaded this thought proceeds only from fir Robert's conviction, that no man can do this thing so well as yourself, from your judgement and experience in these sort of matters, as well as from your particular knowledge of and credit att the court of Spain; and he also thinks, that an opportunity of concluding a work of so much importance to this country, will be farr from being a disadvantage to you. Whatever your own thoughts may be on this head, I begg you would be perswaded, that fir Robert means what he proposes kindly to you, and would have wrote to you himself, but was afraid of laying you under difficulties, if it should come to you proposed in form, so chose rather to have it hinted to you by Horace. For my own part, I shall say little upon the subject, least it should be a disagreeable one to you; but as I am firmly convinced, it would be of the greatest service imaginable to the king, so I really think it would be putting a fine end to your foreign embassys. But of this you are the best judge. Forgive what I have said upon it, which I hope you will believe is, as every thing must be that relates to you, meant by me with the utmost regard and affection for you. Pray make my compliments to Horace, for not troubling him by this messenger; tell him we are in great hopes all will do well. Our great security is, the emperor don't seem in a disposition on any foot to submit to Spanish garrisons.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

Horace Walpole differs from lord Townshend about the impracticability of obtaining from parliament additional subsidies.—Good policy of sending Mr. Stanhope to Spain.—His high character with the king of Spain.

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Paris, August 4, 1729.

1727 to 1730.

Sydney
Papers.*Private.*

MY lord will have a private letter from Mr. Walpole, by this messenger, on a very disagreeable incident. You will find that the cardinal communicated to us a letter from Schleinitz, which he had been desired to keep secret. I am entirely convinced, that he either had not read the decyphering, or had forgot that clause; and as he had no ill design in communicating it, so it was impossible for him to judge from our behaviour, that the contents of it made any ill impression upon us.

I could have wished that Mr. Walpole would have writ to my lord on this subject, before he had writ to England; but as he appears firmly convinc'd, that the asking this additional expence in parliament, after the 115,000*l.* will break the back of the administration, and that there was therefore a necessity of acquainting his brother with it; his communicating to my lord, what he has wrote, was acting an honest and open part. In the other points, of closing with Spain, preferably to the emperor, and of not rendering the negotiation desperate, by sending out our squadron precipitately, whatever diversity of sentiments there may have been in England, those of Mr. Walpole have been entirely conformable to my lord's; and I believe he has asserted them as strenuously in private letters as well as in our dispatches; so that I verily believe his differing upon this point, arises solely from the inconveniences he apprehends in parliament. For my own part, I can't but hope, that if our affairs with Spain should take such a turn, as to enable us to lay up the fleet, to disband the Hessians, and to reduce part of our land forces, sir Robert Walpole might find it practicable, from these savings, to induce the parliament to take some share of the expence for the electoral treaty, but in all events it will be of use on both sides to know what is to be depended upon.

Mr. Walpole and I are most unanimous in thinking, that Mr. Stanhope's going to Spain, may be of the greatest service, considering the declaration made by Keene and Brancas, that they would sign nothing there without positive orders, and Paz's desisting thereupon from the demand of their having full powers sent them, it is most probable that the project now forming (which we expect hourly with the greatest impatience) will be remitted hither to be signed; without which circumstance, the two Spanish plenipotentiaries here (who want above all things to be employed) will be outrageous. But supposing this first step over; yet considering the emperor's ill humour, the motion of his troops in Italy, and the indirect menaces made to us by Kinkie
here,

here, sure it will be necessary for us to strike up a closer league and union with Spain, than a bare renewal of friendship and former treatys.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

The quotas of succour from Spain to us, and from us to Spain, should be regulated; and I believe the queen of Spain would be willing to purchase our hearty support by all the condescendances that can reasonably be ask'd. This might secure to us the express confirmation of Gibraltar, the full enjoyment of our privileges of trade, the formal annulment of the Vienna treatys, particularly of the guaranty given to the emperor for his succession, and of the advantages promis'd him in point of commerce. A strong defensive alliance of this kind, would stop the mouths of all our adversaries, and terminate our negotiations with the greatest credit. If there be any man living, who can bring this about, it is Mr. Stanhope. The king of Spain loves him personally, and says he is the only minister who never told him a falsehood. Besides which, he has a most universal and deserved credit with the whole Spanish court and nation, as well as with our own. I once thought him so averse to returning thither, that nothing could have conquered that aversion; and sure it is a very happy circumstance, if he can be prevailed on to undertake so warm and expos'd a piece of service, for the trifle of a peerage already earn'd, and in some manner promised him. His having never taken leave at that court, would cover our making such great advances, as the sending a person of his distinction thither, and could hardly fail of bringing them to send an ambassador to our court.

1729.

The fruits and merchandizes of the galleons, at least such as are perishable, are actually delivering. We have just now your dispatch from Manden, which puts me in some pain, tho' I think they must judge in England for going on, 'till we hear something further from Spain. I hear you have resigned. This occasions much speculation every where; some think my lord is going to do the same; others that you are going to be married. I guess it is to make room for Trevor, but should be glad to hear from you.

BISHOP OF LONDON (GIBSON) TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Again dissuades his resignation.

(August 8, 1729.) BY the account I had from sir Robert Walpole this morning, I hope I may congratulate your lordship upon a peace with Spain, which

Weston
Papers.

Period IV. which I know will be a great ease to your mind in many respects. But there
 1727 to 1730. is one resolution consequent to this, which I hope you will not finally come
 to; till you have thoroughly satisfied yourself that a retired life, when it comes
 to the trial, will do: as far as I am able to judge from the general frame and
 disposition of human nature, it will not; and therefore the thing desirable,
 seems to be, an honourable station attended with less labour and trouble.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Advises him to write a letter to the king, professing his readiness to go to Spain.

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, August 8—19, 1729.

Harrington
Papers.

Very private.

THO' I have heard nothing from you, since I last gave you the trouble
 of a private letter upon the thought of your going to Spain, yett I am
 perswaded in my own conscience, that your own service is so essentially con-
 cerned in it, that I cannot forbear as a most faithful friend, sending you my
 own thoughts upon it, which I begg you will not communicate to either of
 your colleagues, and which are not wrote to you in concert with any body
 here, but purely proceed from that friendship which I have ever had for you. It
 is my opinion, that after all that has past, it would be advisable for you to write
 hither and to Hanover, that if the king and queen think it for their service,
 that you should now go to Spain, for the finishing the negotiation, you are
 very willing to undertake the journey, however disagreeable it may be to you
 on many accounts. And that no consideration can have so much weight with
 you, as their majesties' service, whenever they think you can be of any to them.
 Forgive me, dear Stanhope, the liberty I take; you will do what you think
 proper, but I could never have forgiven myself, if I had not given you my
 thoughts. Your own interest is what I have solely in view, in writing thus freely
 to you; however you may like my way of reasoning, I am sure you can't be
 displeased with the motive from whence it arises. I must insist from your
 friendship, that you burn this letter, and mention nothing of it to any mortal
 alive.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1729.*On his intended mission to Spain, and the probability that it will procure him a peerage.*

DEAR SIR,

Kenington, August 22, 1729.

I Received this morning from lord Townshend, a copy of his letter to Mr. Walpole and Mr. Poyntz upon your subject, and am overjoyed to see there is so positive a promise in it, of what you desire. I conclude this will make you easy in that respect, for it is indeed almost the same as a warrant for a peerage. I shall add nothing to what I have already said to you upon this subject, but that your friends here, and particularly sir Robert, have taken true pains for your service. Would it be amiss to write a letter of thanks to be shewed to the queen, and such a one as you may think proper, on the occasion. I suppose you will be setting out immediately; I heartily wish you success, and am persuaded this step is the rightest in the world, both for the publick and yourself. Indeed your friends here have not been mistaken. I am, &c.

Harrington
Papers.*Copy.*

P. S. I received your letter by Mr. Blair, and am much obliged to you for the justice you do me, in thinking that all I have wrote, was sincerely meant for your own service.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO MESSRS. WALPOLE AND POYNTZ.

A peerage offered to Mr. Stanhope, if he will go to Spain.

GENTLEMEN,

Gohrde, August 12, 1729.

I Have laid your excellencys' private letter before the king, and am to acquaint you, that his majesty is of opinion, that considering the little eagerness which Spain has yet shewn for an accommodation, the sending an ambassador thither at this juncture, will be look'd upon, at least, a sufficient complaisance on the part of his majesty, but that the conferring a title upon the person who is to go to that court (which his majesty apprehends may be thought to be done, rather in regard to the king of Spain, than to the ambassador) is a mark of respect which his catholick majesty's behaviour towards the king, our master, has hitherto by no means justified. However, his majesty gives your excellencys leave to assure Mr. Stanhope in his name, that,

Harrington
Papers.*Very private.*

in

Period IV. in case he will undertake this commission, he will certainly make him a peer,
 1727 to 1730. as soon as the negotiation with Spain is over.

I hope this promise will induce Mr. Stanhope to accept of the embassy to Spain, without any difficulty; and in that case, your excellencies will take the first opportunity of acquainting the cardinal with his majesty's intentions of sending him thither, in order to obviate any jealousies, which his eminency might otherwise conceive of a separate negotiation. I have, without mentioning Mr. Stanhope's name, inform'd Mr. Chavigni, that his majesty finding that the person, whom he now employs as his minister in Spain, is not of weight and figure sufficient to finish the affairs which are depending at that court, has thoughts of sending another minister thither. As his majesty makes no doubt of Mr. Stanhope's readily undertaking this commission, upon the encouragement he is pleas'd to give him, he has order'd me to send your excellencies, the inclosed credential letter for him to the court of Spain, both in French and Latin, so that his excellency will be able to make use of that which he finds most proper upon his arrival at Port St. Marie.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Horace Walpole writes a strong letter in his favour.—Sir Robert Walpole shews it to the queen.—Her satisfaction at his conduct.—Great kindness of sir Robert Walpole to Mr. Stanhope.

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, August 25, 1729.

Harrington
Papers.

Copy.

Private.

I Received this morning by Bayly, your private letter, which gave me the greatest satisfaction imaginable. I am so well assured, that the step you are taking, is right for yourself, as well as your country, that it was a great pleasure to me to hear you was come to the resolution of going to Spain. I cannot think of this matter, without acquainting you with the obligation you, and all your friends, upon your account, have to your brother Horace. He has wrote to sir Robert, the honestest and most affectionate letter, that ever came from man. He has not only done you as much justice as can be done another, and said all that you deserve, and the warmest of your friends can wish for you; but has upon this occasion, taken every thing upon himself, that might any ways have been construed to your disadvantage, and sir Robert has made the use of it, that the honest heart that wrote it, propos'd. For he has read it to the queen, in such a manner, that I never saw her majesty better pleased

pleased in my life; she said a thousand kind things of you, and expressed the greatest satisfaction in your journey, for which, indeed, she was upon the first mentioning of it, very intent, and she seemed quite satisfied with Horace's accounts; and if any thing that had passed, had gone amiss, I am persuaded it is now entirely removed, and that in the best manner imaginable, by him* that has been an eye witness of all that has past; and not only knows, but in the strongest manner, does justice to your merit. I really think, you should take some very particular notice to him of this. For such instances of friendship are not in the present age so frequent as one could wish.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1729.

* Sir Robert Walpole.

I hinted to you in my last, that it might not be amiss for you to write to the queen a letter of thanks. I really think now, it is necessary to do something of that kind, from the great satisfaction her majesty shews in the part you have taken, her readiness immediately to give orders for the equipage, and advance money, &c. You know so much better than I what to say, that I will not pretend to advise any thing more, than in general, a letter of thanks for her good opinion, and of assuring her of your attachment and zeal for the king's service and her's. I know it would do well, and as I think I have not yett advised you ill, I am persuaded you will have no difficulty in following this. I conclude, if you have not left Paris before this reaches you, you will in a very few days. I hope you will lett me hear very often from you, both in a private and publick capacity. I am persuaded you will bring things to a point assoon as possible, nothing is so bad as the present uncertainty. I think every thing must go well. I rejoice to hear the cardinal has stood so firmly to us, and if Brancas does but obey orders, and he will be afraid to do otherwise when you are there, Spain must agree to our terms. Gett the effects of the galleons delivered, and the cedula's given out, as asked for by us; and if I may add, the separate article agreed to, as last sent from Hanover. Dear Stanhope, you can't doubt my good wishes. All imaginable success attend you, and do me the justice to believe me, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Announces the queen's order for his appointment to go to Spain.—Thinks it will be highly advantageous for his credit, and will promote his accession to a peerage.

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Kensington, August 29—September 9, 1729.

1727 to 1730.

Harrington
Papers.

Copy.

Private.

I Hope and am perswaded you will not be displeased att the order the queen sends you to go to Spain, when you consider that nothing but her majesty's opinion of the necessity of it, for the king's service, could have occasioned it. Indeed it was so peremptorily given to me, that had I been disposed, I could not have refused obeying it. But I must own freely to you, for your own sake as well as for the publick, I continue to think it absolutely necessary that you should go. Sure it ought to be some satisfaction to you, to see every body thinks it cannot be done without you. By undertaking the journey, you are sure of the thing you have most att heart, and in all probability must add to the credit and reputation you have already gott. These being my sincere thoughts, you will not wonder that I have not opposed sending you the order. It is done with all the respect and regard imaginable to you, and if you go, and make haste, all will, and must be well. * * * *

* * * * If you should be to go afterwards, after the loss of two months, neither the publick nor yourself would have the same benefit from your journey, as if you was to undertake it immediately, without any further difficulty. I cannot conceive, why your brethren have changed their opinions, and as you had once consented to it, I hope you will not go back. As it is not proposed you shall stay one moment after the treaty is signed, you might go without equipage, &c. If I was you, I would put myself into my post chaise, go to Port St. Maries as fast as possible, and rather stay there for the project, if it is yett not finally settled with the Dutch, &c. than let the project stay for me. Sure the thought of your going by sea, was by no means necessary. I hope and believe you will excuse the freedom I take: I know I act for your service, and one time or other you will be convinced of it, as I am perswaded you already are of my being, &c.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Tediousness of the negotiation.—Laments the fatal consequences of his resignation.

MY LORD,

Hautefontaine, October 11, 1729.

Poyntz
Papers.

Draught.

I Am gott down to this place for the recovery of my health, but hope to be back again at Paris by the time we can hear any thing decisive from Spain. The tediousness of the negotiation, joined to the uneasinesses which I know your

your lordship suffers already, and which must be infinitely encreased, if our endeavours for a pacification should incur the censure of parliament, fill me with most melancholy apprehensions. I have but very imperfect notions of the situation of our domestick affairs, but from the light in which they appear to me, I can foresee nothing but the total ruine of the whig cause, and the most dangerous shock to that establishment, which it has been the labour of your lordship's life to build up and support. The thought of remaining engaged in this negotiation, at a time when your lordship may possibly have taken a resolution to retire from publick business, is insupportable to me, and yet I see no remedy till affairs are concluded one way or other. In all events, I desire your lordship to be assur'd, that I am with a duty and attachment, which can only end with my life. Yours, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1729.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Differs from lord Townshend about the treaty with the four electors.—Strong objections to it.—Necessity of not offending the emperor, but of giving him hopes that the pragmatic sanction may be guaranteed, if he will consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons.

DEAR SIR,

November 4, 1729.

AS I earnestly desire that what I shall now write to you, may be in the greatest confidence and secrecy between us, I am perswaded, that without any previous engagement on your part, you will take no notice of it to any body whatsoever. I find that the Garde des Sceaux, and the cardinall, by the influence of the other, are both extremely desirous to finish the treaty with the four electors, and will soon press it very zealously to a speedy conclusion. They have received not long since from Mr. Chavigny, a more compleat project; who has likewise sent, as I have learnt here, a duplicate of it to lord Townshend, and as M. de Broglie went from hence fully instructed in this affair, I don't doubt but upon his arrivall in England, it will, in consequence of his orders, be pushed with the utmost vigour; and I will not conceal from you, that I think my lord T——d more zealous for it, than in my opinion, is at present for his majesty's service, considering the nature of the treaty, and the situation of affairs in Europe.

As to the treaty itselfe, I shall not dwell upon the objections (which I have constantly made to it here, as not caring to speak my mind plainly upon it in

Poyntz
Papers.

*Private and
secret.*

*For yourself
alone.*

Period IV. other respects) relating to the sum demanded by the elector of Cologne, to indemnify him for the loss of his arrears, due to him from the emperor, nor upon the subsidies demanded by the elector of Bavaria, to be paid in time of peace; because there are objections that arise more from the nature of our government, and the disposition of parliament, than from the thing itself, if the treaty itself was in all other considerations to be desired.

1727 to 1730.

The article that affects me the most, is the 7th, of which I send you a copy inclosed, for fear of your not having it by you, with the marginal addition made by lord Townshend and count Plettenburgh; and likewise a copy of the 7th article of the project concerted last year at Fontainebleau, that you may compare them together; and you will see that even the 7th article, as it was projected by count Albert, differs very much from the 7th article concerted at Fontainebleau, and carries the obligation a great deal farther; and altho' it is in some measure agreeable to the 4th article of the treaty of Hanover, it is conceived in much stronger terms, for tying down the contracting parties from hearing any proposition of any nature whatsoever (tho' not contrary to the interests of any of the contracting parties) or from making any agreement whatsoever, without the *approbation of all the contracting parties*. However, had the circumstances of affairs continued to be the same as they were at the time of making the Hanover treaty, or should the ill success of Mr. Stanhope's journey bring them again to the same situation, the article as drawn by count Albert might, perhaps, have passed well enough upon the same motives as occasioned the 4th and 5th article of the Hanover treaty; but that seems not to be the case at present.

The treaty of Hanover took its rise from the sudden, strict, and surprising union between the emperor and Spain, by virtue of the treaty of Vienna, and that union was founded upon an engagement on the part of the emperor to the queen of Spain for the marriage of don Carlos with the eldest archduchess, which must have proved of the most fatal consequences to the liberties and ballance of Europe, if not prevented; and this made it absolutely necessary for the other considerable powers to unite together in time, and to make the measures to be taken for preserving the ballance of Europe, as well as the privileges and repose of the empire, part of their union, in order to disappoint the views of the emperor and Spain, and to engage, if possible, the princes of the empire in their interest, in case of a war. Therefore the 4th and 5th articles of the treaty of Hanover, were calculated as a temptation to the princes of the empire

empire to come into this treaty, especially those that had any pretensions to the emperor's succession, in case he should dye without issue male.

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But all our attempts, promises, and insinuations, joyned with the tendency of these articles, so much for their own interest, proved fruitless. The chief of those princes, particularly the four electors now in question, for the sake of the subsidys, engaged themselves for two years in an alliance with the emperor, were obliged to furnish him with a certain number of troops; and they went so far as even to accede to the treaty of Vienna, by which the emperor's succession is guarantied; so that the Hannover allys were forced at great expence to seek for other confederates, and to take other measures, independent of the princes of the empire, and had the good fortune to strengthen and guard themselves on all sides, in so timely and effectual a manner, as to be able to disappoint the great designs of the emperor, and to oblige him, notwithstanding the number of allys he had acquired in the empire and the north, to sign the preliminary treaty, and come to a congress much against the will of his principall ally, the king of Spain. This encreased the credit and reputation of the Hannover allys, and weaken'd the emperor soe much, as to give a new turn to the affairs of Europe, to open the eyes of several princes, whom the emperor had before cajoled and gained by false hopes and particular views, untill time and certain events, together with the firmness of the Hannover allys, occasioned at last such a jealousy between the emperor and their catholick majestys, as to have in a manner entirely dissolved their friendship, and to have flung Spain into the interest and union of the Hanover allys; in soe much, that the emperor himself seems now disposed to hearken to any thing which the allys may demand for their satisfaction as to the points in dispute with him, by means of a guaranty of his succession, under proper restrictions and limitations. And this seems to be the present state of affairs, which shews it is no more the same, as when the treaty of Hanover, and particularly the 4th and 5th articles of it were made, and consequently the reasoning about entering into a treaty with the four electors on the same terms, as might have been prudent and necessary to doe at the time of making that treaty, seem to me in a great measure changed.

However did the 7th article of this project, goe no further than a joynt concert of sentiments and measures, for what should concern the libertys and tranquillity of the empire, and the peace in generall, as was the plain meaning of the article concerted at Fontainebleau, I would allow that it might be reasonable

Period IV. reasonable and prudent to enter into this treaty. But as there is no doubt but ^{1727 to 1730.} this article, especially with the additionall words in the margin, tyes all the contracting partys from taking the least step relating to *any guaranty*, without the consent and approbation of every one of them, it certainly obliges England not to think of the guaranty of the emperour's succeſſion on any terms, or in any conjuncture whatever, during the time of this treaty ſubſiſting, without the conſent of each elector, that ſhall be a party to it, which ſeems to me not only to be entirely unneceſſary, but ſubject to great inconveniencies.

There is no doubt but France, eſpecially ſince the great encrease of M. Chauvelin's credit with the cardinal, deſires nothing more than that the emperor's ſucceſſion ſhould be left as looſe and uncertain as poſſible, for reaſons that are obvious. There is as little doubt but that England and Holland ſhould, for the very ſame reaſons, be as deſirous of having the emperor's ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed under proper reſtrictions and limitations, and that no other conſideration, beſides their concern not to diſoblige France and Spain, ſhould keep them from thinking of it as ſoon as things are ſettled.

It is no leſs certain, that if we ſhould now make this treaty with the four electors, in the terms of the 7th article of the projeſt, with the marginall additions, but that France being always averſe to have the emperor's ſucceſſion regulated, would be able to hinder England from doing any thing at any time in a matter of ſuch importance to the future peace and ballance of Europe; and this France might doe, without appearing openly in it herſelfe, by diſpoſing ſome of the electors, eſpecially him of Bavaria, to be againſt any plan of that nature; and conſequently in all events, altho' the preſent good diſpoſition and views of France with regard to the affairs of Europe, and particularly with regard to England, ſhould come to be changed, and their ancient maxims upon the death of the cardinal, be reſumed, England, by virtue of this treaty, might be ſo hamper'd, as not to have it eaſily in her power to take in time the neceſſary meaſures for maintaining the ballance of Europe, and to provide even for her own ſecurity, by a proper eſtabliſhment of the emperor's ſucceſſion, and by keeping up the houſe of Auſtria, as a *counterpoids* to that of Bourbon. and I am convinced, in my own opinion, by the dayly conduct of the Garde des Sceaux, that he is ſo earneſt for the concluſion of this treaty, particularly for the ſake of this 7th article, and the conſequences of it, as will make it impoſſible to enter into meaſures for ſettling the emperor's ſucceſſion, in any conjuncture, during this treaty.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I do not mean, dear sir, as you will easily believe, by what I have lately wrote to you, that England and Holland should immediately hearken to the emperor's propositions, and by that means create any jealousy or uneasiness against them on the part of France and Spain; but that we should not putt it out of our power to doe any thing at any time for a guaranty of the emperor's succession. For untill we have done something decisively, and as long as we continue free in that respect, the fears of France with regard to the settlement of the succession, may on one side keep this court firm to the present system, and to the friendship of England; as on the other side, the hopes which the emperor may entertain, that we shall be disposed to do it one time or other, may keep him within some bounds, and from coming to extremities with his majesty, as king or elector. And, therefore, as it is not our interest to disoblige France by any hasty step in favour of the emperor, so I think we should not render the emperor desperate by a treaty, which he will soon come to know, and by which he will loose all hopes of our friendship for ever, by our putting it out of our power to doe the only thing that he has most at heart, and consequently he may be forced to run into views and measures, that may be as dangerous to the ballance of Europe, and the interest of England, as those taken by the treaty of Vienna; nay, perhaps, he may think of resuming the same again with Spain as his only resource.

There are many reasons for not concluding, at present, the treaty with the four electors; but without rejecting it entirely, we should keep the conclusion of it at a distance, and in suspense, on account of the difficultys with regard to the subsidys in time of peace, which the parliament will never grant; and the guaranty of Burgh and Juliers absolutely in favour of the prince of Sultzbach, which by reason of the protestant religion, and the near relation there must always be between the familys of Hannover and Prussia (notwithstanding the present unaccountable humour and behaviour of his Prussian majesty) would have a very ill appearance in the world; and also on account of the elector of Cologne not consenting to be a contracting party any longer than for two or three years; and lastly, that it would be necessary to learn the sentiments of the principall persons of the States upon it, with regard to the likelihood of their being contracting partys originally, or at least by accession, who being partys to the treaty of Hanover, ought to be equally concerned in this. Which last two reasons, seem to me to be in themselves, very essentiall in all events, because I think it would be very imprudent for his majesty to en-
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gage in an affair of such consequence, and which concerns soe much the interest of Europe in generall, without having the States equally engaged with him; and it would likewise be somewhat extraordinary, if not absurd, that we should be bound, as is propos'd to the electors of Bavaria and Palatine, for fifteen years, while the elector of Cologne (who by the extensiveness of his dominions, and the situation of them, must be of much greater consequence to his majesty, and the states generall, than the other two can be,) will be tyed to them for two or three years only. These instances may furnish us with sufficient reasons to alledge for deferring the conclusion of this treaty with the four electors, without taking any notice of the article that affects the emperor's succession, on which, in my opinion, we should at present, at least untill the affairs with Spain are entirely settled, be very silent.

But as soon as the treaty with Spain shall be signed, and a proper declaration made on the part of the allys about the execution of it, according to the publick articles, we must see what will be the emperour's conduct in this respect. I think it scarce can be doubted, but that he will immediately declare, that he will never consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons, into the places of Tuscany and Parma, unless the Hanover allys will at the same time come into a scheme to guaranty his succession, which altho' a thing very much to be desired, yett the views of France and Spain (from whom the rest of the allys cannot separate) will still make it impracticable. The emperor not being able to compass this great point, will, after solemn protestations against Spanish garrisons, be either passive in this affair, without thinking to make a forcible opposition to it, or else he will in concert with the great duke, and perhaps with the king of Sardinia, or by virtue of his own great strength in Italy, even risk a war to prevent it. But the great danger he will run by a war, of loosning some of his present dominions in Italy, may dispose him to avoyd it, if England and Holland take care to conduct themselves in such a manner as not to make him think that he can have no hopes at a proper season of their coming into some measures to guaranty his succession. But how to make him sensible of the good disposition of those two powers in this respect, requires great caution and prudence, but 'tis not altogether impossible, if he will not immediately by an unaccountable conduct, embroyl matters in Italy and the north; and perhaps it may not be impossible to dispose the cardinal himself, for the sake of peace, not to be averse to a scheme for establishing the emperour's succession.

But

But nothing of this nature should be intimated to him until the success of ^{Period IV.} Mr. Stanhope's journey is seen, and the views and designs of the emperor ^{1727 to 1730.} upon the conclusion of the treaty with Spain be plainly discovered. For should ^{1729.} his imperial majesty rashly resolve, rather than suffer the introduction of Spanish garrisons, to risk a war in Italy (which in consequence will likewise be kindled in other parts by the nature of the alliances now subsisting in Europe) the Hanover allies should not only conclude without loss of time the treaty with the four electors, but will be obliged pursuant to the secret articles of the treaty with Spain, to take new measures with respect to the equilibrium of Europe.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO WILLIAM STANHOPE.

Congratulating him on the success of the treaty of Seville.

DEAR SIR,

Whitehall, November 18, 1729.

AS we were just dispatching a messenger to Paris upon other business, when Mr. Vane arrived here this morning, I have only time to congratulate you most sincerely upon your success in having concluded the treaty, in a way, which I am persuaded, will be entirely to his majesty's satisfaction. We have not yett had time to peruse the treaty, but I may assure you, that I never saw the king better pleased in my whole life, or better satisfied with any body than he is with you. He was extremely well pleased with your leaving Spain, as he ordered me immediately to acquaint you, and I think I may venture to foretell, that the king has so just a sense of the great services you have done him and his people, and particularly upon this occasion, that whatever you may have desired, will be done in the best manner. I have many compliments and thanks to you from sir Robert Walpole and my brother. You can't have more joy upon this occasion upon all accounts, and particularly upon your own, than I have; but you must allow me still to think, my advice about your going to Spain, has not turned out ill.

Harrington
Papers.

Copy.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

His concern at the disagreement with sir Robert Walpole.—Expresses and mentions Horace Walpole's regard for lord Townshend, and resolution not to accept the office of secretary of state.

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Sydney
Papers.

(Paris, November 26, 1729.) MR. Walpole hopes to go over to England soon. I promise you, and I am willing to pawn my whole credit upon it, that you will find him more reasonable, and fuller of cordial respect for lord Townshend, than perhaps might be expected in the present misunderstandings, if you were not apprised of it. I am very sure that if lord Townshend had, or should see reason to quit his post dissatisfied, no *person nor consideration* in the world would prevail with Mr. Walpole to accept of it, if it were offered to him. And I am very sure, that he laments the present divisions so sincerely, that he would do any thing in his power towards healing them. I say this upon the most entire conviction; and if the event does not prove it true, will be content never to be credited again, but to pass for one, who is to be imposed on by words, and not capable of knowing those I live and converse with every day.

HORACE WALPOLE TO STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Lord Townshend testifies his resolution to resign.—Is violent against the emperor, and inclined to support the king's electoral views.

DEAR SIR,

London, January 21, 1729—30.

Poyntz
Papers.

I Had the honour by the post to acknowledge your excellency's letters of the 1st, 20, and 21 inst. N. S. and to send you inclosed a letter from the cardinal, much to the same effect as that which you returned; because count Broglio writes in so false and infamous a manner with respect to my brother Walpole and me, almost every post, that it is thought absolutely necessary to prevent his eminence against such scandalous insinuations, for fear of their making in time some impression; and I don't doubt but that your excellency will take all occasions, without affectation, to make the cardinal sensible of my brother's as well as my sincere attachment to the union between the two crowns. For the French ambassadour represents us both as of another disposition, and attributes all his disappointments to us personally; and I could heartily wish lord Townshend did not show him so much confidence and countenance as he does. For I am apprehensive of a design on the part of Mr. Chauvelin, to change the channel of negotiation between England and France, and instead of making it pass thro' his majesty's ministers at Paris, to have it goe directly from him to count Broglio, and so to the king; which would deprive his majesty of the advantage he has always had of the reasonable and moderate temper

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per of the cardinal, who will become entirely useles to the king's service, in case Mr. Chauvelin is to have the whole conduct of the affairs, by his writing directly to the French ambassadour, passing by, or conferring but slightly with the English ambassadour in France; and therefore I hope you will keep up your spirits against him, and not take it always for granted, that all he says in the name of the cardinall, comes from his eminence himselfe.

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Lord Townshend, since his last short journey to Norfolk, has not only declared to most of his confidential friends, but even in a calm and serious manner to me, that he is resolved to resign as soon as the session is over; and that in the mean time, he will barely give his opinion, but not press it in business, acquiescing with the sentiments of others. I told him nobody would insist upon their opinion, so as to make it prevail in foreign affairs in opposition to his, who was certainly the best judge. He has since been as active and eager in business as ever I knew him; and his violence against keeping any measures at all with the emperour, and his endeavours to make all measures electorall, preferable to all other considerations, which is entirely agreeable to the king's sentiments, make some think that his lordship has no thoughts of resigning. But I am of opinion, that when the parliament is up, if any thing should happen contrary to his desire, he may offer to quitt, as he has already done to the king, and will be taken at his word; and will some way or other jozle himself out of place.

I am in such haste, and in such concern, on account of this unsettled and embroyled state of affairs at home, that I scarce know what I write. Things, however, in parliament, will goe on as well as they have begun, but not without strong opposition. The great debate will be about the Hessian troops, but we shall carry it with much the same majority, I believe, as we did the first day's division, which was two to one.

I forgott to tell you, that at the same time, Mr. Chauvelin refused to come into a plan of measures with you, he wrote to count Broglio, to learn the ideas of lord Townshend upon it; but as the French have now consented to consider of a plan of measures to be immediately settled among the allies, I suppose Mr. Chauvelin will have been no longer averse to confer with you on that subject. I was yesterday honoured with your's of the 26th N. S. inclosing a letter to me from the cardinal of the 24th; but have not yett had time to receive his majesty's commands upon it.

Pray burn this.

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1727 to 1730.

THE DUCHESS OF KENDAL TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Desires that the money left to her by the late king, and consigned him as one of her trustees, may be paid.

SIR,

London, February 18, 1729—30.

Orford
Papers.

AS his late majesty was pleased to make you my trustee, you will not wonder at this application. The little trouble I have given you on that head, is enough to convince you how great a regard I have had for your assurances. But having lately engaged in an affair that will require a large sum to compleat, I hope you'll now resolve to accommodate me with the money entrusted with you, my occasions demanding the whole sum. This being a private trust that must one time or other be accounted for, it may be transferred without interfering with publick business. I can easily imagine one so continually employed, may not often think of me or my affairs, but you'll give me leave not to forget myself, especially in a thing of so great importance to me. I am, sir, your most humble servant.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND MR. POYNTZ.

The opposition having agreed to propose a scheme for opening the trade of the East India company, with a view to raise a sum of money for the public, sir Robert Walpole thwarts their schemes by hinting that he should raise money from that society.—Debates on the affair of Dunkirk.—Sir Robert Walpole and Pelham distinguish themselves.—Sir Robert Walpole attacks lord Bolingbroke, who is defended by sir William Wyndham.—A most animated debate.—Great effects of the majority to disappoint the hopes of opposition, and to prove the stability of administration.

GENTLEMEN,

London, March 2—13, 1729—30.

Harrington
Papers.

I Hope this will find your excellency lord Harrington, safely arrived at Paris, to the great comfort of your excellency Mr. Poyntz; and that the death of the czar, and the disappointment the king of Prussia has mett with in his schemes at Dresden, will soon have an influence upon affairs, to the advantage of the Hannover allys; on which head, I shall say no more at present, because I am perswaded you are very impatient to know what has passed in the house of commons, on the day of the state of the nation, as what altho'

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in appearance a domestick concern, must have a greater effect upon our foreign matters, than almost any other incident either foreign or domestick, can possibly have. Period IV.
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I am first to acquaint your excellencys, that it having been discover'd, that the adversaries had secretly in the city negotiated a scheme for destroying the charter and exclusive trade of the East India company, and to lay that trade open to all adventurers, on a plausible pretence of their finding a great sum of money for the use of the publick; the chancellour of the exchequer, by way of cross-bite, having talked with some of the directors of that company, gave a hint to the house, as if part of his ways and means might arise from that society, which extremely alarmed and surpris'd the adversaries. But as their private subscriptions and engagements had gone a great way, they resolv'd to present a petition, with a scheme for opening that trade, and paying off the company. The petition being accordingly presented; on Thursday last, a great debate ensued, and about nine at night, the court prevail'd by a majority of 229 against 135, and with a generall satisfaction to the whig party. However, this did not discourage the adversaries from proceeding the next day with vigorous attacks on the affair of Dunkirk; and sir W. W.* propos'd, * Sir William Wyndham. after the examination of witnesses, and reading papers was over, that what had been done relating to the harbour there, was *a manifest violation of the treaties between the two crowns*. But the other side having, before he was seconded, gott upon the paper the motion for an address; pursuant to what you will find translated in the inclosed letter to the court, left open for your perusal, the debate began at about five in the afternoon, lasting very earnest and strenuous 'till past two in the morning, and had such a turn, that the whig-party was animated to the last degree, which was chiefly occasioned by sir Robert Walpole having very artfully and vigorously fell on the late lord B. Sir W. W. took his part, and justify'd his old friend, making a comparison between B. and sir R. as if the first was every way as honest a man as the latter, which was answer'd with as much zeal, fire, and good sense by Mr. H. Pelham, as ever I heard in my life, and created an universall spirit, flame, and resentment against B. in the whole house; so that upon the division, the whigs were 270 against 149. In my opinion, it was the greatest day with respect to the thing itselfe, and the consequences of it both at home and abroad, for his majesty, and the present ministry, that I ever knew; and must, I think, prove a thunderbolt to the adversaries here, as well as to their friends on your side the water.

For

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For all the insinuations given out, as if his majesty and the whigs in generall were weary of the present ministry, are in the opinion of most people, confounded at once; and I should think, that the ennemy must even in their own opinion, fall from that presumptuous imagination, which they had certainly entertained to the very day of the debate, of overturning the present administration.

All that remains is, that France take care, as I don't doubt but the cardinall will, to have the works according to the treaty, demolished, notwithstanding the clamour of the inhabitants, or the artfull management, which Mr. Maurepas (who is no friend to England, especially in this point, and certainly in the year 1728, did not act according to his eminence's directions) may endeavour with some other French men to use, for disappointing the execution of the works made contrary to the treatys. It is not proper for me to tell you how earnestly the several speakers, especially the two* brethren, asserted and maintained the present good faith of France, and particularly of the cardinall. I think your excellencys must hear it from other hands, and will make a proper use of it in your discourses with his eminence and Mr. Chauvelin, to whom you will be pleased to make my sincere compliments and respect.

I am going to court on account of the queen's birth day being kept this day, and therefore you will excuse the haste and imperfections of this scrawl.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND MR. POYNTZ.

Expectations of some important motion on the state of the nation.—Great majority in favour of government.—Inquiry into the state of the nation closed.

MY LORD, AND SIR,

London, March 11—22, 1729—30.

Harrington
Papers.

YESTERDAY being appointed for a committee of the whole house, to consider again of the state of the nation, the expectations of some new and extraordinary attack upon the ministry, were raised very high, both within and without doors, and the adversariys seemed resolved to surprize the house with doing nothing, or something of moment, as they had done before by the sudden attack of Dunkirk. However, we gott intimation the day before, of what this mighty no-matter was to be, which ended in Mr. Chetwynd's referring the papers relating to St. Lucia, to the consideration of the committee,

* Alluding to sir Robert Walpole and himself.

where he moved a long question, for asserting his majesty's interest, and undoubted right to the islands of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominigo, for preventing foreigners making settlements on those islands, and for application to be made by the king to the court of France, for removing the French settlements there. This question, after the mighty expectations that have been raised in the house in general, filled with strangers to see the result of the great attack, supposed to have been intended on the ministry, was treated with great contempt and ridicule; and after a short, or rather no debate at all, it was carried for leaving the chair by a majority of 235 to 120. And notwithstanding the court party call'd upon their adversaries to move to have the committee for the state of the nation, kept open, if they had any thing further to offer, yet the adversaries absolutely declined it; so that this formidable enquiry, that was to have confounded the ministry, has at last ended in noise and smoke, as much to the glory of his majesty's servants, as to the disgrace and contempt of their opponents. I am, with the greatest respect and affection.

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HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Coalition of the Tories and discontented Whigs.—Their disappointment at the conclusion of the treaty of Seville.—Foiled in their attempts to excite discontent about the affair of Dunkirk.—Laments the resignation of Lord Townshend.

MY LORD,

March 13—24, 1729—30.

THE relation which the affairs here in parliament, must have to those abroad, must naturally make every foreign minister cautious to know the motives, results, and consequences of the warm transactions, that have unexpectedly occurred this session.

Waldegrave
Papers.

The opponents of the ministers had entertained last summer, such a sanguine and certain persuasion, that it would be impossible to have a peace with Spain, and consequently that the British commerce would have still continued in an uncertain and precarious state, without satisfaction or revenge; that they had concerted their measures, to call the ministers to an account, for their indolence and neglect in suffering so patiently the insults of the Spaniards; and as this was a very popular point, to a nation jealous of their honour, as well as of their privileges of trade, it had created a great ferment among all sorts of people, gentlemen as well as merchants. In order, therefore, to distress the administration, the discontented whigs had concerted a perfect coalition with the

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the torys of all degrees, and it was agreed to act heartily and vigorously in the same opposition; and that for that purpose, a summons should be made of all the torys to be present, without suffering any excuse; and this was pursued with so much zeal, that I believe there has been in town this year, above 110 torys, which is within a very few of the whole number elected.

The conclusion of the treaty of Seville, and consequently the re-establishment of the commerce, with articles for all due and reasonable satisfaction, was a sensible stroke to the united party of the torys and discontented whigs. However, having made a coalition, and appointed a general muster in parliament, they were resolved to keep up their spirits, and to attempt the attacks; and, therefore, they at first gave out unaccountable and false insinuations, to deceive themselves and their friends of the points of Gibraltar, and the privileges of trade, not being sufficiently secured. But the explicit terms of the treaty of Seville, when published, satisfied so well all considerate men, and the tryall of that point in the house of lords, with so great a majority, to the advantage of the court, soon made the adversaries sensible, that it was impossible for them to distress the ministers, or to do any service to the emperor on that head.

They therefore had recourse to another scheme, which might serve their purpose, if compassed, as well; which was to create, if possible, a coolness and jealousy between England and France; and for that end, the reparation made by the townsmen of Dunkirk to that port, afforded, as they imagined, not only a plausible pretext to accuse the ministers of indolence, neglect, or cowardice, in not putting a stop to the proceedings of France, in a point so popular, and of such consequence to this nation, but also of laying an imputation upon France, as violating the most solemn treatys, at a time of so strict an alliance. The secrecy and art with which this point was managed and conducted, and the industry employed to create a ferment through the kingdom, and especially in this city, of a design of restoring the harbour of Dunkirk, had indeed occasioned a great flame both within and out of the parliament, upon the first opening of it. But the ministry having obtained so much time, as to have this matter seriously enquired into, and to make impartial people, see the wicked intention of this malicious enquiry, done with no other view, but to create a jealousy between England and France, and to encourage the emperor, and consequently, if possible, to destroy the treaty of Seville, or to put a stop to the execution of it,

these

these machinations of the party opposite to the court, served only to turn to their own confusion; and I never saw in my life such a spirit as there was in parliament, at the great day of Dunkirk, to support the ministry, their measures, and the alliances of the Hanover confederates, and such a rage and resentment against the opposite party, and their allies abroad, so that nothing was more clear that day, than that altho' the whigs in some popular points, such as place-bills, will follow their own inclinations, yett this parliament is determined to support the present administration and measures both at home and abroad; and are sensible of the malicious contrivances of some to bring matters into confusion, for their own private ends, and for that purpose to make the enemies to the Hanover alliance, believe abroad, that there is not that steddynefs, vigour, and union in the parliament, as there really is, for the support of his majesty's government, and his present councils.

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I shall not mention to you the affair of St. Lucia, because that was treated with so much ridicule and contempt, that the adversaries were glad to gett out of it as well as they could; and I think I may say, I never saw a parliament like to end with so much glory and honour to an administration, as this will doe, notwithstanding all the efforts, which malice, despair, and envy could invent, that were employed to confound the present system, both at home and abroad.

There is one thing which certainly encouraged the opposition of the enemy, which was some misunderstanding among the great men here, which is indeed but too true; and I am afraid, there will be an alteration, which your lordship and I shall be sorry to see, by the resignation of a great man, who will not be persuaded to keep his place, after the end of the sessions. And although he cannot be supplied in application and abilities, yett he will, I believe, retire in such a manner, if he does go out, and that will be understood by the generality of people, that it will make no alteration in the party, in the measures, or in the administration of affairs; and the same system will still be pursued, both with respect to domestick and foreign business. But this you will keep to yoursele, and believe me, yours, &c.

STEPHEN POYNTZ TO THE HON. THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

On the expected resignation of lord Townshend.

Period IV.

DEAR SIR,

Paris, March 26, 1730.

1727 to 1730.

Sydney
Papers.

YOUR'S of the 19th past, acquainting me with my lord's resolution of retiring at the end of the session, did not come to my hands till six days after the other letters of the same date, which I mention more to excuse my not answering it sooner, than to fill you with jealousys of its having been detained designedly, or opened, of which I could see no marks.

Tho' I have long expected this resolution, and see and feel the reasonableness of his lordship's desiring retreat, after a life spent in hurry and fatigue, and at a season when the infirmities of age begin to make themselves felt, and give a quicker sense to the crosses and vexations arising from the present situation of affairs both at home and abroad; yet, I own, that the more I consider the consequences of this resolution, the more I am confirm'd, that far from giving his mind the relief proposed, it will help to embitter the remainder of his life. I have long had the honor to know and admire his lordship's virtues, and am sure he is not one of those who can taste domestic quiet, under public misfortunes; or that can feel the least pleasure in seeing affairs miscarry in the hands of supposed rivals. But if it were possible for him to contract his thoughts from the care of the public to that of his family and estate, and to fill up his vacant moments with the amusements which Rainham is so well able to furnish; yet his being suppos'd to resign dissatisfied, must give a fatal wound to the whig cause, already long languishing under the expectation of this event; and must sooner or later bring those into power, who, to justify their own measures, may think it indispensably requisite to blacken those of their predecessors, and to set such enquiries on foot, as how much soever they might end to his lordship's honor, and justify to the world the integrity of his intentions, yet would entirely blast the promis'd comforts of a retreat, and waken his attention, in a very disagreeable manner, to what is going forward in the world. The winding up of affairs cannot be at a great distance: if a war should be the event, which I still think improbable, the canvassing the reasons which have brought us to it, would naturally fall within the next session; and it might not be thought agreeable to the steadiness of his lordship's former conduct, to withdraw from the yoke at so critical a conjuncture.

If a general pacification can be obtained, it must be within this summer, and such a period would certainly be the most proper for breaking off, if this were done without any appearance of resentment; and especially if his lordship, without continuing in the insupportable fatigues and chagrins of the secretary's

cretary's office, and even without accepting any employment from the government, that should oblige him to attendance, would still continue to lend his counsel and assistance, and be content to pass for a hearty well-wisher to the measures, carrying on by those that should be employed, there might, perhaps, be still some hopes of preserving the whig cause, and of saving the crown from the necessity of ever trying perfidious friends. But if this cannot be obtained, I own, I can foresee nothing but total ruin and confusion to all we have been labouring for ever since the revolution. These things are so obvious, that I ought to beg pardon for presuming to repeat them. His lordship must have reasons unknown to me, not for desiring earnestly to retire, but for resolving to do it immediately, and with the appearance of distaste and resentment, which however disown'd in words, will gain universal belief, if it be done before our public affairs abroad, have taken some shape and consistency.

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1730.

When I have said this, I beg leave to assure you, that in my low sphere, I long as impatiently as my lord can do, to be entirely released from the business, which my obedience to his commands, could alone ever have engaged me in, and in this respect, his lordship's retiring, would contribute to my private ease. I would compound, by the loss of my place, to have a little leisure and retirement for the latter part of my life; but when I reflect on the times, we saw and felt in the latter end of the queen's reign, and which the breaking to pieces the whig party, must soon bring about again, I own, I can foresee no more comfort in retirement, than in business; and if my strength and health will hold out to carry me thither, I believe I shall determine to retire to one of our plantations in the West Indies, rather than to live in England, under such an aspect of affairs.

I wish you all happiness and prosperity in the change of your condition; nothing could have made England more desirable to me, than the prospect of seeing you so happy, as I verily believe the marrying into that family will make you. My utmost ambition would have been to have divided my time between Rainham and Danson, if the cause of liberty could have held up its head in England; but if it must sink, I will look out for England somewhere else; and wherever I can be free from the insults of that party-rage and oppression, which I abominate worse than death, *hic amor, hæc patria*. I send you the melon seed you desired, and am, with the truest affection and respect, &c.

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1727 to 1730.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

Low state of opposition.—Lord Townshend will probably go out, and be succeeded by lord Harrington.—Writes in confidence to him alone, on the subject of an apprehended war with Spain, and the best means of avoiding it.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, March 16—27, 1729—30.

Harrington
Papers.

Very private.

Copy.

THO' I have troubled you already with some *privates*, I could not let this messenger go, without giving you some account how things stand here, for your information *only*. We look upon the ennemy to be quite demolished in the house of commons, and that our Dunkirk day, and the closetting the committee upon the St. Lucia affair, were the greatest victories that ever were known. I hope they will have a good effect abroad, I think they must have one here at home. Things at court remain pretty much in the same situation you left them, except, that lord Townshend's going out seems every day more fixed, and it is now taken for granted, will happen as soon as ever the parliament rises. His successor must certainly be the man in the world I wish. I am sure my friends, and I believe *every body* else, have no other thought; this being likely soon to be the case, I hope you will dispatch your business, where you are, with all possible expedition. Our master is a little uneasy, that we hear not one word of the plan of measures, and I must own I am, that the declaration to the emperor is like to go heavily both with the cardinal and the Dutch ambassadors. What I now write is in the utmost confidence, and without the knowledge of any of my brethren.

I am persuaded, I need not suggest to you, reasons for bringing things to a conclusion as soon as possible. Notwithstanding all the emperor's warlike preparations, I cannot imagine, now the czar is dead, and Prussia and Poland are both wavering, that the emperor will dare to strike a stroke. We have here great hopes of the king of Prussia, and I may tell you, that the resolution about the disputes at Brunswick, is what Kniphausen himself proposed, and seemed sure would be satisfactory. You may imagine *somebody* will not be sorry that things should miscarry hereafter, and for that reason, we should be the more upon our guard. No arguments that relate personally to yourself, I am persuaded, will have much weight, but if they had, it now comes to be more immediately your own business, and as I know you are in the rightest way of thinking imaginable, all I wish is, that you may be able to succeed in your negotiation,

to your own mind. A war is certainly to be avoided, if possible; but at the same time, our treaty with Spain must be executed, and that soon. Should we talk bigg to the emperor att the same time we make our declaration? or see first how that will operate? I remember in a late letter from lord Waldegrave to Mr. Poyntz, he says Realp* told him, he had positive proof that we had entered into engagements with Spain, relating to the emperor's dominions in Italy, and that if the emperor could not have that security, he had better hazard a war at once: sure that hint should have been followed, and even Patino himself, I think, does not seem fond of a war; but perhaps the way to avoid one, is to seem not afraid of one, and prepared for one. But all this, you know much better than I, and therefore I must begg to have your thoughts in confidence, upon the situation of affairs, what you think is like to be the event? how the cardinal and French ministers are inclined? what the Dutch will do, and how far the court of Spain will push us? Our whole depends upon making a good end of our foreign affairs, which is the reason of my giving you this trouble. My brother is much your's, and so are our brother Walpoles, tho' they none of them know of my writing to you. My kind service to Poyntz.

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1730.

* Imperial
minister.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

Mentions the discontent and displeasure of lord Townshend, because lord Harrington is to succeed him as secretary of state.—Hints that sir Robert Walpole had obtained by means of queen Caroline, the king's approbation of their measures, in opposition to lord Townshend.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, March 24—April 4, 1729—30.

I Received the favour of your two private letters, in your own and Mr. Blair's letter; the last I immediately communicated to sir Robert and Horace, and we agreed that the reasoning in it was so good, that it should be sent to the king; but as lord Townshend has of late taken all occasions to do you all the ill offices he could, we thought he might make an ill use of your letter, and therefore have not shewed it to him; and you will see by what I shall say to you, that we did not judge wrong about it. Ever since you have been gone, imagineing, I suppose, that you are to be his successor, (you may guess from whence we chiefly have our intelligence, and therefore, tho' my friendship to you, will not lett me conceal it from you, I am sure you will take no notice of it,

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

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it, or lett it have any other effect, but to shew him how unjust his suspicions and representations have been) his manner of talking upon your subject, has been lower and meaner, than one could well have imagined him capable of; but his favourite topick is, your want of courage and resolution in business, and he pretends to have been told by one, to whom he says you said, you went abroad at the risk of your neck; and he takes great pains to shew that such a disposition can never succeed. He blames loudly your instructions, which he says were drawn up by yourself, and now has attacked you for having even exceeded those instructions. Your joint dispatch, which is all he has seen, has made him outrageous; he says we have been wrong from the beginning, nothing but the plan of operations will do, all thoughts of declarations or proposals to the emperour, are ridiculous, and that there is no common sense in any thing, but in a letter, Poyntz wrote before you left England.

Last week I having been much taken up in the house of lords, he, I suppose, vented himself with our master, and in short, on Sunday last, wrote the inclosed * letter to the king, which, with the answer, he sent to Horace on Sunday night, his lordship being to go to Norfolk, as he did, on Monday morning. Before I knew any thing of this, I had prepared my letter to you both, pretty much in the manner it now is, which was approved by sir Robert Walpole and Horace; but after lord Townshend's paper, I dispaired of the king's suffering it to go. But our good friend sir Robert took it to a certain † place, and in short, we have carried our point, notwithstanding all that had past, and the king it extreemly pleased with the letter, as it now is, which, all things consider'd, I am sure you must approve. His lordship has represented us, as giving up Hanover quite, and has worked much with the king upon that head; and also, that we had neglected pushing the plan of operations, which he says, had right measures been taken, would have been settled long ago. You may imagine, in these circumstances, as well as really from an opinion, that we were always of, that it was necessary to settle as soon as possible some plan: I have pushed it very strongly in my letter to you, and I must indeed recommend it to you most earnestly, that you would either gett France to agree to the plan, or something of that kind, or shew the king that it is not your fault, and that no pains have been wanting on your part. For the same reason, I must begg you would do what you can about the German points, Mecklenburgh &c. But as I have

† To the
queen.

* Printed among the notes between lord Townshend and the king.

wrote about that in a private letter to you, I must desire you to answer me in the same manner, and that you would keep those letters by themselves, as I ^{Period IV.} 1727 to 1730. intend to do the draughts of them. If you succeed in these two grand points, ^{1730.} our friend will be quite disappointed. But what a creature is he to be playing such a part. A very great person, told me this evening, that you were worse with him than Sir Robert Walpole. I must again beg of you to take no notice of these hints, which I only send you, that you may know how things stand here. Nothing, I think, can be a greater proof of my friend Sir Robert's regard for you, than the resentment the other shews to you. I am in hopes all will do well.

Lord Townshend talks still of going out as soon as the parliament is up. Whither he intends it or no, I can't tell, but it must end in that. I am in great hopes our scheme of ministry will now be soon settled: as soon as it is, or I can judge any thing certain about it, you shall know it. The only thing I think, or at least, flatter myself is sure, is what relates to you. Let us have some brisk resolution about the plan of operations, and some strong assurances about Hanover, and we shall be able to defy him, and all he can do. But tho' I write so strong about operations, we shall be all here (king and queen not excepted) very glad, if Fonseca's proposal about Italy, could finish every thing, and therefore, it is to be managed with great caution and prudence. It is not to be wonder'd at, that the king doubts a little the sincerity of any thing flung out by the imperial ministry; but, however, I think you are now perfectly apprised of all we can do here, what our thoughts and wishes are; but the plan of operations must be pressed. Forgive me for saying so much to you, and to you only, you know our circumstances. All friends, and particularly Harry, send their compliments. Mine to Poyntz.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND
STEPHEN POYNTZ.

Thinks it improper to attack the Austrian Netherlands.—Proposes to guaranty the pragmatic sanction, provided the emperor will consent to the admission of Spanish garrisons in Parma and Florence.—Settles the proposed attack against the emperor.—And puts off the division of the conquered countries to a future time.

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MY LORD, AND SIR,

Whitehall, March 24—April 4, 1730.

1727 to 1730.

Walpole.
Papers.*Most secret.*

I Received by Bowyer, the messenger, on the 18th instant, the honour of your excellencies most secret letter of the 14th—25th, and lay'd it before the king; but the affairs in parliament, for some days, having required my constant attendance, I have been obliged till now, to deferr the sending you his majesty's commands upon the contents of it.

Before I enter into the particulars of your excellencies' letter, I must in general acquaint you, that his majesty was extreamly concerned, to find that so little progress had been made in forming the plan of operations, and mutual security, which his majesty imputes to the extravagant views of the Spaniards on the one hand, and the backwardness, not to say timidity of the French on the other. And as the king thinks, that it is now high time to come to some conclusion upon this head, that Spain may be convinced the allies are in earnest to perform their engagements, and for that purpose are ready to take such measures as will enable them to do it by force, if there should be a necessity for it; so the emperor may see, that if he does not consent to the peaceable introduction of Spanish garrisons, such a plan is lay'd, as will make it impossible for him to give any opposition to it; which the king thinks will the more incline him to consent to any ultimatum, that shall be thought proper to be offer'd him.

That your excellencies may be perfectly apprized of his majesty's sentiments, in what manner this may be done with the greatest prospect of success, and liable to the least objection, his majesty has considered the proposal given in by the Spanish ministers, at your last conference, and the account that your excellencies give of what pass'd upon that occasion. His majesty was very glad to find, that the Garde des Sceaux had assured you, that the French were ready to restrain themselves in whatever manner should be thought proper, from acquiring any part of the emperor's possessions; which his majesty thinks, in the forming of any plan, or taking of any measures, should be thoroughly understood, as well for the service of the common cause, as for engaging the allies more heartily in the pursuit of it. For the same reason, the king entirely agrees with the Dutch ministers, that it would be highly improper to think of attacking the emperor in the Netherlands; but that all that should be done on that side, is to be upon the defensive, and to prevent the imperial troops that are there, from being sent to reinforce the emperor's army in other parts.

The method which the king thinks would at once bring the emperor to a compliance, remove all the difficulties that the Dutch seem to have, and not be liable to most of those which the cardinal apprehended, would be for the allies to assemble a body of troops at Hailbron, or somewhere between the Neckau and the Mein, to consist of French, which should be join'd by Hessians, Danes, English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, upon their march towards Silesia or Bohemia, in the manner that was proposed in 1727, as you will find in Mr. Walpole and colonel Armstrong's joint letter to me of 16—27 May, that year, of which I inclose a copy; and when once such an army is assembled in those parts, it will be very easy to march into the emperor's countrys, either of Bohemia or Silesia, and intimidate him from giving any opposition to the execution of our engagements in Italy. And it is most probable, that if the court of Vienna could but have a notion, that such a measure was resolved on, they would readily give into any ultimatum, that should be offer'd on the part of the allies.

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Before this could be putt in execution, we shou'd see clearly what the king of Prussia would do, and for that reason, it will be necessary for the allies to agree to a suitable declaration to be made to him, in order to know what part he will take, which in all probability would dispose him to agree to what should be proposed to him. But if after all, his Prussian majesty should join with the emperor, this army, or part of it, might then march towards Grave, and by entering the dutchy of Cleves, prevent him from giving the emperor much assistance. The objection, that the cardinal made, with relation to the princes of the empire, his majesty thinks, may easily be removed, since we shall have but little advantage from our treaty with the four electors, if it will not entitle the allies to a passage for their troops through their countrys; and if they agree to it, with those that are already in alliance with us, there is little reason to apprehend any opposition from the other princes of the empire. I may in confidence acquaint your excellencies, though you will take no notice of it, that one great inducement to his majesty, for preferring a scheme of this nature to all others, is, that it is not only the most probable one to succeed, but it is not liable to the objection of overturning the ballance of power, or weakening that interest too much, which at another time may be necessary for the support of it.

If some such plan as this be once agreed to, the difficultys relating to the war in Italy, will in great measure cease; since it is not to be imagined, that

Period IV. the emperor will have his own country exposed to be overrun with such an
 1727 to 1730. army, purely for the sake of preventing the admission of Spanish garrisons into Tuscany and Parma.

Your excellencies will be pleased to communicate these his majesty's thoughts to the cardinal and Garde des Sceaux, and acquaint them, that if something of this kind be not forthwith resolved on, there is great reason to fear, that the emperor may keep us in suspense, and prevent the execution of the treaty of Seville, by which we may run a risk of losing Spain, the detaching of which from the emperor, has cost the allies so much pains and trouble; and therefore the king hopes they will no longer delay coming to a resolution upon this head. You will also communicate these his majesty's sentiments, to the Dutch ministers, and even to the Spaniards, if you think it adviseable; and you will shew the Spanish ministers, how ready and forward his majesty is to take all reasonable measures for the execution of his engagements, which, if not done, cannot be imputed to the king.

Having now given your excellencies his majesty's thoughts fully upon the plan of operations, I come to answer the remaining part of your letter. The king was very much surpris'd to find, that the Dutch ministers had not yet received directions to joyn in the declaration propos'd in the instructions, since it was communicated to the pensionary two months ago, and formed upon this plan: but, however, as what the cardinal dictat'd to Mr. Fonseca, is in great measure conformable to that declaration, his majesty thinks, that this matter should rest, till we can agree upon an ultimatum to be offer'd to the emperor, in case he should refuse what the cardinal has propos'd to him; except that your excellencies and the Dutch ministers shou'd take a proper opportunity to let the imperial ministers know, that his majesty and the Dutch are in the same sentiments towards the emperor; but that whatever his imperial majesty's resolution may be, they are determin'd forthwith to execute their engagements to Spain, in the manner stipulated by the treaty of Seville.

As to what the imperial ministers here lett fall in conversation, his majesty is far from having any objection to the guarantying the succession of the emperor's possessions in Italy to the Caroline arch-duchesses, if his imperial majesty would, on that condition, consent to the introduction of Spanish garrisons into Tuscany and Parma, and adjust all the disputes subsisting between him and the allies. And therefore your excellencies may concur with the Dutch ministers in endeavouring to dispose the cardinal to consent to the forming of a
 plan

plan upon this principle, to be proposed by the allies to the emperor, as an ultimatum, in case his eminency's secret negotiation with Mr. Fonseca, should not succeed. But as this appears to have been the pensionary's thought some time ago, and seems now to be flung out in a manner by the imperialists themselves, your excellencies will take care to manage it in such a way, as that the Spaniards may not imagine it arose from his majesty, or think him backward in the execution of his engagements to Spain. And his majesty is of opinion, for the reasons your excellencies mention, that it is very possible, the French and Spaniards may both be brought to consent to it. However, though these are his majesty's sentiments, yet in order to have this proposal accepted by the emperor, whenever the allies shall think fit to make it, your excellencies will press the settling forthwith the plan of operations, and not let the cardinal divert you from entering immediately upon that consideration, by giving you distant hopes of agreeing hereafter to this proposal, and by that means lose the whole season in negotiation, and continue things another year upon the foot they are at present.

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1727 to 1730.
1730.

His majesty agrees in opinion with the French ministry, that it would be a great advantage to the common interests of Europe, if a proper match could be had for don Carlos, to prevent his marrying one of the arch-duchesses, and would gladly joyn in promoting it; and his majesty would have your excellencies endeavour to learn more fully the cardinal's sentiments upon it, and whether he has any particular person in view for this purpose.

The king entirely approved the assurances which were given by the ministers of all the allies, in your joyned conference to those of Spain, agreeable to what is prescribed in your instructions; and also your proposing to them, that Spain should begin, without further loss of time, to attempt the introduction of Spanish garriçons, with the force agreed upon by the treaty of Seville, to which his majesty would add, that it should be offered to the consideration of their court, whether it might not be proper for them to have, at Barcelona, a number of their troops and transports in readiness to be employed in supporting the introduction, if it should be opposed. Your excellencies were very right in assuring the Spanish ministers, that his majesty's quota, both of ships and troops, should be ready, whenever they shall be demanded; and you may let them know, that two ships of the line of battle, will be forthwith sent to joyn the four men of war now in the Mediterranean, and that two battalions of 600 men each (officers included) will be taken either from Gibraltar or Port Mahon.

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} Since the French are so averſe to ſend any of their troops to Italy by ſea, it will be the more neceſſary to ſecure forthwith the king of Sardinia in the intereſt of the allys; and therefore your excellencies will acquaint the cardinal and the reſt of the miniſters, that his majeſty is of opinion, that the allys ſhould immediately take proper meaſures for that purpoſe; and you will learn the ſentiments of the cardinal and the other miniſters, in what manner it will be moſt adviſeable to apply to the king of Sardinia, in order to induce him to take part with us.

The diviſion of conqueſts, will, according to his majeſty's ſcheme of a war, if it becomes neceſſary, be a very diſtant proſpect. Your excellencies will therefore endeavour to putt off for the preſent, any particular conſideration on this head, but you will in general give the Spaniards to underſtand, that whenever this happens to be the caſe, the firſt uſe that ought to be made, of any advantages the allys may obtain, is to ſecure the execution of the treaty of Seville, and for the reſt, the allys ought to have a proportionable ſhare, and that England will expect a reaſonable compensation for the part we ſhall bear in the expenſe of the war. As to what was deſired by the Dutch miniſters, that the regiments ſhou'd be ſpecified which the king will ſend to their aſſiſtance, as his majeſty's quota upon the foot of the deſenſive alliance with them, in caſe they ſhould be attacked, your excellencies will acquaint them, that his majeſty intends the Heſſian troops for that ſervice, if there ſhould be occaſion, and that his majeſty will alſo have 8000 or 10,000 Engliſh in readineſs to be ſent wherever it may be moſt uſeful for the ſervice of the common cauſe. I have referred to the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, by his majeſty's order, that part of your excellencies' letter, which relates to the preventing of diſputes between the ſquadrons, about precedence and ceremonial when they joyn, and particularly what had been agreed upon a like occaſion in 1692, that councils of war ſhould be held on board one of the Dutch ſhips; and as ſoon as I have their report, you ſhall know his majeſty's pleaſure upon it. In the mean time, his majeſty would be glad to know what rank the grand prior, who is propoſed to command the French ſquadron, has, that his majeſty may have an admiral of equal rank to command his ſquadron.

As to the affair of the guaranty of Berg and Juliers, about which ſo much time, and ſo many confederacies and letters to and fro, have been employed, his majeſty wiſhes, that the French miniſters would agree to the declaration, which I laſt ſent you, and to the incloſed ſecret article, made conformable to it. But if you cannot prevail with them to let them ſtand as they are, his majeſty

jesty will consent that the words, at the end of the declaration, excepted againſt Period IV.
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 by Mr. Chauvelin, viz. *auffi bien que celui du ſecond article ſeparé et ſecret*, 1730.
 may be omitted, rather than the negociation ſhould break off, and on condition
 that the French do immediately ſettle the plan of operations, and concur in
 diſpoſing the princes of the empire to conſent, that the allys ſhould make ſuch
 motions as are neceſſary for putting that plan in execution. However, the king
 has not thought fit to lett count Broglie know, that his majeſty will depart from
 theſe words. It being probable, from the abbé Franguiny's letters to the Garde
 des Sceaux, and the marquis de Santa Cruz, that the grand duke, in his own
 diſpoſition, is not ſo averſe to the peaceable introduction of Spaniſh garrisons,
 and the ſecuring of don Carlos' ſucceſſion, being what is generally wiſh'd for
 by the people of Florence of all ranks and degrees, his majeſty would have
 you offer it to the cardinal's conſideration, whether it would not be right for
 the miniſters of the allys at that court, to endeavour to prevail with the ſenator
 Montemagni, who is the only miniſter of the great duke, that has acceſs to him,
 to diſpoſe his maſter to conſent at once to the peaceable introduction, and to of-
 fer that gentleman a handſome preſent, to be made him by the allys, in order to
 engage him to do ſo important a ſervice, and which would be ſo much for the
 intereſt, and ſo agreeable to the inclinations of his own country; taking care,
 however, that ſenator Montemagny ſhould not imagine, that the allys were
 the leaſt backward in procuring that introduction by force, if the grand duke
 ſhould not conſent to it.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

*Rejoices at the ſucceſs in parliament.—Opinion prevalent, that the adminiſtration
 would fall.*

DEAR SIR,

Vienna, April 12, 1730.

I Return you a thouſand thanks for the honour of your letter of the 13th Waldegrave
Papers.
 paſt. It was very good in you to think of me, and to give up ſo much of
 your time in the explanation of ſome matters, of which the newspapers had
 brought me but an imperfect account. However, all my intelligencers did Draught.
 you a piece of juſtice, which you deny yourſelf, and I hope, that as an old
 friend, I may without compliment or flattery, heartily congratulate you on the
 ſhare you have had in this glorious ſeſſion of parliament, which has proved,
 notwithſtanding the joint efforts of the ill-intentioned, ſo much to his majeſty's
 honour, and ſo ample a juſtification of the conduct of his faithfull ſervants.

You

Period IV. ^{1727 to 1730.} You may easily imagine, what notions this court was led into by their informers. It was taken for granted, that the present ministry would be but short lived, and some here, were, I am very well assured, good natured enough to me, to pretend to be sorry for the situation I was in, which was to involve me in my friends' misfortunes. However, I have reason to believe, that their late advices are very different from the former, and that they begin to find out, that their present friends in England, are not to be depended upon; and prince Eugene told me last night, that the court party had taken the upper hand, and carried every thing before it. I am very much concerned at what you tell me of a friend of our's resolution. On all account, I wish it was to be altered, tho' from the manner you write, it is hardly to be expected. I beg you will present my humble respects to sir Robert; and that you will believe me, that nobody can be with greater truth and respect, than I am, dear sir, &c.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Inform him that he will not remain long at Vienna.—Of his own intention to resign.—And that lord Harrington will succeed to the office of secretary of state.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 21—May 2, 1730.

Weston
Papers.

Apart.

Copy.

THOUGH I could not speak so fully and openly in my other letter, I may in this acquaint your lordship in confidence, that the time of your continuing at Vienna, cannot but be very short. Mr. Walpole is already here, and will not return to Paris, unless it be barely upon a compliment, and to take leave of the French court. Mr. Poyntz will very soon be recalled from thence, his majesty desigining to give him some employment here at home: and as for my lord Harrington, he is, as I am persuaded, intended to succeed me in the post of secretary of state, which I shall very soon have his majesty's leave to resign. As I inform'd your lordship, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, of my resolution to take this step, I have not since thought it necessary to trouble you with any particulars concerning it. I shall only take the liberty to assure you, that I am so sensible of their majesty's great goodness to me, upon this and all other occasions, that I shall always to the utmost of my power, contribute to support their interest and service. I cannot inform your lordship, whom his majesty intends for your successor at Vienna, that being not yet determined, and therefore shall only add to this trouble,

my sincere congratulations upon this fresh mark of the king's value and esteem for you, together with the assurances of my being always with, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730
1730.

P. S. Your lordship will be pleased to observe the utmost secrecy with regard to the contents of this letter.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Efforts of opposition, wholly defeated in parliament.—Lord Townshend determined to resign.—Arrangements to be taken by sir Robert Walpole, in consequence of that event.

MY LORD,

April 21—May 2, 1730.

UPON my return out of the country, where I had been for a few days, I met with the melancholy news of lady Waldegrave's death, at which, I heartily condole with your lordship.

Waldegrave
Papers.

This session of parliament, is in a manner come to a conclusion, and I think I may say to a glorious conclusion, for the interest of his majesty, and the honour of his ministers, for the boldness and violence of the opposition, where all the forces of the enemy from all quarters, were united and collected; and all the artillery of falsehood and scandal, was flung in to make the enemy's army appear more formidable, made the victory more complete and decisive, as is usual after great battles. Skirmishes, that have happened since the day of Dunkirk, have served only to expose the weakness of the opponents, tho' certainly intended to give the enemy abroad, courage and countenance, and to make Richenbach, the Prussian minister, and other foreign, not to say domestic scribblers, write false and wonderful accounts of the speeches made against the court. Though I cannot but think but your's will by this time become sensible, how vain their expectations must have been, and how fruitless any measures must be, that are grounded upon the hopes of a party here, strong enough to support the imperial court, in their opposition to the engagements of the treaty of Seville. For the allies begin now to feel, that their moderation is no otherwise received by the imperial ministers, than to gain time, and to amuse them, without any intention of an accommodation, as if the allies were not strong enough, nor united well enough to concert and execute a vigorous plan for fulfilling the engagements with Spain. But they will certainly be disappointed at Vienna in this empty notion, as much as they were in that of the ministers being distressed in England. I shall not pretend to tell
your

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

your lordship, what plan has been concerted at Paris, you will hear that from better hands; but certain it is, that orders are given for severall battallions both here and in Ireland, to gett ready for an embarkation on the first notice, which, together with what we have already in Gibraltar and Port Mahon, will make a considerable quota on our part.

I hinted to you before the resolution of a great man to retire: that is fixed and unalterable, as soon as the parliament is up, and as severall places are vacant, sir Robert Walpole has been employed in several conferences with his majesty to fill them up, and upon his advice, the king has resolved, as I am told, to make lord Wilmington privy-seal, with a salary of 3000*l.* per ann. and lord Trevor president of the council, with 4000*l.* per ann. The duke of Dorset will goe lord lieutenant to Ireland, Mr. Horace Walpole is to be made cofferer, and 'tis thought, that lord Harrington will be secretary of state, as soon as lord Townshend has resigned. And it is believed, and not without reason, that your lordship will be named for ambassadour at Paris, as what will be agreeable to you. Nobody is yett mentioned to succeed you at Vienna; but it is not at all unlikely, but that Mr. Robinson may be sent thither minister plenipotentiary, as being perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in Europe, untill some other shall be thought of to reside there, or untill the success of the events of this year, with regard to peace and war be seen. If your lordship has any objection to going to Paris, you will lett me know by the first opportunity, and I will mention it where it is proper; but I am told, that marshall Berwick wished to have you in France, as what might be agreeable to you.

I had like to forgett to tell you, that in the last debate upon the state of the nation, in the house of lords; lord Strafford moved that the Hessian troops were burthenfome and usefess; and it was carried in the negative, eighty against twenty.

This day the opponents moved in the house of commons (upon the rumour of troops being ordered to hold themselves in readyness) an address to his majesty to lay the secret article of the treaty of Seville before the parliament, and after a debate of about an hour and half, it was carried in the negative, no's 277, aye's 75, and it plainly appeared by this debate, and by the complexion of the house, that they will support his majesty in fulfilling his engagements for the execution of the treaty of Seville. Your's most affectionately, &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

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1727 to 1730.

1730.

King's predilection for Hanover.—Disposal of employments.—Congratulates himself that he shall have lord Harrington for his colleague.—Expresses a high sense of the great obligations which they owe to sir Robert Walpole.—Lord Townshend will resign.—Sends him a list of the new administration.

MY DEAR LORD,

Newcastle House, April 23—May 4, 1730.

I Am perswaded you do me the justice to think that my other letter to you, makes me as happy as man can be in the employment I now have. The prospect I have of your assistance and advice in the execution of my office, and my dependence in every thing upon your friendship, give me more joy than I am able to express. And as we all owe our happy situation to sir Robert Walpole's friendship (not forgetting Horace) I hope you will forgive me (who have seen what I daily see) if I assure you, greater obligations cannot be to any man, than you, my brother, and I, have to him, tho' it would take up too much of your time, to explain them all to you at present. Sir Robert and Horace both write to you by this messenger. Pray write warm and affectionate letters to them both.

Harrington
Papers.Private.

Lord Townshend certainly goes out the last day of the sessions, which will be in less than a fortnight. He has already, as it were, taken his leave, and has the king's permission to resign the seals, when the parliament rises. I shall not say much upon this subject. I have had two free conferences with king and queen. Hanover is lord Townshend's great merit, and we have been all represented as wanting *zeal*, &c. I have been forced to purge myself, and have flung in a word or two for you, when proper. The king told me, his dependance for Hanover, must now be upon you and I. I am perswaded you will write such an answer to my letter, as will shew the king he may depend upon you. But I would submit it to you, whether it may not be proper for you, to take this occasion of writing a letter of thanks to the king, with assurances, that may comprehend *all* his majesty's interests; and if you will send it to me, under a flying seal, I will advise with sir Robert, whether it shall be given to the king or not.

I suppose you will be preparing to come home; for as soon as lord Townshend

Period IV. hend is out, I shall want you here, and must have you. Lord Waldegrave is
 1727 to 1730. already wrote to, to be in readiness to come to Paris, upon the first notice. Robinson, we think, should go to Vienna, but that is not fixed. Your friend, Tom Pelham, is to be secretary to the embassy to lord Waldegrave; and we all wish, for reasons we will tell you hereafter, that you would continue Mr. Weston, your commissioner. Tilson, I conclude, you will not think of removing. I send you enclosed, our scheme of employments. You will take no notice of them to any body. Sure a better scheme never was made. Lord Wilmington will, if rightly managed, be a great strength to us. God bless sir Robert, 'tis all his doing; and lett us in return, resolve to make him as happy as we can, and have but one thought and one way, acting in every thing for the king's service, which must make us a happy, and I think, a successful ministry. Don't mention the list of employments to any body but Poyntz. 'Tis not quite settled.

P. S. Sir R. has been so taken up this evening, that he begs you would excuse him till the next messenger goes.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Uncertainty of peace or war.

DEAR SIR,

Vienna, April 26, 1730.

Waldegrave
Papers.

YOU are very obliging in continuing to inform me of what passes in England; I wish in return I cou'd send you any thing from hence worth your notice. You were rightly informed with relation to the simple stories that were sent over; I am sorry that poor Kinsky should have been so misled, he seemed to be quite otherwise disposed when I parted from him last at Hanover. We are here, according to all appearance, under a state of uncertainty; one day, nothing but peace, the next, war is unavoidable. I don't hear that any kind of preparation is making amongst the general officers for their equipages, nor that any are appointed to command the great body of troops that are on their march for Italy; it is believed, that till its determined where prince Eugene is to command, the other general will not be named, that he may take with him, those he likes best to have about him.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD HARRINGTON AND S. POYNTZ.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

To press the attack on Sicily, as the most likely method to force the emperor to accede.—Order given by the king to have troops in readiness for foreign service, alarms the imperial ambassador.—Opposition move for the secret articles of the treaty of Seville.—Lose it by a great majority.—Difficulties about the double marriage with Prussia.—Lord Harrington to be made secretary of state, on the resignation of lord Townshend.—Lord Wilmington's cordial union with the minister, confounds opposition.

1730.

MY LORD, AND SIR,

London, April 23—May 4, 1730.

AS to the public affairs where you are, your excellencies will be fully informed by the duke of Newcastle, of his majesty's resolution to conform himselfe in every respect to your last dispatch, relating to the attack of Sicily; to concur with the French and Dutch ministers, in representing to the Spanish court, the difficulty of a descent upon Naples, as well as the prospect of success for fulfilling the engagements of the treaty of Seville, by that of Sicily; which in all probability, will bring the emperor to hearken to the propositions, that may be suggested to him for an accommodation, or perhaps dispose the Spaniards, if the emperor should be difficult or dilatory in his answer (which I own I very much apprehend) to close with the proposal of the great duke, to receive don Carlos in person, and settle his succession, which, in my opinion, is the most desirable scheme, if it will satisfy Spain. But in all events, it is very possible, that the great duke will not resist (notwithstanding what the emperor's threats have obliged him to declare) the introduction of the troops, when they arrive before Leghorn; and that even his own people will be disposed to forward their admission, unless the emperor, beforehand, will strike so bold a stroke, as to make himself master of Tuscany.

Harrington
Papers.

In the mean time, while the intimation, which was given here by the king's orders, for regiments to be in readiness, without declaring for what service (altho' founded upon the proposal of 8000 men, as the king's quota) extremely alarmed the opponents here, and the friends to count Kinski, to such a degree, that they moved the house on Tuesday, for an address to have the secret articles of the treaty of Seville, lay'd before them, but without any spirit or strength to support such an extraordinary proposition, as appeared in the debate, and in the division. The question passed in the negative, by 197 against 75, and

indeed

Period IV. indeed, the zeal was unanimously on the court's side. It is sayd, that this
 1727 to 1730. motion arose from a concert with count Kinsky, who sent the night before, an
 exprefs to his court, with an account; that 8000 men were ordered for fo-
 reign service; and he told his friends here, that upon the arrival of his exprefs,
 he was sure the emperour would order his troops to march into Leghorn.

As to the court of Prussia, you will have heard, that the affairs of the con-
 gress of Brunfwick, are determin'd; but nothing is yett certain about the mar-
 riages, the king of Prussia having insist'd upon that of the prince of Wales
 with the princess royal of Prussia; without taking notice of the other. Sir
 Charles Hotham's orders, on the other side, are peremptory, not to consent to
 one marriage, without the other; but not to declare that openly, or directly
 to any person but Kniphausen; and sir Charles has conducted himselfe in such a
 manner, as to make the king of Prussia conclude, that his majesty expects the
 double marriage, and at the same time, has not refused to consent to the single
 one of the prince of Wales. But he has been so pressed to speak out, that he
 has been oblig'd to dispatch an expresse for farther orders; intimating at the
 same time, as if he had it from undoubted hands, that the king of Prussia will like-
 wise consent to the marriage of the prince royall to a princess of England, if the
 prince royall might be made stadthouder, or regent of Hanover, and the royall
 couple might goe to reside there. This proposition of the prince royall of
 Prussia, being made stadthouder of Hanover, was entirely reject'd by his ma-
 jesty, notwithstanding all his ministers were for it. In the mean time, before
 the courier was dispatch'd back again to Berlin, letters from sir Charles Ho-
 tham, brought an account that the king of Prussia might be contented, and the
 double marriage be made at the same time, if the princess, to be married to the
 prince royall of Prussia, might be made regent of Hanover, to which his ma-
 jesty has consented, and the courier is sent some days since, with that consent
 to Berlin. This I tell you in confidence, because I don't know whether the
 duke of Newcastle will be able to obtain his majesty's leave, which he intends to
 ask this day, to inform you of it, and I must leave it your excellency to judge,
 whether either of you will, in confidence, mention this important affair to the
 cardinal only, as an instance of his majesty's readiness to come to an entire
 accommodation with the king of Prussia.

As I shall not return to France, except it is to take my leave of the court,
 his majesty is determin'd to send my lord Waldegrave thither, but as it will
 be

be likewise necessary to have some person, that is perfectly well apprised of the present state of affairs at Vienna, before his lordship quits that place; it is likely that Mr. Robinson will have orders to goe thither, with the character of minister plenipotentiary, but this last is not yett determined. However, I don't know how 'tis possible to find out a person that is well enough informed, or that can goe time enough to Vienna, which court must not be left without a minister at this juncture, to supply lord Waldegrave's place for the present; untill things are entirely settled, or entirely broken with the emperour. If some orders be not sent immediately from the French court to their emissary at Dunkirk, to begin the demolishing of the works contrary to treaty, we are informed, that the adverse party will mention the affair again in the house, before all the business is over. Your excellencys know the order was positive, that the French commissary should not only make a report, but should also demolish the works, which he refuses to doe without farther orders: and Lascelles writes this word every post, the ennemys have alsoe their spys at Dunkirk, that give them an account of the progress of this affair, and even Brinsden has been there.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1730.

Lord Townshend having declared to the king in form, that he will deliver up the seals the day the parliament is up, his majesty has resolved to make you, lord Harrington, secretary of state, but will not have it declared, untill the resignation of lord Townshend; upon which, your excellency, I presume, will have some particular notice, in confidence, from the duke of Newcastle. The accession of lord Wilmington to the administration, especially in the manner it has been done by a perfect union and concert with those already employed, has surpris'd and struck the ennemys more than any thing that could happen. I hope the Dutch intend to furnish their quota, upon the expedition for Italy, in troops, as well as the other powers; or else it may have an ill effect here.

I need not tell your excellency, Mr. Poyntz, how much those that will continue in the administration are, and will continue to be your sincere freinds and humble servants; tho' indeed their majestys' inclination is so strong in your behalfe, that joyned with your own merit, you will want nobody's assistance.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

Quits his embassy at Paris.—Lord Waldegrave to succeed him.—Things wear the appearance of a speedy accommodation.—Calm and tranquillity in England.

Period IV.

MY LORD,

London, May 1—12, 1730.

1727 to 1730.

Waldegrave
Papers.

I Am extreamly obliged to you, for the honour of your lordship's letter of the 26th past, and for the noble present you intend me. As for Paris, it is uncertain whither I shall goe again; or at least, when I shall goe, which to be sure, will be only to take my leave, and therefore the best way will be to address any thing for me at London.

By the time your lordship will receive this, you will have his majesty's permission to leave Vienna, on account of particular affairs, but I believe your final settlement will end in being embassadour at Paris. I will keep my house for you, untill I can hear from you; there will be a great many, but usefull things relating to furniture, at your service: whether you will want a good chariott and a coach, not much the worse for wearing, I can't tell, but will expect your commands, as well as for every else in my power, that may be for your service.

The unanimity and vigour of the measures of the allies, to fulfill their engagements of the treaty of Seville, at the same time that they are willing to doe every thing that is reasonable for peace, will, I hope, bring matters soon to a determination one way or another. I never saw so great a calm as there is at present, after so great a storm that threatened once in parliament: nor was there ever, I believe, a greater satisfaction in all parts of the nation, as there is now in favour of the administration.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

*Sir Robert Walpole's friendship for him.*Harrington
Papers.*Private.*

(Whitehall, May 2—13, 1730.) I Had the honor of your private letter, which has given us all the greatest satisfaction imaginable. I never saw sir Robert more pleased in my life, he promised to write to you by this messenger, but I find has forgot it. He is most sincerely your friend and servant. The king and queen are both extreamly pleased with your private letter sending over the key. I long to have you amongst us. I hope, in a few days, we shall send for you. Harry is much your servant.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

*Lord Townshend resigns the seals.*Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

1730.

GENTLEMEN,

London, May 17—28, 1730.

I Am just now return'd from my election at Yarmouth, and as I find his majesty will expect that I should sett out very soon for Paris, I send this messenger privately, to desire that Mr. Charters may come away forthwith with my chaise to Calais, where I hope to be on Saturday next, or the Monday following at farthest; and as the duke of Newcastle will dispatch a messenger to you, to-morrow, with an answer to your last letters, I shall only acquaint your excellencys, that lord Townshend resign'd the seals on Fryday, and I mett him on the road to Norfolk, yesterday. You will learn the rest from his grace.

Harrington
Papers.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

On the resignation of lord Townshend.—Informs lord Harrington of his appointment to the office of secretary of state.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, May 19—30, 1730.

I Have the king's commands to acquaint your excellency, that my lord Townshend having obtained his majesty's permission to give up the seals of secretary of state, which he accordingly did last Friday, his majesty intends, at your return, to honour you with them. But as Mr. Walpole is, in a few days, to go back to Paris, the king would have you continue there till his excellency comes, that as he will be able to explain to you and Mr. Poyntz, in the clearest and most particular manner, his majesty's sentiments and intentions; and you two will best apprize him of what has been doing at the court of France, since he left it, and of the present dispositions there, your excellency may, by your having all conferred together, be the better enabled at your return, to give his majesty your opinion, concerning the important affairs now depending at that court. But his majesty would have your excellency prepare yourself to come away as soon as possible, after Mr. Walpole's arrival at Paris. In the mean time, I shall, by this day's post, notify to his majesty's ministers in the several courts in the northern department, your intended promotion, with his majesty's orders to direct their dispatches to me, till your excellency's arrival.

Harrington
Papers.

Give me leave to wish your excellency joy of so distinguishing a mark of
the

Period IV. the king's favour and confidence, and to assure you, of the satisfaction that I
 1727 to 1730. have, in the hopes of your advice and assistance, in that share of his majesty's
 service, with which I have the honour to be entrusted.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD HARRINGTON:

General state of affairs, and dispositions of individuals.—Rejoices at the resignation of lord Townshend.

MY DEAR LORD,

Claremont, May 25—June 5, 1730.

Harrington
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

YOU may easily imagine, that I am extremely impatient for your return to us: not only that I really want your assistance, but that I long to see that completed, which I have so long wished. The only reason that you was not sent for at first, was, that it was thought Poyntz would be uneasy to be left alone, and that Horace (who has been detained necessarily, to take the oaths* at the term) might have an opportunity of discoursing fully with you, which indeed, I myself, think will be of service. You will find every thing here, as you can wish; and I already perceive the advantage of having lost a bad brother, and shall, I am persuaded, soon find that of having a good one to the greatest degree imaginable. The foreign ministers (who have been all courted by lord Townshend, to gett them into the views and measures, in opposition to other people) must be gained by us. Chamorel will act an honest part; and I wish you could get an honest man in the room of Broglio, for it is impossible to do any thing with him.

* As cofferer.

My dear friend, you must now consider yourself in a quite different light from what you have ever been. We must now greatly depend upon you, for directing us (and we cannot have a better guide) and as we shall be jointly responsible for every thing, we cannot be too earnest for the success of our affairs. We are all here full of doubts, though lord Townshend, upon parting, said, all was as good as done, if we did not spoil it. With what view, he said it, one may easily guess: for God sake, bring either peace or war with you. For neither will lay us under the greatest difficulties imaginable. Sir Robert is pure gay, and does like an angel; Mr. Coffrer, the same, whom you will soon see. My best respects to honest Poyntz, and believe me, &c.

P. S. The paymaster is much your's. I wish you would send an order to take lord Townshend's house in Cleaveland court, for your house must be our
 rende-

rendezvous. I have ventured to make Mr. Tilson very happy. I am sure you will have use of him. Poor Weston is very doubtful about his own fate. Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1730.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Expresses his obligations to him and fir Robert Walpole.

DEAR SIR,

May 21, 1730.

I Have received the honour of your's of the 21st past, and must repeat my thanks for the account you are so good as to send of your parliamentary proceedings, and my congratulations on the prosperous situation his majesty's affairs are in, both at home and abroad. Waldegrave
Papers.

Private.

Draught.

The news you send me relating to myself, is certainly very agreeable on several accounts, which I don't mention here, since I see that the matter is to be kept private till further orders, but you can, I fancy, guess at most of them. I had by the last post, notice given me of this, by my lord duke of Newcastle, his grace informs me, how much you and fir Robert have contributed to it. As this is not the first mark of either of your friendships to me, and that I have often assured you both of the gratefull sence I shall ever retain for all your favours, I will not enter into repetition of compliments; however, I beg you will assure fir Robert from me, that nobody can be more sensible, than I am, of his kindness on this occasion. I wish you much joy on the post you are designed for, which I take for granted, is of your own choosing. Poor Burnaby is a good deal disappointed in his expectations, by a proposal the duke of Newcastle has made to me, about his kinsman, Mr. Thomas Pelham. I hope his grace will, upon occasion, make Burnaby some amends. He has it so often in his power to do such things, that I hope he will do something for him.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

Expresses his obligation to lord Townshend.

MY DEAR LORD,

Vienna, May 23, 1730.

I Have received your most obliging letter of the 24th past, O. S. and am very sensible of your friendship, in the share you take in any thing that is so much to my satisfaction, on several accounts, most of them too obvious to trouble you with here. You have obliged me extreamly in what you tell me Waldegrave
Papers.

Draught.

Period IV. 1727 to 1730. about lord Townshend, he did not say the least word of himself, and in his letter, he rather disclaimed the merit of it, than otherwise; tho' I was at the same time satisfied, it was in a great measure owing to him. I should have been very glad to have been able to do what you desire for young Dayrolles, with whom I am very well satisfied, but I was before engaged by the duke of Newcastle for his kinsman, who has served some time of late in the same post, but of this, I desire you will take no notice till you hear it from others, for I was recommended secrecy.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. DE BOUSSET.

On his resignation.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, May 12, 1730.

Townshend
Papers.*Draught.*

TOUTES les fois que j'ay été à Hanover j'ay reconnu en V. E. une amitié si ouverte et si sincère à mon égard, que je ne sçaurois me dispenser de vous faire part de la résolution que je vais mettre en execution pour me retirer des affaires sans manquer au respect que je vous dois, et à la confiance, qui a été établie entre nous. La longue et pénible maladie que j'ay eu il y a presque quatre ans, m'a tellement affoiblie la constitution du corps, que j'en ay ressenti de tems en tems depuis les terribles secouffes. Cette diminution des forces m'ayant rendu moins capable de soutenir le grand faix des affaires; j'ay été obligé de songer à la retraite. Et en ayant demandé la permission au roy, sa majesté a eu la bonté de me l'accorder de la manière la plus gracieuse du monde. Ainsy d'abord que les séances du parlement seront finies je me demettrai de ma charge, et me retirerai à ma campagne, pour soigner ma santé, et jouir un peu de repos après les grandes fatigues que j'ay essuyées.

V. E. entendra peut être quelques autres raisons de ma demission, mais mes frequentes indispositions m'en ont inspirée la premiere pensée. Cependant j'avouerai à V. E. que quelques dégout que j'ay eus par rapport au chevalier Walpole ont beaucoup fortifié cette résolution.

J'ay pourtant le plaisir de voir que ma retraite ne changera rien aux affaires publiques, puisqu'il n'y a pas le moindre doute que messieurs les frères Walpole ne poursuivent fermement les mêmes principes et les mêmes mesures qui ont été suivies jusqu'à cette heure. J'espère que V. E. ne désapprouvera pas une résolution qui mene vôtre bon et fidele ami à quelque délassement de corps et d'esprit après les longues travaux d'un employ trop onoreux pour un

vale-

valetudinaire. Je me rejouirai toujours de souvenir de nôtre amitié, et en toute situation où je me trouverai je ferai ravi d'avoir encore des occasions de marquer le respect, et la sincérité avec lesquels je suis, &c.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.
1730.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. STEIN.

On his resignation.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, May 5—16, 1730.

L'Interêt que depuis que j'ay l'honneur de vous connoître, vous m'avez paru prendre à tout ce qui me regarde, m'engage à vous communiquer la résolution que j'ay prise de me retirer des affaires d'abord que le parlement se séparera. Il y a quelque tems que ma santé, qui, depuis ma grande maladie, n'a été guères affermie, m'a fait songer à la retraite et à me soustraire aux fatigues d'un employ qui ne convient nullement à un valetudinaire. Je vous avouë que la froideur qui est survenuë depuis entre le chevalier Walpole et moy a contribué à me déterminer sur le parti que je vais prendre. Cependant vous devez être persuadé que je ne me ferois jamais resolu à quitter le service, si je n'étois bien sûr que mon éloignement ne causera aucun changement ici par rapport aux affaires generales. Je dois rendre cette justice à Messrs. Walpole qu'ils sont entièrement disposés à s'en tenir aux principes que nous avons suivis jusqu'à present, et je suis convaincu que les alliés du roy n'auront jamais sujet de se plaindre de leur conduite. S. M. m'a accordé sa permission de me retirer de la manière la plus obligeante du monde, et l'a accompagnée des temoignages les plus gratieux de sa bonté pour moy. J'ay pris la liberté de l'affurer que je ferois toujours prêt à fournir les éclaircissements dont il me jugeroit capable par rapport à ses affaires. Comme je n'ay rien de caché pour vous, j'ay crû devoir vous faire ce détail; je vous prie pourtant de ne le communiquer à qui que ce soit.

Townshend
Papers.
Draught.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO M. SLINGELANDT, PENSIONARY OF
HOLLAND.

Announces his resignation.

MONSIEUR, après tant de marques que nous nous sommes donnés d'une confiance réciproque dans le cours d'une si longue amitié, V. E. aura lieu d'être surpris que vous aimant et vous honorant comme je fais, je ne

Townshend
Papers.
Draught.

Period IV.
1727 to 1730.

REV. DR. CONYERS MIDDLETON* TO THE HON. THOMAS
TOWNSHEND.

Condoles with him on the death of lord Townshend.

DEAR SIR,

Cambridge, June 25, 1738.

IT gives me a very sensible concern, to be called so unexpectedly to the melancholy task of condoling with you on the death of lord Townshend; for besides the share which I shall always bear in every instance of grief, which can possibly reach you, I have in this a part of my own, and find myself peculiarly affected by the loss of a great man, who did me the honour of inviting me to his friendship, and by the authority of his good opinion, help'd to allay those prejudices which were unjustly conceiv'd against me. As I had been pleasing myself with the thoughts of spending some agreeable days this summer, in his lordship's conversation, so I am now touched with a kind of remorse, and condemn myself as it were of a sin for having never taken the opportunity of testifying my duty and gratitude for the marks which he had given me of his favour. But instead of administering comfort to you, which was my design at setting down, I am shewing only that I want it myself; yet were I never so much at ease on the occasion, I should spare myself that trouble, when I reflect that I am writing to one whose good sense and knowledge of the world both ancient and modern, can never suffer him to afflict himself beyond what is natural, for any accident which cannot be retrieved. It is impossible indeed that the sudden death of a kind and worthy parent, should not be greatly shocking to one of your affectionate temper; yet that very circumstance of its being sudden, which generally adds weight to the first assaults of grief, seems to have something in it, upon recollection, which tends rather to alleviate it. For it was the common wish, we know, of the wise and great in all ages, to fall as his lordship did, by the first stroke as it were of the executioner, without passing through the lingering tortures of a sick bed, or living to sully the lustre of a noble character, and sinking by a kind of metempsychosis even before death from the man into the animal.

This was lord Townshend's case. He had borne a principal part in the public counsels of the nation, with the glorious character of being the patron

* The celebrated author of the *Life of Cicero*.

of its laws and liberties, till satiated with honours, and tired with the hurry of affairs, he withdrew himself to the liberal use and enjoyment of his private fortunes, where he gave a shining pattern to the nobility, of a virtuous hospitable splendid life, and having left a numerous issue to the propagation of his name, and the imitation of his virtues, was removed without tasting pain or sickness, to that superior happiness, which is destined to the friends and benefactors of mankind. So that if a subject of the first eminence, were left to carve his fortunes by his wishes, I do not know what he could wish more happy or more honorable than the life and death of lord Townshend. This is the reflection which people will naturally make on his lordship's death. I wish that it could help to relieve any part of that grief, which you now feel for it; but beg of you at least to take it as it is meant, for a testimony of that honor and respect, which I bear to you and your family, which your favors have given you a right always to expect from, &c.

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END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.